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Prepared by Robert G. Bedrosian

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Sources

Andrew Smith's remarkable annotated database of events for the period [322-49 B.C.](#);

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and another view of the sources and translations, [Ancient Authors by Date](#): 8th/7th Century B.C. through post 3rd Century A.D.

[ForumRomanum](#), Latin texts and translations.

[ABZU website](#), Middle/Near Eastern texts, translations, and studies.

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[ETANA Core Texts](#), prepared by Charles Jones.

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Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity

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[The Pre-history of the Armenian People](#), *The Historical Situation in Western Asia at the Beginning of the Bronze Age* (excerpts), by Igor M. Diakonoff.

[Diakonoff, Map 1](#). *Schematic Map of Western Asia in the 3rd through the Beginning of the 2nd Millennium B.C. (Ethnic situation)*.

[Diakonoff, Footnotes](#)

Diakonoff's *Bibliography* appears as an attachment to the present pdf document

[The Chronology of the Caucasus during the Early Metal Age: Observations from Central Trans-Caucasus](#), by Giorgi L. Kavtaradze.

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See also: [Selected Writings of H. A. Martirosyan](#), at Internet Archive.

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[Ancient Locations](#), a database of archaeological sites, prepared by Charles Jones.

Wikipedia Articles:

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Mythology

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Selected Writings of Armen Petrosyan, [in Armenian](#); [in English](#); [in Russian](#).

[Armenian Mythology](#), by Mardiros Ananikian.

[Iranian Mythology](#), by Albert J. Carnoy.

[Indian Mythology](#), by A. Berriedale Keith.

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[Soma among the Armenians](#), by Robert Bedrosian.

[Materials for the Study of Extraterrestrial Presence in Human History Based on Ancient Primary Sources](#), by Robert Bedrosian.

[The Beginnings of History According to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples](#), from the Creation of Man to the Deluge, by F. Lenormant (New York, 1882). English translation of the second French edition, in 640 pdf pages.

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[Selected Writings of Edward Burnett Tylor](#).

Art History

[Metropolitan Museum of Art \(N.Y.\) Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History](#) Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus 8000-2000 B.C.

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I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People*
Predystoriia armianskogo naroda

Excerpts

**Erevan, 1968, English Translation by Lori Jennings
(Delmar, New York, 1984)**

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Chapter 1.
**The Historical Situation in Western Asia
at the Beginning of the Bronze Age**

*The Population of the Armenian Highland and of Neighboring Regions in the 3rd and 2nd Millennia B.C.:
Ethnic Composition*

[1] Prior to a discussion of the first events in the history of the Armenian Highland which are attested by written sources, it is advisable to investigate the most ancient ethnic situation in this territory as it is known to us.

1.1 Basic Principles of the Study of Ethnic Succession

In establishing the origin, and ancestry of an ethnic unit (its ethnogenesis), one must bear in mind that succession here may be threefold: biological, linguistic, and cultural.

Biological succession signifies a direct physical descent from one certain group of forefathers, and is expressed in the transmission of definite biological (racial) features, which usually allow us to trace distinctive physical anthropological components in the formation of a given ethnic unit. It goes without saying that not a single contemporary nation can be anthropologically homogeneous. The racial type or types which dominate in any given ethnic unit are, to the investigator, important indirect indices of which ethnic groups participated, in the biological sense, in the formation of that unit in the past. However the racial type manifests itself mostly in the external appearance of the men and women in question and seldom plays a socio-historical role. Boundaries of the spreading of anthropological types hardly ever coincide with boundaries of ethnic cultural units or of language areas.

Linguistic succession points to a historical connection between a given ethnic unit and the ethnic groups which were native speakers of this language (or its predecessor) at the earlier stages of [2] history. But this connection is not necessarily a direct one. The spreading of languages from one group to other groups which are ethnically, culturally, and anthropologically unrelated is historically a very common phenomenon. Moreover it can be said that the spreading of a language to a new territory only very rarely attests a truly massive spreading there of that language's original speakers themselves after they have supplanted the territory's former inhabitants. At least that was the case in antiquity. Usually such an expansion of a linguistic area indicates only that the mass of local inhabitants of mixed ethnic composition have adopted the language of a newly arrived ethnic group, which for

one of various historical reasons has played a socially leading role at some specific stage. But this in no way always means that the first speakers of this language had numerical superiority as well. Just as often the reverse situation is encountered. Thus a contemporary ethnic unit (nation) may in many instances continue primarily the culture of one group of forefathers, who constituted the majority, while in respect to its language it may be the successor of an ethnic group which had constituted a minority among its biological forefathers. The situation with respect to biological succession is mostly the reverse, and contemporary anthropological types common among a given nation will on the whole continue the external features of the biological forefathers who constituted the majority, even if it was the minority which handed down their language to the later descendants. Thus [is the situation] unless the aborigines had been totally ousted.

Finally, the most diffuse and indefinite concept is cultural succession, including so-called national character. However when some ethnic unit changes its language under the influence of certain historical factors, not only the features of biological succession, but also those of material and spiritual culture will usually show that we have before us the same unit as before, even though the unit has changed its language. It is true that the picture here is in constant flux, owing to mutual influences and the borrowing of cultural inventions, and even due to fashion, which passes across ethnic frontiers. But taking the factors of cultural succession into consideration will save us from the temptation of beginning the socio-historical and cultural history of a nation anew merely because the nation has changed its language. If, for example, an ethnic unit has already achieved the level of class civilization, we may expect that its institutions, once developed, shall be preserved and will develop further, in spite of a change in the language. It is possible to consider the history of a country as beginning anew [3] only when it is possible to prove that the replacing of the language in a given instance is due to the resettling of a territory by a new ethnic group. Moreover it is imperative that the new group should be on another socio-economic level, and that it should completely, or to a significant degree, supplant or annihilate the earlier population.

Regarding the most ancient history of the Armenian Highland, we actually know almost nothing about the spiritual culture of the local population in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C., and extremely little about it in the 1st millennium B.C. Archeological cultures, distinguished primarily on the basis of changing types of pottery and other artifacts, are conditioned in their composition by a great number of concrete local factors, by no means always ethnic ones, and cannot simply be equated with the units of ethnic classification.

These preliminary remarks are indispensable for a correct understanding of the problem which lies before us.

The archeological data about the material culture of the inhabitants of the Armenian Highland and of the territories immediately adjoining them in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. have been elucidated earlier by other scholars; we will touch on them briefly below, but this book deals mainly with other aspects of the ethnogenetic problem.

1.2. Physical Anthropological Composition

As far as physical anthropological types are concerned, two minor races of the so-called major Europeoid race have been widespread in the highland regions of Western Asia from time immemorial: 1) the Mediterranean race, characterized by a swarthy color of the skin, dark, wavy hair, an elongated nose, a narrow face, and a dolichocephalic skull; and (2) the Balkano-Caucasian race, characterized by dark hair, a prominent nose, a broad face, abundant facial and body hair, and a brachycephalic skull. In the course of time (especially after the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.), judging from the rather scant findings of human remains and from ancient figurative art, the Balkano-Caucasian race begins to predominate more and more (1). From the 1st millennium B.C., and perhaps earlier, the Assyroid (Armenoid) variant of this race appears to have been the most widespread in the Armenian Highland, in Northern Mesopotamia, and in parts of Asia Minor. Also today the majority of the Armenian nation belong to this race.

The amount of available data is clearly insufficient to afford a judgment, on the basis of physical anthropological materials alone, about the history of ethnic groupings in the territory under study.

1.3. The Linguistic Situation in the 3rd and 2nd Millennia B.C.

It is now our task to depict the linguistic situation which existed in the Armenian Highland (Eastern Anatolia) and in its neighboring territories in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C.

In that early period, as far as we know, the tribes and peoples in the mountain regions of central and eastern Asia Minor (including the Black Sea coastline), in the mountain regions of the Armenian Highland, and in Iranian Azerbaijan spoke languages of at least three, and more likely, four language groups.

1.3.1. The Hatti, the Kaska, the Apeshlaians

To the first of these belonged the so-called Hattic (2) people (not to be confused with the Hittites). Their language is known to us from certain passages in the texts of religious rituals found in the palace archives in the capital of the Hittite Kingdom at the site of modern Bogazkoy. Unfortunately the Hittite scribes who recorded these passages (often with their Hittite translations) did not quite understand this language themselves, and their records are apparently inaccurate. Moreover the system of Akkadian cuneiform, adapted in its Hittite variety for the recording of Hattic texts, was completely unsuitable for the transcription of the Hattic phonological system. Thus it has so far been impossible to establish the phonology of Hattic, and this renders any trustworthy decision on assigning it to any definite language family most difficult because regular phonetic correspondences between Hattic and any other languages cannot be ascertained. Where simple external similarity of the sound of words or proper names is not corroborated by definite rules of phonetic reflexes, there is no scientific basis for the establishment of linguistic kinship, since the similarity may be due to coincidental homonymy. Such "similarities" are quite frequently observed between any two languages of the world. The grammatical structure of Hattic has only begun to be revealed, thanks to the efforts of E. Forrer, E. Laroche, I. M. Dunajevskaja, A. Kammenhuber, and H. S. Schuster (3). It displays features which structurally are strikingly similar to the Northwestern Caucasian languages (Abkhazo-Adyghian), which in itself does not prove kinship between them and Hattic (since similar grammatical structure may appear even in unrelated languages), but does make a hypothesis of such kinship not implausible. It seems that there is nothing in the phonetic material used for the grammatical markers of Hattic which might speak against the kinship between this language and the Abkhazo-Adyghian language group, and there are some data, albeit very meager and debatable, pointing also to a possible [5] proximity of Hattic to the Southern Caucasian languages (Kartvelian, or Ibero-Georgian). Presumably, but without any sort of guarantee as to the trustworthiness of such a supposition, it is possible to view the Hattic language either as a very ancient branch of the Abkhazo-Adyghian group, or as an intermediary link between these languages and the languages of the Georgian group (*1).

Apparently the Hatti inhabited central Anatolia (Cappadocia) to the northeast of the bend of the Halys (modern Kizil-Irmak) in the 3rd millennium B.C. By the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. they had already been, for the most part, absorbed by the Hittites, whom we shall discuss below.

The research of G. A. Melikisvili (5) and G. G. Giorgadze (6) makes it plausible that a close kinship might have existed between Hattic and the language of the Kaska, a group of tribes which inhabited northeastern Anatolia and the south coast of the Black Sea (Pontus) during the 2nd millennium B.C. Their territory stretched from the mouth of the Halys (Kizil-Irmak), or a point to the west of it, to the upper Euphrates west of present-day Erzurum, including the valley of the rivers Iris (Yesil-Irmak) and Lycus (Wolf River, Gaylget, Kelkit). Unfortunately we have too few place and personal names to afford a trustworthy judgment about the language or languages of the Kaska.

Assyrian sources at the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. refer, in connection with the Kaska, also to the tribes of the Apeshlaians and the Urumeans. We shall discuss the Urumeans below. As far as the Apeshlaians are concerned, their tribe name, just as that of the Kaska, may be interpreted as belonging to the Abkhazo-Adyghian

languages (7). Of course this still does not prove finally that the Kaska and the Apeshlaian really belonged to the Abkhazo-Adyghian language group. In the first place, the similarity of names may be a purely accidental coincidence, and in the second place, the history of languages shows that identical ethnic names are not infrequently applied by neighboring groups to tribes which are not even related by language, but which possess a similar culture (8).

The archaeology of Pontus and Colchis in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. has still been insufficiently studied, with the exception of the findings in Ochamchire, which reveal a culture of the 3rd millennium B.C. quite different from the cultures prevailing in neighboring areas (*2).

It can be plausibly assumed that in the 3rd and probably 2nd millennia B.C. everywhere from the central and western part of the Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasia, across the eastern coast of the Black Sea, Colchis, and the southern coast of the Black Sea (Pontus) to the Halys (Kizil-Irmak), tribes lived which either [6] belonged directly to the Northwestern Caucasian (Abkhazo-Adyghian) language group, or which spoke languages related to Abkhazo-Adyghian, and in some regions of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia there probably were tribes which spoke Kartvelian.

1.3.2. The Hurrians and Urartians

First and foremost among the second group of ancient peoples on the territory under study are the speakers of Hurrian. A cuneiform inscription of Tishari or Tishadal; a priest(ess) of Urkesh in Northern Mesopotamia, dating from the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C., is considered to be the most ancient relic of Hurrian (9). Actually the language of this inscription may equally well be considered either as Old Hurrian or as Old Urartian, since it is almost just as close to the Urartian of the 1st millennium B.C. as it is to the Hurrian of the 2nd millennium B.C. Other relics of the Hurrian language and references to the Hurrian people date from the 2nd millennium B.C. They are found from Ugarit on the Mediterranean coast of Syria in the west to Arrapkhe (modern Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan) in the east 10. Apparently the farthest region which the Hurrian population reached in the southwest was the valley of the Diyala River in present-day Iraq (11). Isolated groups of Hurrians apparently also lived further south, and not only those who were brought to this area as slaves (as, for example, to Babylonia): Egyptian and ancient Hebrew sources refer to a population of Hurrians even in southern Palestine (12). However the southern border of mass Hurrian settlement in the 2nd millennium B.C. seems to have run approximately through present-day Hamah in Syria to the region of present-day Khanikin near the boundary between Iraq and Iran. But also north of this borderline there simultaneously existed either a predominant or at least very significant Semitic population, not only in all the cattle-breeding regions of the steppe but also in many of the agricultural regions with an urban population (in Phoenicia, Syria, Assyria, etc.). The spreading of the Hurrians to the northwest was restricted by the Cilician Taurus mountain range, on the far side of which the Hittites were already living (*3). In this corner of their area the Hurrians coexisted with the Luwians.

It is more difficult to determine the northern and eastern boundaries of the Hurrian-speaking population. Extant written sources are too insufficient to elucidate the ethnic picture to the north of the Armenian Taurus Mountains in the 2nd millennium B.C. It is true that we have at our disposal place names and tribe names from the territory to the south of a line which runs approximately through Erzincan to the point where today the [7] borders of Turkey, Iran, and Iraq meet, but a linguistic analysis of these names has not been made. Furthermore such place names (toponyms) and tribe names (ethnonyms) are very unreliable as criteria for determining a population's linguistic and ethnic affinity. The meaning of the names is unknown, and therefore there can be no guarantee that any suggested etymologies from this or that language are not based on irregular sound similarities. Cases often occur in history when toponyms belong not to the language spoken in the locality in question at the time under study, but to some much earlier language (13). Some deductions about probable ethnic composition of the population of the Armenian Highland in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. can be made from the data of a later time --the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. In this period the Hurrian people no longer occupied a continuous area. They maintained only residential enclaves in the mountain valleys and in a few other regions of the territory bordering on the Armenian Highland in a half-circle from the west and south: in the valley of the

Upper Euphrates (14) and possibly the Choroh (15) in the Sasun Mountains (16) probably in the valley of the Kentrites (modern Bohtansu) (17), and possibly in the mountains to the west and southwest of Lake Urmia (18).

Within this half-circle, to the north of the Armenian Taurus Mountains, was located, probably already in the 2nd millennium B.C., the ethnic area of the Urartians, a people which spoke a language close to the Hurrian (19) and who possessed a culture in many respects close to that of the Hurrians (20). Therefore it is possible that these groups can be considered as belonging at that time to an ethnically homogeneous mass, even though they already constituted different tribes or groups of tribes. Those tribes of this ethnic mass which lived to the south of the Armenian Taurus Mountains and in the valley of the Upper Euphrates became Hurrians, while those who lived further to the northeast, i.e., on the upper reaches of the Upper Zab River, next to Lake Van, and further north in the direction of the Araxes Valley, became Urartians.

Further still to the north, in central and eastern Transcaucasia, we can assume the existence of a third group of tribes, possibly related to both the Hurrians and to the Urartians, which we shall conventionally designate as the "Etio" (21).

The tribes which left us the remarkable burials of Trialeti, Kirovakan, and Lchashen, dating from the 2nd millennium B.C., which point to strong cultural ties with the Hurrian world, belonged most probably to this group (22). However, the term Etio (Etiuni) appears for the first time only in Urartian texts dating from the 8th century B.C.

[8] The probability that in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. the Hurro- Urartian ethnic mass occupied all of the territory from the hilly plains of Northern Mesopotamia to central Transcaucasia is even more strengthened because in recent years it has been shown that linguistic ties can be traced between the Hurro-Urartian languages and the Northeastern Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestan) group, particularly, in vocabulary, with their Nakhian subgroup, whose representatives live today in the central regions of the Greater Caucasus, principally on its northern slopes (the Chechens, the Ingush, and, on the southern slopes, the Batsbians), as well as with their Lezghian subgroup in its southeast; and in grammar, with the Ando-Avarian subgroup in the northeast of the Caucasus. Thus, Hurro-Urartian also constitutes a subgroup of Nakh-Daghestan (23).

1.3.3. The Qutians and Others

The languages of the peoples and tribes which dwelt to the east of the Armenian Highland, from the region south of Lake Urmia to the Greater Caucasus, are known to us only from isolated proper names and toponyms of the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. (for the southernmost part of the territory), and also from the 1st millennium B.C. (for the entire territory). There are also a few borrowings into Sumerian apparently from Qutian. This was a linguistic area different from the Hurro-Urartian, although certain Hurrian groups may also have lived here. The southernmost of the non-Hurrian local tribes were known to the Babylonians and Assyrians under the name Qutians--inexactly called the Guti or Gutium. They may have belonged to the Lezghian subgroup of the Northeastern Caucasian languages, to which pretty certainly the Caucasian Albani also belonged. The latter dwelt in the 1st millennium B.C. in Northern (now Soviet) Azerbaijan, and the remnant of their language has apparently been preserved by the small ethnic group of the Udi (<*Quti?), who now inhabit three villages in Azerbaijan and Georgia (24).

1.3.4. The Kur-Araxes Archeological Culture

As is clear from the above, deductions regarding the probable extent of the Hurrian ethnos to the north of the Armenian Taurus in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C., and regarding the existence there, at the same time, of Urartian and "Etio" tribes related to the Hurrians, are based on circumstantial evidence. Archeological sources could be of some help if it were possible to tie, with any certainty, an archeological culture to a definite people. However the Hurrians who lived in Mesopotamia and Syria in historical times [9] (2nd millennium B.C.) shared a common civilization with the neighboring Semitic population, and it is very difficult to say precisely which

archeological culture should be considered as originally connected specifically with the Hurrians. Several particulars of clothing (pointed caps, bell-shaped skirts as the basic part of men's clothing, shoes with pointed, upturned toes) and of inventive art (fantastic animals, ornament in the form of wicker) can with some certainty be regarded as Hurrian, although in this also there was a great deal of cultural interpenetration between the peoples who lived there. As far as the earlier periods are concerned, there is no complete agreement among scholars with respect to whether the Hurrians of the 2nd millennium B.C. were newcomers to Mesopotamia and Syria from the north (or northeast) or whether they were aborigines to whom we can trace the neolithic and chalco-lithic cultures of the region, such as the cultures of Tell-Ralaf or Samarra (25). At the present time it seems more likely that the Hurrians were newcomers who came down to Syria, Mesopotamia, and the valleys of the tributaries of the Tigris during the course of the 3rd millennium B.C. (*4). B. B. Piotrovsky has suggested a possible connection of the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze burnished pottery of the so-called Kur-Araxes culture (or "Eastern Anatolian Early Bronze") (*5) with the Hurro-Urartian ethnos (26).

The "Kur-Araxes Early Bronze" culture, which was first discovered by E. A. Bayburtyan at the site of Shengavit near Erevan and defined as a particular culture by B. A. Kuftin, has, in recent years, attracted great attention in the USSR and abroad (27). At present the limits of its area of expansion have been defined as running in the northeast beyond the Greater Caucasus, into Chechnya and north Daghestan (here the Kur-Araxes sites seem to be later than some of those found in Transcaucasia). The eastern border of the area is for the time being considered as running along a line from central Daghestan (Kayakent) across the Nakhichevan Autonomous S.S.R (Kultepe) to the western bank of Lake Urmia (Goytepe). In addition, the area of the Kur-Araxes Early Bronze culture encompasses all of central Transcaucasia as well as the regions of Lake Van and the upper reaches of the Tigris (according to the data of C. Burney). The westernmost sites of this culture are apparently Karaz, near Karin-Erzurum on the Upper Euphrates, and some sites on the upper reaches of the Halys (Kizil-Irmak). It seems that the Kur-Araxes culture did not penetrate to Pontus and Colchis, but its area includes southwestern and eastern Georgia (Inner Kartli) (28) and Southern Ossetia, and perhaps even Northern Ossetia. Objects of this culture are also found in Asia Minor to the west of the Euphrates and the upper reaches of the Halys River.

[10]But it is of the greatest interest that a similar culture, called here Khirbet-Kerak, suddenly appears in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. in Syria (Amuq II and I, Hamath) and Palestine (Beth-Shean, Khirbet-Kerak, et al.) (*6). In Transcaucasia the Kur-Araxes culture, according to estimates based, inter alia, on radiocarbon analysis, dates from the 29th to the 21st centuries B.C.; we may consider Transcaucasia as the probable center of its expansion (29).

Thus the area of the Kur-Araxes culture closely corresponds to the area of the Hurro-Urartian language group as defined according to historico-linguistic data. At the same time it would be a simplification to merely identify these two areas. The Hurrian settlements of Northern Mesopotamia and the areas beyond the Tigris have not to date yielded any relics of the Kur-Araxes culture. On the other hand we have no grounds to assume that, for example, the forefathers of the Chechens or the northern Daghestanis were speakers of the Hurro-Urartian languages (in spite of the probable kinship between their languages and Hurro-Urartian), even though their territory was included into the Kur-Araxes area (in the broadest sense of the concept).

1.3.5. The Proto-Georgian Tribes and the Problem of Caucasian Linguistic Unity

There is still another important linguistic group known to us, which undoubtedly must have already existed in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. in the territory under study, although there seems to be no written documentation for it. The speakers of the Southern Caucasian languages (otherwise known as Kartvelian or Ibero-Georgian) may have had certain linguistic connections with the Hatti and with such tribes related to them that may have lived to the east of the Hatti. According to linguistic (glottochronological) data, the existence of a common Kartvelian language might be dated to the 3rd millennium B.C., or earlier, and the Proto-Kartvelian vocabulary points to the speakers of this language inhabiting a compact and apparently mountainous territory (30).

The question of the character, degree, and even of the very presence of kinship between the three groups of Caucasian languages (Abkhazo-Adyghian, Kartvelian, and Nakh-Daghestan) has not yet been solved, and scholars differ in opinion as to whether these three groups should be considered as separate families or as branches of a single family (*7). Of the Ancient Oriental languages, as we have seen, Hattic may belong to the Abkhazo-Adyghian group, while Hurro-Urartian is probably a part of the Nakh-Daghestan group. Both of these language groups have very little in common with the Kartvelian group except for borrowings, and also a few purely [11] structural or areal features. The existence of a Common Caucasian language, if any, must be dated to a time extremely far back in time: as early as in the 3d millennium B.C. Hurro-Urartian, Hattic, and the Proto-Kartvelian language (31), as well as several Nakh-Daghestan proto-languages (32), must not only have existed as completely separate linguistic entities, but they must have already borne very little similarity to each other, and must have even disintegrated. The former idea that the culture of the Kur-Araxes Early Bronze might be identified with the culture of a common Caucasian proto- nation seems to be a gross simplification. However there is no doubt that (at least in the northern parts of the area) the Kur- Araxes culture extended beyond the confines of the Hurro-Urartian linguistic area to include areas inhabited by speakers of other Caucasian languages, or at any rate, of some of these. Meanwhile the question of precisely which archeological cultures (or their subdivisions) are directly connected with tribes that spoke the Proto- Georgian language remains completely unclear.

The ethnic affiliation of the Maikop culture of the Northern Caucasus also remains unclear (*8).

1.3.6. The Indo-Europeans

The above-mentioned ethnic masses--speaking Hattic (probably Northwestern Caucasian), Kartvelian, Hurro-Urartian (related to Northeastern Caucasian), and Qutian (possibly Northeastern Caucasian)--were either aborigines or entered the territory under study certainly no later--probably much earlier--than the 3rd millennium B.C. But in Ancient Western Asia there were speakers of languages of another family which also advanced into this area in very ancient times, although somewhat after the others. The family of languages in question is the Indo-European, which was represented in Ancient Western Asia by languages of three branches: Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, and Thraco-Phrygian. About the latter we shall speak in more detail in chapters II and III; here we will touch on the first two.

1.3.6.1. The Ancient Anatolians (The Hittites and the Luwians)

Speakers of the languages of the Anatolian (Hittito-Luwian) branch appeared in the Near East earlier than the other Indo-Europeans (33). There is no doubt that the ancient Anatolian languages of Asia Minor were, historico-linguistically, a later stratum than, for example, Hattic (*9). Doubt can be raised only about the time of their appearance and the route of their penetration into Asia Minor. At [12] present it is indisputable that at the very beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. the Anatolian languages were already widespread in the peninsula. From what is known about the history of the Indo- European family of languages, it follows tHatthey could hardly have appeared here earlier than the 3rd millennium B.C. (34). With respect to the route of their penetration there are two hypotheses: according to one, the Anatolian languages were brought to Asia Minor from the Balkan peninsula; according to the other, they were brought from the northern coastal area of the Black Sea across the Caucasus. Arguments in favor of the eastern approach route of the ancient Anatolians seem to me rather unreliable (35). Also it is difficult to point out any archeological culture which the present data would allow us to connect with the ancient Anatolians on the supposition tHatthey came to Asia Minor from the northeast. But essential changes certainly appeared in archeological cultures of western Asia Minor in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. An important cultural center arose near the straits of the Dardanelles--Troy VI--on the ruins of less important settlements which existed there after the period when Troy II flourished at the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. Troy had ties, on the one hand, with the area of the black burnished pottery in the east and, on the other hand, with the Aegean world and the Balkans. The settlements at the sites of Alaca-Huyuk III and Alisar I in the center of Asia Minor were destroyed and there arose a new culture of "Cappadocian" pottery (36). These changes may speak of the appearance of new ethnic elements which we could identify with the ancient Anatolians, but they favor the idea of an appearance from the west rather than

one from the east (37). The question of whether the ancient Anatolians penetrated from the west or from the east must remain unresolved for the time being (*10). In any event in the 2nd millennium B.C. they were settled over the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, dividing themselves, with respect to linguistic affiliation, into two markedly differing subgroups.

The southern (38) (and presumably also the western) part of the peninsula and the Taurus Mountains were occupied by the tribes of the Luwians, whose dialects belonged to one subgroup of the Anatolian languages. To the same subgroup belonged the language of the Palaians, who dwelt in the central northern part of Asia Minor (later Paphlagonia) (39) .

To the other subgroup belonged first and foremost the Hittites. The term Hittite came into use among scholars at a period when the ethnic situation in Asia Minor in the 2nd millennium B.C. was still unknown. At present it is clear that the kingdom in which the Hittites ruled was called after its capital (the city *Hatti* or, in [13] Hittite, *Hattusas*; in the scholarly literature this kingdom is called "the Hittite Empire"). However this was not the name of its official language (apparently it was called "Nesite"); the term "Hittite" was originally the Biblical form of the terms "Hatti" and "Hattic," a name of the non-Indo-European language of the indigenous population of the city of Hatti. But the terms "Hittites" and "the Hittite language" as applied to the "Nesites" and the "Nesite language" have entered into scholarly usage too firmly to change them now. Therefore in order to distinguish the indigenous inhabitants of Hatti, who spoke a Caucasian language, from the people that ruled the Hittite Empire and spoke a northwestern Anatolian, Indo-European language, we call the first "Hatti" and the second "Hittites."

In order to understand what follows, it is important to bear in mind that what the neighboring peoples *subsequently* designated as "Hittites" (*Hatti, Hate*) are not a single specific ethnic unit, but the entire population of the former Hittite Empire, and, even more broadly, of all the regions between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, including Asia Minor, Syria, and even Palestine.

Biologically and culturally we cannot consider the Hittites simply as Indo-European newcomers. There is no doubt that the main mass of the people consisted of the Hatti (and other aborigines?), who had lost their former languages and who had begun to speak "Hittite" (Nesite) (40). The territory within the bend of the Halys (Kizil-Irmak) in the central part of Asia Minor, and directly to the south of the Halys to present day Kayseri (Caesarea Mazaca), should be considered as the habitat of the Hittites.

The dialects of the Anatolian tribes who dwelt to the west of the Hittites and Luwians in the 2nd millennium B.C. are unknown to us. However when the Anatolian languages were forced out of central Asia Minor late in the 2nd or early in the 1st millennium by the subsequent Phrygian wave of newcomers, they were preserved in the west, southwest, and in the south of the peninsula. The preserved languages, for which alphabetic writing systems were used, belong to the Luwian subgroup (except for the central western language, Lydian, which stands nearer to Hittite) (41).

1.3.6.2. The Speakers of a Language of the Indo-Iranian Branch

There is another language, which belongs to a completely different branch of the Indo-European linguistic family, quite distinct from Anatolian and having only indirect relationship to it. It is attested in Western Asia in the second and third quarters of the 2nd millennium B.C. (42) by a small number of proper names of men and [14] gods (including the names of the rulers of the Hurrian empire of Mitanni, about which we will speak below). The area of such names coincides with the area of the spreading of the Mitannian influence (Northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine). A few words of this language have also come down to us from the Hittite Empire in a treatise of Hurrian derivation on horse breeding (43). The name of this language is unknown (44). The language itself belonged to the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) branch of the Indo-European languages (45). It has been suggested that the art of massive application of war chariots was brought into Western Asia precisely with the speakers of this "Western Indo-Iranian language." However there is reason to believe that the Indo-Iranian tribes which came to Western Asia and which had developed horse breeding on a grand scale, harnessed their horses to light chariots invented in Western Asia itself. This would mean that the new military tactics based on the chariot were introduced after the arrival of the Indo-Iranians in the areas to the south and southeast of the

Caucasus. They left no other perceptible traces either in the culture of Western Asia or in the ethnic picture formed here in the 2nd millennium B.C. The question of the route of their penetration into this area is still an open matter (46).

1.3.7. The Akkadians and the Western Semites

In order to complete the ethnic picture for the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. it is necessary to make reference to the southern neighbors of the Armenian Highland. During the 2nd and 3rd millennia (as well as long before), Semitic tribes lived in the agricultural territories of the so-called "Fertile Crescent", on the Phoenician coast (in modern Lebanon), in the valleys of Syria, in the plains of Northern Mesopotamia (today they are also part of the Republic of Syria), and along the great rivers of the Euphrates and the Tigris, as well as in the steppes between these regions. To be more precise, the Western Semites (Canaanites and Amorites) (*11) lived in Phoenicia, Syria, in parts of Northern Mesopotamia, and everywhere in the steppe regions, while along the Euphrates and the Tigris lived the Eastern Semites, or Akkadians, whom we know better under the name of Assyrians and Babylonians, but who were not yet called by those names at that time (47). The southern part of the area of the Hurrians and the northern part of the area of the Semites overlapped; the groups lived side by side. These were the ethnic factors in the Armenian Highland and neighboring areas which were active in the historical events preceding the formation of the Armenian people.

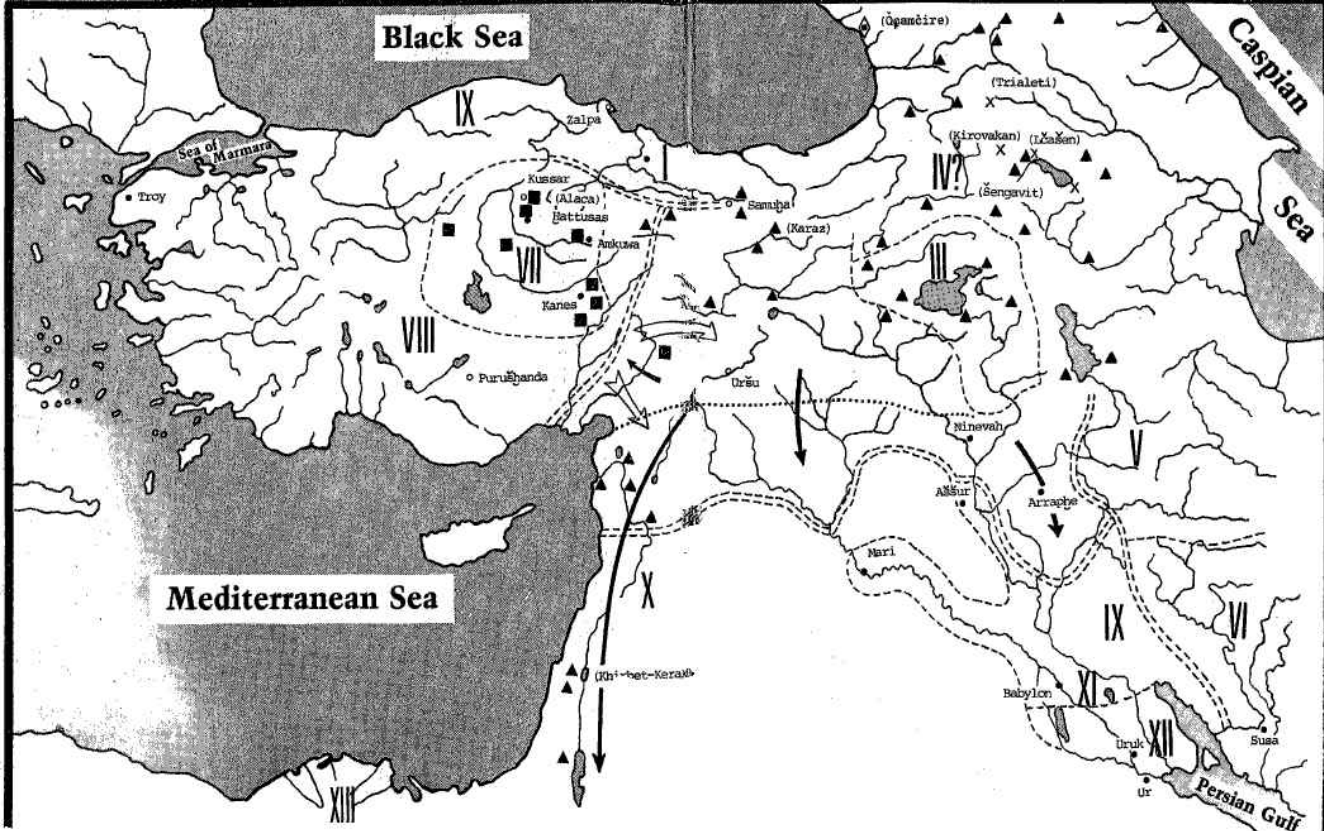
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Map 1. SCHEMATIC MAP OF WESTERN ASIA IN THE 3RD THROUGH THE BEGINNING OF THE 2ND MILLENNIA B.C. (ETHNIC SITUATION)

CITIES AND CULTURES

- Ancient cities
- Approximate location of an ancient city
- × Other archeological relics
- ▲ Relics of the culture of the Kur-Araxes Early Bronze Culture—3rd millennium B.C.
- Relics of the culture of Cappadocian ceramics—c. 2000 B.C.
- ◇ Relics of the culture of Öcamlîre
- ===== Approximate boundaries of the groups of languages at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.
- Approximate boundaries of the languages at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.
- The northern boundary of the mixed Hurro-Semitic population
- .-.-.- The northern boundary of the mixed Sumer-Semitic population (3rd millennium B.C.)

THE LANGUAGES

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Hurro-Urartian Languages | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I Kaska II Hurrian → direction of spreading of the Hurrians III Urartian ? IV "Eteo" ? |
| Anatolian Languages | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> V Quli, Lullubian, and others VI Elamite VII Hittite VIII Luwian → direction of spreading of the Luwians IX Palaic |
| Semitic Languages | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> X Western Semitic XI Akkadian XII Sumerian XIII Egyptian |

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. See Goetze (1957), 8 ff.

2. They are also called Proto-Hittites, which is inaccurate since their language is not an ancestor of Hittite.

3. See a summary of the literature in Kammenhuber (1969), 428-546; see also Schuster.

4. See Dunajevskaja, 73-77.

5. Melikišvili (1954), 73, 410.

6. Giorgadze (1961), 161 ff. The Kaska had been earlier connected with the Hatti by Forrer and P. A. Ušakov. For another point of view see von Schuler (1965), 100 ff.

7. Old Arm. *Gašk'*, Old Geo. *kašag*, *kašaki*, Byz.-Gk. *Casachia*, Old Russ. *Kosog* is the designation of the Adyghian Circassians; Greek *Apsilai*, Lat. *Absilae*, Old Arm. *Apšilk'*, Old Geo. *Ap'silet'i* is the designation of an ancient tribe and the area of its dwelling place in the territory of present-day Abkhazia, in the region of the river Kodori; cf. *a-ap's-wa*, *a-ap's-wa* — the name the Abkhazians give themselves. See Melikišvili (1954), 76; Eremyan (1963), 42, 101, 129.

8. Thus Melikišvili (1959), 169, suggests that under the common name of Kaska, the Hittite sources might have meant some Georgian tribes as well. The latter actually lived in Pontus in the 1st millennium B.C. It is not impossible that apart from the language of the Kaska, other languages entirely unknown to us and belonging either to the Abkhazo-Adyghian group, or per-

haps to the Georgian group, also existed here at some date in the past. Their speakers may have belonged to other tribes living to the east of the Kaska whose names are unknown to us. All of this, however, is purely speculative. Georgian tribes proper, speakers of the ancestor language of the modern Zan (or Megrelo-Č'an) idiom belonging to the "South Caucasian" linguistic group and now spoken in Pontus and eastern Colchis probably penetrated to this territory later than the Kaska. The names of local tribes attested in this region for the 1st millennium B.C. are completely different from the names of the Kaska "countries" (tribes) mentioned in the Hittite sources (with one exception; see chap. 2, n. 115).

9. Parrot and Nougayrol (1948), Diakonoff (1971). On the Hurrian language, see in detail Speiser (1941); Diakonoff (1971).

10. A roughly contemporary document in Hurrian comes from Nippur in Babylonia. Also the inscription of Arišen, king of Nawar (north of modern Baghdad, in the valley of the Diyala) dates from the same time as the inscription of Tišari. This inscription was compiled in Akkadian, but the Hurrian name of the king points to the advancement of the Hurrians far to the south as early as the 3d millennium B.C. Hurrian proper names are also found in some Sumerian documents from Lower

Mesopotamia dating from the later part of the 3d and early 2nd millennium the persons in question were prisoners of war or foreigners, and not a constant population.

11. The region of the Hurrian settlement was called *Su-bir*₄ in Sumerian, *Subartu* or *Šubartu* in Akkadian. The inhabitants of the region were designated as Subareans; in the sources from the 2d and the beginning of the 1st millennia B.C. this is a synonym for the Hurrians (the term "Hurrian" was the name they gave themselves and was generally not used by the Akkadians). It remains unclear whether the term "Subareans" was simply another name for the Hurrians from the very beginning, or whether it originally designated the pre-Hurrian population, or was applied to the inhabitants of that region without reference to their linguistic affinity. Later the term "Subartu" was still applied to that territory at a time when it no longer had a Hurrian population, while in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. it became a high-style synonym for the term "Assyria."

12. The Egyptian transcription of their name is traditionally read *kharu*, actually probably better *khurru*; in Hebrew they were called *ḥorī*. Note that there is no proof that Hurrian was actually spoken in Palestine in biblical times: persons designated as *ḥorī* in the Bible bear not Hurrian, but Hebrew names.

13. The unconditional identification of ancient toponyms with similar sounding contemporary or later toponyms is also an extremely widespread mistake. Such an identification is possible, but under two conditions: (1) if we know from independent data — e.g., from the

description of a military or travel route — that the ancient toponym was applied to a place roughly in the region of the later toponym, and (2) if the phonetic development of the language or languages of the region in question corresponds precisely to that particular sound change of the ancient toponym, which is attested in the later toponym. Otherwise, serious mistakes are inevitable. If, for example, the meaning of an ancient toponym is, let us say, "source," "border," or "hill," then by disregarding the first condition it would be useless to identify it with a later toponym that sounds likewise, since it is obvious that a "well, source" (e.g., Hurrian *Arinni*), or a "border" (e.g., Akk. *Mušru*, *Mišru*), or a "hill" (e.g., Akk. *tīlu*) may be met with in very different places of the language area under study. Or if we find, for instance, the name of the city *Mazaca*, *Mazbak'*, then it would be useless to compare it with the ancient ethnonyms *Muški*, if we cannot prove that in the language in question there was a phonetic change of *š* to *z* and *zh*, of *u* and zero to *a* and *ā*, else we are disregarding the second condition. Also, we should check whether the modern toponym being compared is not originally an appellative or a proper name, and whether or not such a connotation could be applicable to the ancient toponym as well. A town named "Sunrise" or "Lincoln" cannot be an originally Amerindian toponym! Another widespread mistake is the etymologization of a toponym (the name of a locality or a region) from an ethnonym (the name of a tribe or people). As a rule, a toponym of this type is possible only in regions of

a mixed ethnic area. Indeed the village "Russkoye" ("Russian") could, let us say, be found in Kazakhstan, but not in central Russia, where all the villages are Russian. On the other hand the formation of ethnonyms after the names of localities (e.g., after the center of a given area or state) is possible even though it is not frequent.

14. In the Assyrian sources dating from the end of the 2d or beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. the regions in the valley of the Upper Euphrates and near the upper reaches of the Tigris are designated "Subarean," which at this period means "Hurrian." The sources mention here Hurrian names of rulers and places.

15. The name of the tribe which lived here, in the Assyrian variant (*Daiene*) as well as in the Urartian (*Diauebe*) and Greek (*Taochoi*) has the Hurro-Urartian ending *-ene*, *-be*. The Greek transcription, which certainly did not date from the Urartian period, probably actually reproduces the native name: the development of initial *d* > *t* is characteristic of Hurrian. It is true that Hurrian ethnonyms may have been current in this region even after the local population lost the Hurrian language. The possibility that the Taochi tribe was Georgianized (more precisely, Č'anized) in the course of time cannot be ruled out. And subsequently, this territory was a place of intensive Armeno-Č'an contacts. (The Č'an are a people speaking a Georgian language and living in Pontus in north-western Asia Minor.)

16. Šubria is a region situated in the Sasun Mountains, north of the sources of the Tigris. Its ancient name is probably connected with

the Subaro-Hurrian ethnonym. The kings and other persons in Šubria still had Hurrian names in the 9th, 8th, and 7th centuries B.C.

17. The proper names from Hubuškia, the country apparently situated in this valley (also called Nairi in the narrow sense of the word) are unintelligible and scant. In the town of Guzana (modern Tell-Halaf) in Northern Mesopotamia, non-Semitic names are found as late as the 8th-7th centuries B.C., but they are apparently not Hurrian.

18. This area, according to the data of the Greek authors, was populated at least partially by the Carduchi (the name seems to be Hurrian). Lake Urmia bore the name Matiane or Mantiana, which is connected with the ethnonym of the Matieni. This name, in turn, is apparently to be identified with the Hurrian Mitanni (originally Mateni). According to Herodotus, the Matieni, whom he counts as one of the four main ethnic groups of the Armenian Highland for the time around 500 B.C. (III, 93-94), lived near the upper reaches of the Halys River (I, 72; V, 49), the Araxes River (I, 202), and one of the tributaries of the Tigris River (I, 190; V, 52). Since the remaining three groups are identifiable as Urartians (the *Alarodii*), Proto-Armenians (the *Armenii*), and Proto-Georgians (the *Saspires*), then obviously the *Matieni* can only be the Hurrians.

19. About these languages, see Melikišvili (1960); Diakonoff (1961b), 369 ff. Also Diakonoff (1967b); idem (1971).

20. This refers mainly to the period of Urartian history before the 8th century B.C.

21. As Melikišvili points out (1954), 108-10, the place names of

this region are similar to those of central Urartu. At the same time the suffix *-iu* (actually the more probable pronunciation is *-io*) was characteristic of geographical names only here, but not (with very few exceptions) of either the Hurrian or the Urartian areas. The Urartian sources often give the tribes of the region the general name of *Etiune* or *Etiube* (*-be* is the Urartian possessive ending, also denoting group membership, much like the English *-ish* and *-ian*). Melikišvili very cautiously poses the question about the possibility of comparing the Etio suffix *-iu*, referred to above (read by him as *-iv*), with the Georgian suffix of the plural, *-eb* (1954, 116; it certainly has no relation to the Elamite plural morph *-pe*, *-be*). The comparison of the Etio with *Uti* of the classical and Armenian authors who lived in present-day Soviet Azerbaijan, and these again with the contemporary ethnic group of the Udi, who live on the border between Azerbaijan and Georgia, is based only on a certain similarity of the names and cannot be considered as evidence.

22. Kuftin, 78 ff.; Mnatsakanyan (1957), 146 ff.; cf. Piotrovsky (1963), 11.

23. Djahukyan (1963) advances a hypothesis on the kinship of Urartian with Indo-European. He does not postulate that Urartian belongs directly to the Indo-European family, but rather thinks of a more remote kinship between this language and the ancestor of the Indo-European languages—the Proto-Indo-European language. However Djahukyan's hypothesis is not very convincing: the Urartian material which he handled requires revision in the light of new research, and he

shows some lack of caution in his interpretations and conclusions. A certain percentage of words common to Urartian and Indo-European has been pointed out by Djahukyan with some degree of probability. To this belong such words as *at-* ("to devour, to destroy"), *burgana-* ("fortress"), *gunuše* ("battle"), etc. All three words may be Northwest-ern Caucasian, or may be explained by prehistoric contacts between the Urartians and the speakers of an Anatolian Indo-European language, and not necessarily by kinship between the Urartian and the Indo-European languages as a whole. Neither in grammatical structure nor in the phonetic manifestation of the grammatical morphs does Urartian display a similarity to Proto-Indo-European. It should be noted that a certain percentage of the lexicon attesting prehistoric contacts with the Indo-European has also been found in the Kartvelian languages.

24. See Šanidze (1963), 507-18. The Lullubians, Kassites, and Elamites, who lived south of the Qutī, belonged, it seems, to another language family, viz., to the Dravidian. See also n. *19 below.

25. Some scholars have connected the culture of Tell-Halaf with the supposed Proto-Hurrian population to which, according to this point of view, the group called "Subareans" originally belonged. See also n. *20 below.

26. Piotrovsky (1963), 10.

27. For a survey of the problem and a formulation of the question see Munčaeu; Piotrovsky (1962); Kušnareva and Čubinišvili, 26-32; Martirosjan. Perhaps the Kur-Araxes cultural area should now be divided into several more or less independent archeological cul-

tures. This is particularly true as the more northern regions.

28. E.g., the site of Amiranis-góra.

29. One opinion connects the black burnished pottery of Kur-Araxes and the Khirbet-Kerak cultures not with the Hurrians, but with the Hatti. However we do not have evidence of the Hatti ever having lived as far to the south as Syria and Palestine. On the other hand it is well known that the Hurrians did. Certainly, later Hebrew sources (1st millennium B.C.) do speak about "Hittites" as though they were one of the elements of the ancient pre-Hebrew population of Palestine, but considering the manifold meanings of this term, it is impossible to connect these "Hittites" with any specific ethnic group in Asia Minor. Cf. Gurney (1954), 59 ff. The original meaning of the term "Hatti" was only "the (aboriginal) inhabitants of the city of Hatti." It is doubtful whether the entire ethnos which we call "Hattic" ever used this denomination themselves.

30. On the probability of the Kartvelian languages being autochthonous, see Melikišvili (1959), 13; Klimov (1962), 37. See also n. *21 below.

31. According to the glotto-chronological data of Klimov, the disintegration of the Common Kartvelian language presumably dates from the 19th century B.C. (the branching off of the Svan language), which indicates a great compactness of the Proto-Georgian tribes in the 3d to the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. The branching off of the western Georgian dialects (Zan, or Megrelo-Č'an) from the eastern dialects (Kartvelian proper, or Georgian), according to the same author, dates from

the 8th century B.C. This may be connected with the advance of the western Proto-Georgian (Č'an) tribes to Colchis and Pontus, earlier occupied by the Hatti, the Kaska, and (other?) tribes of the Abkhazo-Adyghian language group. There are also other grounds to date this advance to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. See Klimov (1959), 120; Melikišvili (1959), 100.

32. Bokarev, 18.

33. On the Anatolian (Hittito-Luwian) languages, see Ivanov (1963), 8 ff. See also n. *22 below.

34. Kammenhuber (1961b), 33.

35. Gamkrelidze (1957), 35-54; Sommer (1947). The arguments are based upon the facts of the Hittites' borrowing of the Babylonian variety of cuneiform and from various particulars of the administration and culture of Babylonian derivation. The Babylonian system of divination serves as an example. Obviously all this could not be borrowed by migrating tribes, but only when the tribes had completely settled and had risen in their development to the level of state. Some geographical considerations seem relevant. One should remember that migrations do not happen by moving the pencil across the map. E.g., there are three conceivable routes for the advance of a tribal mass across the Caucasus: (1) by the coast of the Black Sea, (2) through a pass in the Greater Caucasus, most likely the Darial Pass, and (3) through Daghestan along the Caspian Sea. It is obvious that the tribes moving through the Caucasus could not have been agriculturists, since mass resettlings at great distances through areas unsuitable for agriculture are uncharacteristic for such groups. The Indo-European tribes of the

northern coast of the Black Sea at the end of the 3d millennium B.C. could hardly have been hunters and food-gatherers either; according to linguistic data, they had already passed this stage long before the final period of the Proto-Indo-European language unity. Thus the migrating tribes could only have been shepherds and/or cattle-breeders, with auxiliary agriculture. In that case, however, the route along the coast of the Black Sea is excluded. In those times, and even much later, all the slopes of the mountains right down to the narrow strip of shore, stony and tricky to walk on, were covered by a dense subtropical forest. It is also hard to imagine the passing of a great mass of cattle-herders through the Darial Pass. Mass riding was not yet known, and although later fast-moving detachments of warriors on horseback could pass through here, the pass was still impracticable for baggage trains with cows, sheep, and primitive carts for women and children. Furthermore the passes of the Caucasus could easily have been defended by the mountaineers. The route along the Caspian Sea is another matter, with its wide belt of hilly steppes along the shore. However cattle-herders traveling by this route could hardly end up in Asia Minor. It surely would be more natural for them to enter Azerbaijan or Iran, itself not a very easy task either, because high mountain ranges would have to be passed again. But there are no traces of a sojourn of speakers of Anatolian languages east of the Euphrates, let alone in the Armenian Highland. A Hittite ritual text is cited in favor of the eastern derivation of the Anatolians. According to it, the Sun god

comes out of the sea; from this it is concluded that the Hittites once lived on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. But it could be concluded with just as much plausibility, or more, that this was the western shore of the Black Sea.

36. Goetze (1957), 34 ff., 41 ff. However Gamkrelidze (1957), 49-54, is inclined to date the appearance of the speakers of the Anatolian languages in Asia Minor at an earlier time.

37. In favor of the western route of penetration of the Anatolian languages into Asia Minor is the fact that the Carian language belonged to this group of languages, as has been shown by Ševoroškin (1965), 286 ff.; idem (1964). The Graeco-Roman tradition considered the Carians to be newcomers from the islands of the Aegean Sea.

38. The precise localization of the Luwian tribes greatly depends on the identification of one of the most important Luwian countries — Arzawa, a powerful kingdom or union of kingdoms which often fought with the Hittite Empire (according to Forrer, the south and southeast part of the peninsula; according to Goetze, the southwest-central part of it; according to O. R. Gurney and J. Garstang, the western part). The latter identification is, generally speaking, the most plausible. Against it is the fact that the Lydian language, spoken here in the 1st millennium, apparently belonged to the Hittite subgroup of Anatolian languages and not to the Luwian one. In the 2d millennium Luwian proper names are traceable from Lycia and towards the east as far as the valleys of the Upper Euphrates.

39. The localization of the country of Pala in far northern Asia Mi-

nor — in Paphlagonia (Goetze) — is correct. It is based on the obvious identity of the Hittite toponyms Pala and Tumanna (always coupled thus) with Strabo's *Bla-ene* and *Doman-itis*, two valleys in Paphlagonia (XII, 562). Kammenhuber and Laroche have shown that in the Palaic language there are strong traces of a Hattic substratum but no evidence of any Hurrian influence, which would be inevitable in case of a more eastern localization, as e.g., that advocated by Giorgadze (1960b), 74-84. The author bases his conclusion on mentions of Pala and Tumanna together with certain more eastern toponyms. But there is no proof that the toponyms in question are listed in a geographical order. Moreover Giorgadze has himself shown conclusively that Pala and Tumanna lay in a mountainous country on the farther side of the river Halys (from the point of view of the Hittites), i.e., actually in Paphlagonia. However inasmuch as the Palaian cults were connected with silver mining, it is possible that the territory of the Palaians extended originally to the upper reaches of the Lycus and the Çoroh, where silver ore existed. This would mean that they had been ousted from the easternmost parts of their area by the Kaska about 1500 B.C.

40. Although the basic vocabulary and grammar of Hittite is undoubtedly Indo-European, the Hattic language nevertheless had a great deal of influence on it, especially in the vocabulary and perhaps in phonetics.

41. These were the language of the *Lydians* in the center of the western part of the peninsula (Hittite subgroup), the languages of the

Carians between the Lydians and the Lycians (subgroup uncertain, probably Luwian), the language of the *Lycians* in the southwest (Luwian), the languages of the *Sideti*, the *Cilicians*, etc., "*Hieroglyphic Luwian*," and other dialects of Luwian in the southeastern part of the peninsula and in northern Syria. *Hittite* proper was possibly extinct as a living language already before the fall of the Hittite Empire. *Palaic* may have survived in Paphlagonia.

42. It seems to have appeared in the highlands of Iran in the first quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C. By the time the Mitannian state had formed in Northern Mesopotamia (17th-16th century B.C.), the Indo-Iranian language was no more alive among the Mitannian population, although Indo-Iranian proper names were still used among the Hurrian aristocracy. See Kammenhuber (1961a), 16, 17.

43. Ibid. The work contains an analysis of the data on the Indo-Iranians in the Near East (pp. 15-21). See also n. *23 below.

44. Forrer suggested the possibility of identifying its speakers with the "tribes of Manda" (*Ummān-Manda*), which the Akkadian and Hittite texts refer to beginning from an early period. No compelling proofs of the identification have been presented. See Forrer (1919). In the 1st millennium B.C. *Ummān-Manda* was a high-style term for the Cimmerians, Scythians, Medes, and the like.

45. It has been classified either as the dialect of the common Indo-Iranian language before its division into the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian groups, or as belonging to the Indo-Aryan group. It has also been suggested that this so-called "Meso-

potamian-Aryan" or "Western Indo-Aryan" language belonged to a special subgroup, different from both the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan, but there is very little data to support this hypothesis. It is even possible that it was the dialect of the future Iranian tribes at a date before the characteristic Iranian features had developed. The tribes could have separated from the common stock before the linguistic changes took place. (See also n. *1 to chap. 3 below).

46. The route through the Caucasus out of the ancient homeland of the Indo-Europeans in Eastern Europe is in this case possible, but only if the route in question led through Daghestan, and if the number of "Western Indo-Iranians" was not large. Much more probable, however, is the route through Central Asia, along the route of the "Aryan" tribes on their advance into Eastern Iran and India. Kammenhuber (1961a), 17, offers convincing arguments in favor of the fact that the Indo-Iranian tribes in question did not get any further than the highlands of Iran and Armenia, and that it was not they who penetrated into Mesopotamia but only a group of Hurrians which had incorporated an Indo-European element while they were still in the mountains.

47. At that time the name "Assyrians" (*Aššuráiu*) applied only to the natives of the city of Aššur on the Tigris, the nucleus of future Assyria, while "Babylonians" was the name of the inhabitants of the city of Babylon, which became the capital of Lower Mesopotamia for the first time in the 18th century B.C.

48. Between the 9th and the 5th millennia B.C. primitive agriculture

emerged in some regions of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, as well as in the south of the Armenian Highland, in the Iranian Highland including the mountains east of the Tigris, and in the southern region of Turkmenistan. In the 7th-6th millennia agriculture was introduced in the Balkans, and in the 5th-4th millennia in the Armenian Highland and in Transcaucasia. During the latter period also another type of agriculture began developing in the valleys of the Euphrates and Nile, as well as Elam, based on irrigating the fields with the waters of the river floods, which turned out to be the most productive.

49. It does not look likely that the "colonies" of the Akkadians (Assyrians) arose in Asia Minor earlier than 2000 B.C., although 300 years earlier the kings of Akkad made raids into the "Silver Mountains" (the Cilician Taurus). As Jankowska suggests, the epic connecting the Assyrian colonies with the Akkadian rulers — Sargon the Ancient and Narām-Suen — are the result of a confused reinterpretation of the historical tradition. This confusion led to an association of the names of these famed ancient heroes with events of the time of the two Assyrian rulers of the 2d millennium B.C. who happened to be their namesakes.

50. At present scholars accept several different estimates of the chronological framework (chronological systems) for the period from the 3d through the first half of the 2d millennia B.C. The beginning of the rule of King Hammurapi in Babylon is taken as a starting point (Goetze: 1850 B.C.; S. Smith: 1792 B.C.; W. F. Albright: 1732 B.C.) and

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

*1. Vyacheslav Vs. Ivanov has now established very plausible regular correspondences between Hattic and Northwestern (partly also the Northeastern) Caucasian languages, in phonetics, in morphology, and in the vocabulary. Hattic is thus definitely a Northwestern Caucasian language (nearer to Adyghian than to Abkhazian).

*2. The archeology of Colchis has now been studied in more detail although still insufficiently. However it is clear that the Kur-Araxes culture did not reach there.

*3. It is not improbable that a population linguistically akin to the Hurro-Urartian language group may have formed the substratum for the Hittito-Luwians west of the Cilician Taurus and the Halys bend right down to the Aegean Sea, and that a similar population may have existed on the island of Cyprus (ancient Alasia). The language of the Etruscans, traditionally thought to have arrived in Italy from Asia Minor, is, typologically, strikingly similar to Hurro-Urartian in its grammar (although not in the vocabulary). The same is true of a language on the island of Lemnos in the Aegean.

*4. Note that in Hurrian, *hurri* apparently means "dawn, sunrise; the East" (as opposed to *šeri* "evening, sunset, West?"). This may point to the direction from which the Hurrians arrived in Syria and Mesopotamia, and to the Upper Euphrates valley.

*5. The identification of the Khirbet-Kerak and the Kur-Araxes cultures has lately been disclaimed.

*6. At present the 3d millennium archeological culture of the Armenian Highland (Eastern Anatolia) is classified as "Early Bronze" instead of "Chalcolithic." This term is controversial, since real bronze (copper plus tin) did not prevail even in Asia Minor before "Middle Bronze I."

*7. At present it seems that the Abkhazo-Adyghian (Northwestern Caucasian) language group, the Nakh-Daghestan (Northeastern Caucasian) language group (or groups), and the Hurro-Urartian language group did constitute a single linguistic family, viz., the Caucasian, divided into two (or three, or more) branches at a very early period. The Kartvelian ("Southern Caucasian") group, in spite of numerous areal (i.e., secondary) sim-

ilarities in structure and vocabulary, apparently does not belong to the Caucasian family. It may be collaterally related to Proto-Indo-European. (These are the author's conclusions from the unpublished research work done by S. A. Starostin, on the one hand, and by Ivanov and Gamkrelidze, v. n. *9, on the other).

*8. Recent excavations in Eastern Georgia have revealed impressive "royal" burials attesting the existence of a highly developed culture already in the 3d millennium B.C. It was probably connected with a Proto-Georgian ethnos. The culture in question may have links with Maikop, as well as with other cultures north of the Caucasus, besides having features linking it with the contemporary cultures in the Near East, and with the later culture of Trialeti and Kirovakan.

*9. Recently a hypothesis has been put forward by Ivanov and Gamkrelidze (1980/81), according to which all Indo-European-speakers have wandered out from the territory under study in the present book (the date of their supposed habitation there being the 6th-4th millennia B.C.). This hypothesis in its present form seems to me improbable. Cf. the criticism published in VDI, 1982, 3-4. I would like to point out here only the following important argument against this hypothesis: while there are numerous traces of a Hattic substratum in Hittite, and of a Hurro-Urartian substratum in Armenian, there are no traces of a Hittite substratum in Hattic, nor of an Armenian or other Indo-European substratum in Hurro-Urartian.

*10. Note that the cremation rite so characteristic of the speakers of Indo-European languages seems to have been introduced into Asia Mi-

nor from the Balkans during the third millennium B.C., and in Transcaucasia from Asia Minor.

*11. Recently a new Semitic language which was spoken in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia during the 3d millennium B.C., conventionally named Eblaite, was discovered. In my opinion this was an early form of Western Semitic, although such an authority as I. J. Gelb prefers to classify Eblaite with Akkadian as Eastern Semitic.

*12. See n. *6 above.

*13. At present the most reliable data on animal husbandry, agriculture, and forestation in Eastern Anatolia and the Armenian Highland of the 3d-2d millennium B.C. can be found in Van Loon (1975), with contributions by J. Boessneck and A. van den Driesch on paleozoology, and by W. van Zeist and J.A.H. Bakker-Heeres on paleobotany. The book is based on a careful investigation of an important archeological site in the lower part of the Arsanias (Muratsu) valley, not far from the confluence of the Muratsu with the Euphrates. The authors show that in what we term the Kur-Araxes period there were about 250 sheep and goats and about 25 pigs to every 100 cattle. The proportion changed to about 150 sheep and goats and about 27 pigs to 100 cattle in the Middle Bronze II (Hittite Old Kingdom), and to about 200 sheep and about 35-40 pigs to 100 cattle in the period of the Hittite New Kingdom. However in absolute numbers the herd had grown perhaps tenfold over what it had been in the Kur-Araxes period. As to the horse and the donkey, the proportion was 0:100 in the Kur-Araxes period, about 2:100 in the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and 4:100 in the New Kingdom

The Chronology of the Caucasus during the Early Metal Age: Observations from Central Trans-Caucasus

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[p. 539] The first and second "radiocarbon revolutions" have resulted in the separation of ancient world chronology. On the one hand, the northern periphery of the Near East and Europe is reliant on radiocarbon dates; that is, radiocarbon dates form the basis of absolute time-scales of the Neolithic to Early Metal Age after the archaeological sequence has been established. On the other is the Near East, with approximate historical chronologies. The gulf between these two regions can be likened to a "geological gap"--a "fault line" (1). In addition to the improvement in the geo-chronological methodology, there needs to be intensive research in the field of comparative chronology either side of the above-mentioned gap, and, as much as is possible, to bridge that gap--an urgent task of modern archaeological researches.

This "fault line" that tears Europe from the Near East is focused on the Balkan Peninsula and in Caucasia. Chronological problems of these regions have paramount importance in the foundation of a general Near Eastern - east European chronological system. In such a system, Caucasia forms an important link in the Old World's chronological chain. Yet the dating of Caucasian evidence is, in many cases, made possible through comparative materials from well-dated Near Eastern strata and through imported objects from well-dated Syro-Mesopotamian contexts. The resulting chronological framework reached, underpins the comparative and absolute chronologies of the Caucasian regions in the Early Metal Age.

Before Caucasian chronological data can be included in a common Near Eastern - east European chronological system, a "pan-Caucasian" chronological scale needs to be devised. In order to construct this scale, it is necessary to address each [p. 540] of the cultural-geographical regions of Caucasia. We have seven such regions in Caucasia:

1. Western Trans-Caucasia (actually western Georgia)
2. South-western Trans-Caucasia (north-easternmost part of Turkey)
3. Central Trans-Caucasia (eastern Georgia)
4. Southern Trans-Caucasia (Armenia)
5. Eastern Trans-Caucasia (Azerbaijan)
6. North-western Caucasia
7. North-eastern Caucasia

The last two areas are divided by the middle flow of the Terek River.

Between all these areas transitional and/or contact zones can be distinguished. Central Trans-Caucasia plays a key role as it is meeting point of all other regions and thus it offers a common ground for the creation of the all-Caucasian chronological system.

The spatial dimension of the term Trans-Caucasia (or South Caucasasia) needs reconsideration after the fall of the Soviet system that functioned as a "iron curtain." Natural boundaries are located between the Great Caucasian range in the north and the Black and Caspian Seas towards the west and the east. The southern boundary is confined by the flow of the Araxes River. The upper reaches of it form a boundary between Trans-Caucasia and Anatolia, going west from the same river along the Palandöken and Kop ranges; and further to the north, the border runs along the middle and lower flow of the Çoruh River. We can consider the term Turkish Trans-Caucasia used in the latest archaeological literature as the manifestation of such a widening interpretation of Trans-Caucasia, for example, in connection with Sos Höyük (2), an archaeological site situated near the uppermost flows of the Araxes and the Euphrates. The excavations at Sos Höyük by the team from the University of Melbourne led by A. and C. Sagona has provided a missing link in the chain of the comparative chronology of the Trans-Caucasian-east Anatolian area (3).

Early Farming Cultures

Central Trans-Caucasia

The mainly sixth millennium chronology of the early farming culture of Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe in central Trans-Caucasia is based on calibrated radiocarbon evidence. These calibrated dates partially solve the discrepancy between the Near Eastern archaeological parallels of this culture, dated to the seventh-sixth millennia, and the uncalibrated radiocarbon dates of the Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture, which were largely [p. 541] placed in the fifth millennium. We bear in mind the assumption about the special closeness of this culture in all stages of its existence with the Hassuna culture on the one hand and with the Umm Dabaghiah-Tell Sotto culture of the pre-Halafian period on the other.

It seems that the decorations of the Umm-Dabaghiah pottery are not as analogous to the ornaments of the Arukhlo/Nakhiduri I (4), when compared to the pottery of an earlier site, Imiris Gora (5). Some Georgian archaeologists argue that similarities can also be observed between the small figurines of the upper levels of Khramis Didi Gora--a site which belongs to the final stage of the Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture--and similar figurines that were discovered in the layers of the Hassuna, Samara and Halaf cultures (6). All of these Mesopotamian sites are dated mainly to the sixth millennium. The Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture, both from the perspective of typological and chronological data, can be compared with them; that all were at the same stage of development is not doubted.

Although metal artifacts of the Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture originate from the building layers of its later stage, one can consider this culture as predominantly Early Chalcolithic (Eneolithic) because of other, more characteristic traits. These traits include the degradation of its flint industry and impoverishment of stone tool sets, as well as a lack of certain categories of artifacts, e.g. geometrical microliths as a mass series from its layers known up till now as the lowest (7).

A following culture displays a certain similarity with the preceding and subsequent cultures, that is between the Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe period and the earliest materials of the Kura-Araxes culture. A period that is tentatively referred to here as the Middle Chalcolithic Age. It is represented at Sioni, Tsopi, Delisi, the lowest level of Berikldeebi, sites of the Aragvi ravine, the Alazani valley, etc.

South Trans-Caucasia

The south Trans-Caucasian early farming sites (e.g. Kül Tepe, Teghut, etc.), which mainly belong to a time rather later than the Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture, discussed above, are more or less contemporary with the central Trans-Caucasian Middle Chalcolithic or the so-called "Sioni" culture.

The stratigraphy of Dalma Tepe in the Solduz valley of north-west Iran is useful for establishing the comparative chronology of Trans-Caucasian sites. We must emphasise the fact that of all the Chalcolithic layers at Kül Tepe I

(spanning from 12.18 m to [p. 542] 21.10 m in depth), it was in the lower levels (16.85-20.84 m) that Halafian imports and the sherds of the Dalma painted ware were found. The Dalma culture was contemporary with Ubaid 3 (8), and the lower levels of Kül Tepe I can also be dated to that period. This corresponded to the end of the Halaf culture dated to the beginning of the fifth millennium, which slightly overlapped with the Early Northern Ubaid. We can consider this date as a terminus post quem for the later layers of Kül Tepe I as well as for the Middle Chalcolithic period of Trans-Caucasia, and, at the same time, as a terminus ante quem for the Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture or the Early Chalcolithic.

Just as the painted pottery, typical of the lower levels of Dalma Tepe, provides a chronological link to Mil-Karabagh sites and Kül Tepe I, so too, do the Impressed Wares, characteristic of Late Dalma, found in Ilanly Tepe and the sites of Misharchai and Guru Dere I in the steppe of Mughan, Azerbaijan (9). Furthermore, Late Dalma Impressed Ware can be keyed into the Early Siahbid phase of the Kermanshah region although it is not represented in the Late Siahbid deposits (10). Dalma Impressed Ware sherds are found at the Ubaid sites of Abada and Kheit Qasim in the Hamrin and at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk. Significantly, sherds characteristic of Tepe Gawra XVI (or of the Ubaid 3 period) are represented at Dalma Tepe (11). In turn, the layers of Dalma Tepe and contemporary Trans-Caucasian sites containing Early and Late Dalma Ware can be dated to the first half and middle of the fifth millennium B.C.

Some archaeologists argue that at that time new ethno-cultural elements--the tribes of the Ubaid culture--spread to Caucasia (12). But here we recall H. Nissen's discussion connecting the wide distribution of Ubaid-like pottery with the introduction of the tournette or "slow-wheel" used in the manufacture of pottery (13). We must also consider the possibility of a connection between the high firing of Ubaid pottery and the smelting procedure of copper ore, only attainable at temperatures in excess of 1100° (14).

At the same time, it seems possible that the Tepe Gawra XI A - Amuq F - cultural complex had indirect ties with the Trans-Caucasian Middle Chalcolithic, particularly with the materials of its later stage. For example, some similarities can be observed between the pottery and figurines of Tepe Gawra XI A and Teghut (in the Ararat valley, Armenia). In regards to architecture, if rectangular houses were characteristic of Tepe Gawra XII, in the subsequent level, Gawra XI A, round houses (15), [p. 543] appeared, that are typical of the early farming communities of Trans-Caucasia. It is interesting that the people of Tepe Gawra XII and XI A used various types of copper ores, however, copper of the later level differs in the high content of arsenic (16).

The Kura-Araxes Culture

An extremely poor metal inventory has been documented for the early phase of the Kura-Araxes culture. This period corresponds to the Didube-Kiketi and the Sioni (Iori River valley)-Gremi (Alazani River valley) groups and is referred to as the Late Chalcolithic period of central Trans-Caucasia.

In central Trans-Caucasia, the Kura-Araxes culture is dated mainly to the fourth to first quarter of the third millennium. In broad terms, the period represents the Late Chalcolithic and first phase of the Early Bronze Age. The best known sites with fixed stratigraphy of the Kura-Araxes culture of central Trans-Caucasia are Khizanaant Gora, Kvatskhelebi (near Kareli) and Tsikhia Gora (near Kaspi) in the central and Amiranis Gora (Akhalsikhe) in the south-western parts of the region.

It is a widespread view that the metal from the Caucasian ore deposits together with certain types of metal artifacts were distributed to many regions of the Ancient World from the early stages of metallurgical production. Technological impulses coming primarily from northern Caucasian metallurgical centres were distributed from the river Volga to the Dniepr and even as far as the Carpathian mountains (17). Trans-Caucasian metal products were widely distributed to the south throughout Anatolia and Syria-Palestine. So much so, that any research on Anatolian metallurgy should integrate the evidence of copper ore and arsenic deposits of the Caucasian region (18). Caucasian metallic ores and metallurgical traditions appear in the Near East corresponding to the arrival of the Trans-Caucasian population bearing the Kura-Araxes cultural traditions (19).

Migration routes from their Trans-Caucasian homeland took them south, west, south-west and south-east, into southern Palestine, central Anatolia and central Iran.

It is quite probable that the lure of the economical importance of Arslantepe VI A (Malatya) as well as Late Uruk enclaves and outposts, such as Hassek Höyük 5, Habuba Kabira-Tell Qanas, Jebel Aruda and Tepecik 3, attracted the attention of these northern invaders, the bearers of the Kura-Araxes culture, who ultimately brought about the violent destruction of these sites. The same fate befell the Late Uruk colony in Godin Tepe V, in central Iran. Their presence in the Hamadan valley severed commercial [p. 544] routes to the east. After a short interval, Godin IV emerged with characteristic Kura-Araxes material culture of the Yanik Tepe I type (20).

Elsewhere in the northern part of the Near East, in the second half of the fourth millennium, the same sequence of events took place. Late Uruk period sites were destroyed by Kura-Araxes people who introduced their own red-black, hand-made and burnished pottery. They brought with them a copper metallurgy with high-arsenic content and metal artifacts peculiar to them. "Wattle and daub" houses and a distinctive type of hearths are hallmarks of their presence. The intrusive Kura-Araxes culture is evident at Arslantepe VI B, where they caused an interruption to the stratigraphic sequence. Subsequently, they were followed by a locally developed, Reserved-Slip pottery horizon (21).

Copper artifacts with a high arsenical content, cast in open and two-piece moulds, appeared in the Elazig region of Turkey when Kura-Araxes ("Early Transcaucasian") groups became culturally dominant there at the beginning of Early Bronze Age (22). Besides the Red-Black Ware of the east Anatolian type, the Kura-Araxes presence can be detected through the architectural remains in the Arslantepe VI B (subsequent to the Arslantepe VI A). Houses had a double line of post-holes, which is typical of Kura-Araxes buildings (23). It is difficult to refute that the appearance of the Arslantepe VI B1 village, built upon the razed ruins of Arslantepe VI A dwellings, epitomizes the recession of the Late Uruk cultures while coinciding with the expansion of the Trans-Caucasian groups (24). Based on this evidence, we can date the appearance of Trans-Caucasian population in the Malatya-Elazig area to the Late Uruk period. What remains unclear is whether the first vestiges of the Kura-Araxes culture in the territories south of the Taurus range were also contemporary with the Late Uruk period.

Kurban Höyük is located in the Karababa basin, north-west of Urfa and on the left bank of the Euphrates. Here, in the Late Chalcolithic (Period VI), which corresponds to Tell Judeidah (Amuq) Phases F-F/G, three fragments of the Kura-Araxes pottery ("Karaz Ware") were discovered. They are all diagnostic and consist of a dense brownish clay with varying amounts of fine grit and chaff temper. One of them is uniformly black, but two have bichrome surfaces, with orange interior and black exterior (25). All resemble Kura-Araxes pottery shapes (26). Karaz Ware would appear to have been long-lived in the Karababa region because, in the subsequent Early Bronze Age levels (Phases V and IV) of Kurban Höyük, a few fragments of the same [p. 545] ware were also discovered (27). These finds support the evidence for long-term presence of Trans-Caucasian elements in the regions adjacent to the upper flow of the Euphrates.

Single sherds of Karaz Ware were also found in other Late Uruk sites such as at Samsat, ca. 7 km upstream from Kurban Höyük, but on the right bank of the river, and at Jebel Aruda, a mountaintop settlement that appears to have been an administrative and religious centre of Late Uruk settlements of the area (28).

A few sherds of the Karaz Ware were found in Hassek 5 dated to the Late Uruk period; the site is on the left bank of the Euphrates near Urfa. That these finds of Karaz Ware at Hassek were not accidental, as formerly believed, is strongly suggested by the discovery of a red-slipped pot with four handles, typical of Uruk Ware, next to an ovoid pot with a plastic, chevron design common to the Kura-Araxes pottery (29). Both were found in the Room 2 of Building 2 in level 5 (30). The colour of the latter varies from dark-grey to brown-grey and is characteristic of the East Anatolian-Trans-Caucasian black-burnished pottery. An exact parallel--in shape and decoration--to this pot was discovered in Tepecik 3; the site lies east of Elazig and is thought to be a Late Uruk outpost (31). The relief decoration of a stag with horns on the central part of the vessel also occurs on other "Kura-Araxes" vessels at sites such as Geoy Tepe, Pulur (Sakyol) and Kvatskhelebi (32). The rounded body shape with slightly flaring, high neck has been recorded at Amiranis Gora, Nakhidrebi Chala, Ghrmakhevistavi and Ketik, among other sites (33). A similar pot, but with a wider, spherical body and decorated with cord impression was found in the Ukraine, in the Mikhailovka I settlement (on Pidpilna, a tributary of the lower

Dniepr) dated to the late fourth millennium. This settlement has affinities on the one hand, with the Maikop culture of northern Caucasias, and on the other, with the Usatovo barrows near Odessa (34).

It must be emphasized that in Tepecik 3 a similar, Uruk type, red-slipped pot with four handles was also found, together with bevelled rim bowls of the Uruk tradition and early Karaz pottery (35). Karaz Ware became common at that site during the following Early Bronze period, as well as at Hassek 4, representing a part of the overall spectrum [p. 546] of pottery. The metal of Hassek Höyük is thought to have come from the area located between Erzurum and the southern coast of the Black Sea. It was also stated by C. Burney that the metal artifacts from the hoard found in Arslantepe VI A (from A 113 Room of Building III), do not belong to the local copper deposits because they have high arsenic admixtures (up to 4%) and no trace of nickel. Instead, they might have originated in the northern provenance of Trans-Caucasia (36).

Arslantepe VI A, Tepecik 3 and Hassek 5 are thought to be contemporary and, like Kurban Höyük, roughly coeval with Habuba Kabira-South (8 km downstream from Jebel Aruda). Hence, they must correlate somewhere within the middle Hama K levels and the transitional Amuq F/G, revealed at Tell al-Judaïdah and Çatal Höyük (Amuq) (37). Despite the substantial similarities between Arslantepe VI A, Tepecik 3 and Hassek 5, the links between Tepecik and Hassek seem to be stronger than those with Arslantepe, essentially due to their greater affinities with Habuba Kabira and with the south (38). It is possible that Hassek, Tepecik and Habuba Kabira were important members of a foreign enclave and that Arslantepe was a local center of power in its own right. In the opinion of C. Burney, metalwork was a major item of trade that passed through Arslantepe (39). But in spite of the characteristics of the sites mentioned, it seems that the first appearance of the Trans-Caucasian Kura-Araxes culture to the north, as well as to the south of the Tarsus range, must be dated to the Late Uruk period.

Considering the absolute date of the Late Uruk period, in the middle of the second half of fourth millennium, one can to push higher the traditional low date of the central Trans-Caucasian Kura-Araxes culture. It should be possible to draw on the dates obtained for the Near Eastern strata in which Trans-Caucasian elements first appear and hence, to establish the relative chronology of Kura-Araxes culture of Trans-Caucasia. Put simply, the Kura-Araxes culture at its point of origin is logically earlier than its manifestations in the Near East. In the construction of a comparative chronology, the regional variants of the Kura-Araxes culture must be taken into account. The earliest Kura-Araxes material discovered in Level XI at Pulus (Sakyol), as stated above, seems contemporaneous with the middle layers of Amiranis Gora in south-western central Trans-Caucasia (40) At the same time, Pulus (Sakyol) XI has close parallels with Arslantepe VI B especially in regard to the forms and incised decorations of pot stands (41).

[p. 547] One could speculate that the infiltration of the Kura-Araxes population into the Near East stimulated Mesopotamian sea commerce in the Arabian Gulf of the Jamdat Nasr period. Their presence may have triggered political disruption in eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and western Iran. The desertion of the Uruk sites in these areas brought about economic changes especially in regard to distribution and trade in metal ores and other artifacts; probably increasing local control over these resources (42).

The determination of the chronology of the Kura-Araxes culture is of paramount importance for the establishment of a common chronological system for the Ancient World, considering the distribution of this culture between regions dated by historical chronologies of the Near East based on the literary sources, on the one hand, and regions dated mainly by the use of radiocarbon dates, on the other. I can not agree with the view-point that, in the absence of a large series of the radiocarbon dates from Georgian and adjacent sites for the Kura-Araxes period, it is premature to consider the reliability of the existing calibrated radiocarbon dates for this culture (43).

First of all, the "widely accepted" absolute chronology of the Kura-Araxes culture in the third millennium is based mainly on the "old", uncalibrated radiocarbon dates. The same can be said of the preceding, Eneolithic (Chalcolithic) culture dated to the fifth-fourth millennia and the subsequent, Trialeti culture attributed to the first part of the second millennium B.C (44). The current chronological framework needs to be re-considered in view of this underlying fact. Nor the re-calculation of the existing radiocarbon dates by the new (5730±40) period of half-life (45) has any sense from the chronological point of view because of the variations in concentration of radiocarbon with time on the earth (46).

Secondly, the statement of some archaeologists that the calibration curves and tables based on the dendroscales of the Californian pine have not received full acceptance and, moreover, that it is therefore better to refrain from using them (47), after the publication of the calibration curves based on the joint American and European data (the real indicators of the simultaneous fluctuation of carbon-14 content in the northern hemisphere) must be considered as completely obsolete. The calibration curves that recommend for the correction of the radiocarbon dates are published systematically in the journal *Radiocarbon* (48), and follow the calibration curve for the preliminary correction of the radiocarbon dates that became available already in 1981 after the First Radiocarbon and Archaeology Symposium in Groningen (49).

[p. 548] Thirdly, for some time, there has been scope to challenge the traditional chronological position of the Trans-Caucasian Kura-Araxes through the re-assessment of the accumulating archaeological data, independent of radiocarbon results. In other words, we can now draw on, the dates obtained for those Near Eastern strata that contained Kura-Araxes remains such as Arslantepe/Malatya, Godin Tepe, etc. the cultural ties in the Late Uruk period at the time of the initial distribution of the Kura-Araxes material culture or people into the Near East and the contemporaneity of Georgian Kura-Araxes and early Kurgan metallurgy (and in some cases artifacts) with those of the Near East of the Late Uruk - Early Dynastic periods (50).

Uncertainty caused by the different approaches to the problems of the chronology of the Palaeometallic Age is reflected in some publications concerning the Caucasian archaeology of this period. This is clearly evident in the *Archaeology of Georgia*, a two volume work published recently in Tbilisi; some authors based their work on calibrated radiocarbon dates, others on the uncalibrated ones.

Kurgan Cultures

The second phase of the Early Bronze Age of Central Trans-Caucasia witnesses the final stages of Kura-Araxes culture. This phase is represented in the final layers of Level B at Kvatskhelebi-Khizanaant Gora, in the bulk of the Early Bronze Age material from Sachkhere and in the latest burials of Amiranis Gora. The Early Kurgan culture of central Trans-Caucasia also belongs to this time and two groups are distinguishable. The first comprises the kurgans (barrows) of the Martqopi/Ulevvari and Samgori valleys (east of Tbilisi) and the earliest among the so-called "Early Bronze Age kurgans of Trialeti." The second and chronologically subsequent group, is represented by the kurgans of the Bedeni plateau (near Trialeti) and the Alazani valley (in Kakheti, the eastern part of east Georgia), as well as by the later kurgans of the early Trialeti and the later group of Martqopi kurgans with pit graves (51).

This phase appears to be contemporary with the particularly wide diffusion of the Kura-Araxes culture in the Near East. Overall, it should be dated to the first half and the middle of the third millennium. Such a date is substantiated by the typological parallels between the metalwork finds in this phase (52).

While the pottery found in the first group of kurgans is close to the Kura-Araxes culture, the pottery in the second, and later, group is characterized by the so-called [p. 549] "pearl-like" ornaments. This decoration is typical of the Novosvobodnaya (Tsarskaya) stage of the north Caucasian Maikop culture and Early Bronze Age north-east Iranian sites (Tureng Tepe III C, Shah Tepe III, Tepe Hissar II B, Yarim Tepe); two such sherds were found in the "Late Chalcolithic" levels of Alishar (central Anatolia) (53).

The Trans-Caucasian dates can also be pushed higher on the basis of finds from the kurgan of Karashamb. This unique complex (replete with copious golden, silver and bronze artifacts) of the second group of the kurgans of the Trialeti culture, in the opinion of some specialists, has some traits that are characteristic of the Ur III dynasty (twenty-first-twentieth centuries B.C.), but at the same time, it reveals connections with the earlier central Anatolian culture of the Royal Tombs of Alaca Höyük (54).

For the dating of the general Transcaucasian Middle Bronze Age some importance can be given to the obsidian from south Transcaucasian sources found at Tal-i-Malyan in the Iranian province of Fars. Obsidian was recovered from the deposits of the Kaferi phase (2100-1800 B.C.) and its origin was determined by the

analytical laboratory of conservation of the Smithsonian University. One group was similar to the obsidian used in Alikemektepesi (Azerbaijan). The other group came from the Gutansar complex of Armenia (western slope of Gegam) where obsidian was found in great quantity in the sites of the Ararat valley, south of the source in the Gegam mountain. Contact with southern lands is demonstrated by the necklaces that were found in the eight kurgans of the Karmirberd culture; they can be dated to the time of Old Babylonian king, Samsu-iluna, 1806-1778 B.C. Among the necklaces, were some shell beads of the sea molluscs, which were obtained either at the estuary of the Persian Gulf or on the south Iranian coast (55). The obsidian artefacts and shell ornaments clearly demonstrate trade connections between southern Trans-Caucasia, south-western Iran and southern Mesopotamia. A date in the eighteenth century B.C. can be assigned to the late Karmirberd and early Sevan-Userlik cultures of southern Trans-Caucasia and to the final part of the Trialeti culture (56).

Overall, the latest of the Trialeti barrows heralding some traits that are peculiar to the Late Bronze Age, together with other settlements that are contemporary with them, can be dated to the latest part of the Middle Bronze Age. This period can be considered to post-date Trialeti times, falling approximately in the middle of the second millennium B.C.

[p. 550]

The Caucasian Chronology as a Part of the Old World's Common Chronological System

In order to integrate a Caucasian chronological scheme into the common Near Eastern - east European chronological system, it is necessary to address the five aspects:

1. The methodological study of the different Caucasian cultural-geographical regions, outlined above.
2. The formation of the common Trans-Caucasian (south Caucasian) as well as the common north Caucasian time-scales.
3. The pan or common Caucasian chronological scheme has to be constructed, connecting Trans-Caucasian and north Caucasian time-scales with each other on the basis of coincidences of archaeological materials.
4. On the basis of the north Caucasian evidence, this common Caucasian chronological scheme can be interconnected with the sites of the north Pontic - south Russian steppe and on the basis of the Trans-Caucasian evidence - with the east Anatolian - north Iranian sites. Relative and absolute, as well as historic, data have spanned the chronological 'fault line'. And absolute dates for the Caucasian time-scale of the Early Metal Age can be argued with some confidence.
5. The Caucasian chronological scheme, thus established, can be integrated with the evidence of the north Pontic region, the Balkan Peninsula and south-eastern Europe. Dates obtained for south-eastern Europe and western Anatolian contexts can, in turn, be evaluated and incorporated.

One might also consider fluctuations of the Black Sea levels and the corresponding phenomena observed for the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. Such changes could be assessed against the background of the archaeological record and the common chronological system.

The dates for the northern fringe cultures of the ancient Near East when correlated with the historical chronologies of Egypt and Mesopotamia, constitute per se the necessity to shift back the dates for the whole of Caucasias, inclusive of its northern part. Therefore, one can now argue that the so-called "North Caucasian Culture" of the post-Maikop period, which at the same time retained many traits of the preceding culture, must be synchronous with the "Royal tombs" of central Anatolia.

At the same time, it is possible to relate the Hatti population of central Anatolia--whose language displays definite affinities to the Abkhazo-Adighean languages--to the culture of central Anatolian "Royal tombs." The latter, for its part, shows some structural and material similarity, namely in the arrangement and contents of these tombs, to the kurgans of the northern stock-breeders. The appearance of the Hattians in central Anatolia seems to have been connected with migrations from northern Caucasia in the "Maikop", or, more probably, in the early "post-Maikop" period. [p. 551]

The question arises as to the ethnic affinity of the central and northern Anatolian pre-Hatti population. In this connection the non-Indo-European stratum in Hittite, which has no explanation in Hattic, should be considered. It is probable that this language was substrative for Hittite and possibly for Hattic as well. Considering these linguistic data and also the existing similarities between the Hattic and Kartvelian languages, we can suggest that Proto-Kartvelian tribes settled in Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age.

Ultimately, an Anatolian homeland for Proto-Kartvelians receives corroboration through the results of recent studies, which associate Hattic language directly with Northwestern Caucasian, and Hurro-Urartian language with Northeastern Caucasian groups within the north Caucasian linguistic family. In such a scenario, there would be no place for Kartvelian, not only in Caucasia, but also in the regions south-west and south of it. Instead, these areas were inhabited by the Hattian-Northwestern Caucasian (Abkhazo-Adighean) and Hurro-Urartian-Northeastern Caucasian (Nakho-Dagestanian) entities.

Western Trans-Caucasia and eastern Anatolia were the contact zones between three important cultures of the northern periphery of the Near East, in the late fourth-early third millennia B.C. They are the "Büyük Güllücek," the Maikop and the Kura-Araxes cultures, which can be identified, albeit within indistinct perimeters, with the ancestors of South (Kartvelian), Northwestern and Northeastern Caucasian languages.

Not only the territories inhabited by Northeastern Caucasian languages speakers coincided with the Caucasian homeland of the Kura-Araxes culture, but also the Hurrians, living in upper Mesopotamia in the late-third millennium B.C., may have had their earliest homeland in eastern Anatolia, in one of the earliest centres of the same culture. C. Burney was the first to put forward the suggestion that the people of eastern Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age could be identified as Hurrians and that they were the main population component of the Early Trans-Caucasian or Kura-Araxes culture (57). Over time, the material culture of the Hurrians became, all but indistinguishable, from other Near Eastern cultures where they settled (58). Their characteristic painted ware was similar to other contemporary, Near Eastern painted pottery types (59).

Under the weight of a revised chronological framework, we are led to a reassessment of a number of cultural-historical, ethno-genetic and social-economical events. In so doing the interrelationships between the ancient Near Eastern and east European societies appears in a rather different light. [p. 552]

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Footnotes

- (1) Renfrew 1973, pp. 104 ff., figs 20, 21.
- (2) Marro 2000, p. 477.
- (3) Sagona 2000, pp. 329-373.
- (4) E.g. Mellaart 1975, 304.
- (5) Cf. Kavtaradze 1981, pls I and II.

- (6) Glonti, Dzhavakhishvili, and Kiguradze 1975, p. 97.
- (7) Chubinishvili and Chelidze 1978, p. 66; Chelidze 1979, p. 30.
- (8) Voigt 1992, pp. 158, 175.
- (9) Munchaev 1975, pp. 128 ff., cf. Schachner 2001, pp. 274-277.
- (10) Voigt 1992, pp. 158, 175.

- (11) Voigt 1992, p. 175.
- (12) Cf. Narimanov 1991, p. 32.
- (13) Nissen 1988, p. 46.
- (14) Cf. Pernicka 1990, pp. 46, 117.
- (15) Tobler 1950, pls VI, VIII.

- (16) Tobler 1950, p. 212.
- (17) Chernikh 1992, pp. 91, 159.
- (18) Palmieri, Sertok and Chernikh 1993, p. 591.
- (19) E.g. in Geoy Tepe, north-western Iran (cf. Burton Brown 1951).
- (20) Weiss and Young, Jr. 1975, p. 15.

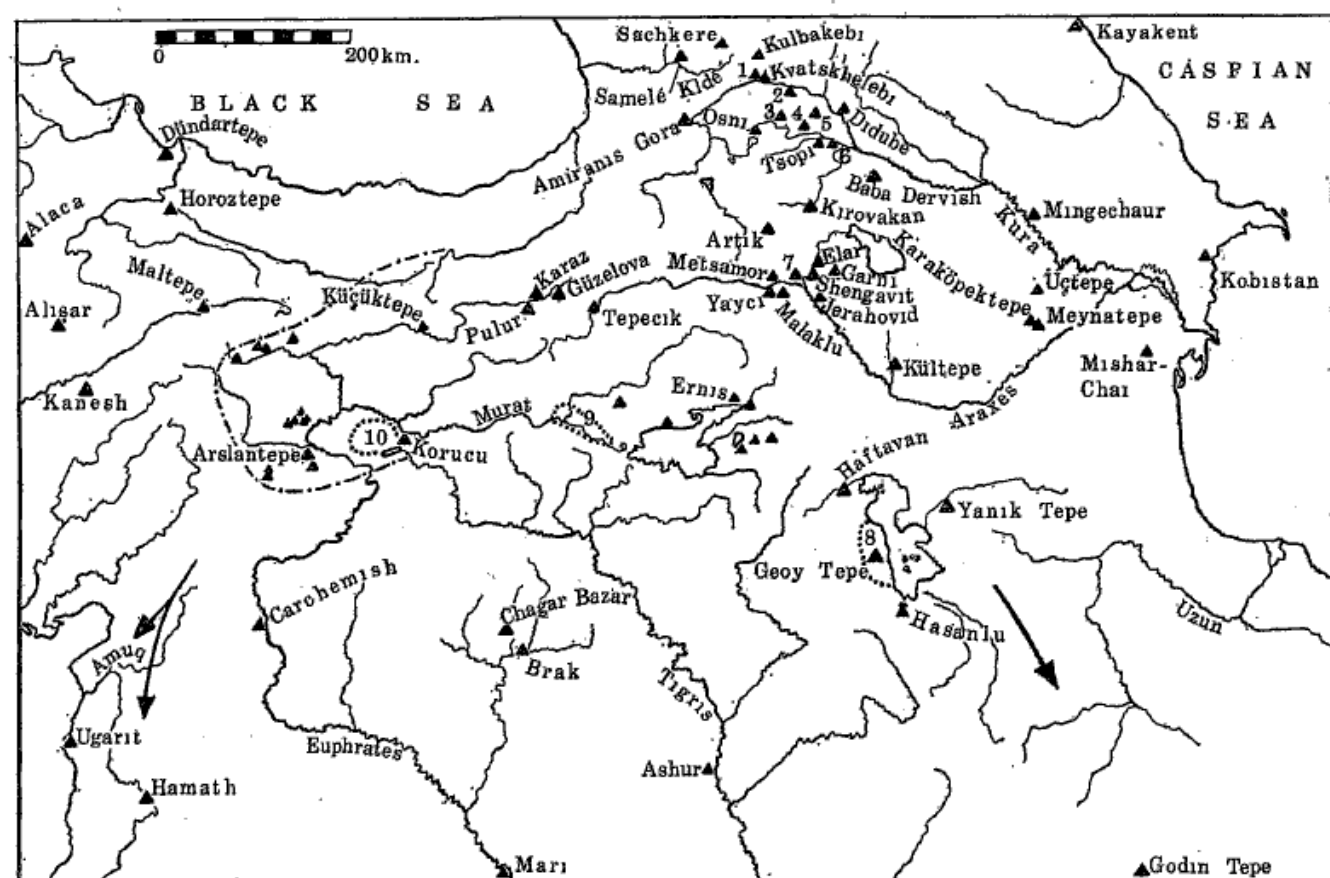
- (21) Palmieri 1985, p. 208.
- (22) Yakar 1985, p. 276.
- (23) Palmieri 1984, pp. 71-78.
- (24) Conti and Persiani 1993, p. 406.
- (25) Algaze 1990, pp. 260, 268, pl. 42, G, F, H; Helwing 1996, p. 75.

- (26) Cf. Sagona 1984, Forms 81, 82 (fig. 36, 2, 5, 6), Form 34 (fig. 21, 6).
- (27) Algaze 1990, pp. 289, 333, pl. 90, J, K.
- (28) See Kavtaradze 1999, p. 79.
- (29) Sagona 1984, p. 78.
- (30) Hoh 1981, p. 5; Behm-Blancke 1983, fig. 5; Behm-Blancke 1984, p. 38; Hoh 1984, p. 68, pl. 17, 3, 4; Helwing 1996, pp. 74, 87, 92.

- (31) Esin 1979, pl. 57, 6, pl. 61, 12; Esin 1982, pl. 73, 8, pl. 74, 11.
- (32) Sagona 1984, fig. 122.
- (33) Chubinishvili 1971, pl. XV, 5; pl. XVII, 2; Kushnareva and Chubinishvili 1970, fig. 21, 6; Petrosyan 1989, pl. 30, 4; Kushnareva 1993, fig. 19, 6; Abramishvili, Giguashvili and Kakhiani 1980, p. 70, pl. V, fig. 41 (390). In Nakhidrebi Chala and Ghrmakhevistavi the pots were presumably with handles.
- (34) Gimbutas 1992, pp. 403 ff.
- (35) Behm-Blancke 1983, p. 167; Behm-Blancke 1984, p. 38; Hoh 1984, p. 72.

- (36) Schmitt-Strecker, Begemann and Pernicka 1992, p. 122; Burney 1993, pp. 314 ff.
- (37) Trentin 1993, p. 184.
- (38) Frangipane and Palmieri 1987, p. 298.

- (39) Trentin 1993, p. 197; Burney 1993, p. 314.
- (40) Kavtaradze 1983, pp. 89 ff.
- (41) Palmieri 1981, 112, fig. 7, 6, 8.
- (42) Moorey 1982, p. 15.
- (43) Munchaev 1994, p. 17.
- (44) Munchaev 1994, p. 16; cf., Kushnareva and Chubinishvili 1963, pp. 16 ff.
- (45) Munchaev 1994, p. 16.
- (46) Cf. Kavtaradze 1983, pp. 18 ff.
- (47) Munchaev 1994, p. 17.
- (48) E.g., Struiver and Reimer 1993, pp. 215-230.
- (49) Burleigh 1982, p. 139.
- (50) Kavtaradze 1983, pp. 85-104, 109-115; Kavtaradze 1999, 76-88; cf., Munchaev 1994, p. 17.
- (51) Dzhaparidze, Kikvidze, Avalishvili and Tsereteli 1980, p. 40; Dzhaparidze 1994, pp. 75, 77.
- (52) Kavtaradze 1983, pp. 109-116.
- (53) Kavtaradze 1983, p. 108 n. 341.
- (54) Golovina 1990, p. 230; Oganessian 1992, p. 84, 100 n. 1.
- (55) Cf. Simonyan 1984.
- (56) Kavtaradze 1999, p. 87; cf. Kushnareva 1994, p. 117.
- (57) Cf. Burney 1958, pp. 157-209; Burney 1989, pp. 45, 48, 50 ff.; D'iakonov 1990, p. 63; Wilhelm 1995, pp. 1244 ff.
- (58) Potts 1994, p. 21.
- (59) Kavtaradze 2000, p. 116 n. 69.



II Significant sites of the Early Trans-Caucasian cultural zone and beyond

Arrows show the direction of major expansions beyond the homeland of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture. The broken line indicates the approximate western limit of this cultural zone. Dotted lines enclose areas of especially dense occupation, with which should be included the Erevan plain.

Key to numbered sites: 1 Khiznaant-Gora 2 Gudabertka 3 Beshtasheni 4 Tetri-Tsqaro 5 Kiketi 6 Sadachlo 7 Sites around Echmiadzin (Shresh-Blur, Kültepe, Keghzyak-Blur, Sev-Blur) 8 Reza'iyyeh area 9 Muş plain 10 Altinova (now in the Keban Dam basin)

With the increase of evidence, earlier simplifications have inevitably been to some degree invalidated: the general evolution of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture is more complex than once was supposed. One of the writer's conclusions in his original report,¹³ that there was at first a remarkable uniformity of material culture, especially as displayed by the pottery, over the whole zone from Malatya to the Caucasus and from Erzincan to Lake Urmia, remains valid. Likewise does the general assertion that this uniformity tended to break down into regional variants, though not markedly so till the third period in the tripartite chronological division. Thus there may well have been a period of wide-ranging and fairly rapid settlement of this vast highland zone by newcomers; and this was then probably followed by a much longer period of cultural stability, only after several centuries breaking down gradually rather than coming to a catastrophic end.

The strong interest among prehistorians and philologists in the arrival of Indo-Europeans, particularly the Hittites, in the Near East via the Caucasus around about 2,000 BC and thereafter has tended to suggest a change in material culture in the highland zone, at least in Trans-Caucasia and eastern Anatolia. Yet no such abrupt discontinuity is apparent. The important changes appearing in the third cultural period, the outcome largely of advances in metallurgy and of more far-reaching trade, seem more probably the achievement of the indigenous population than of Indo-European invaders, of whom little archaeological trace has hitherto been detected. Moreover, the Early Trans-Caucasian culture, enduring in varying degree into the early second millennium BC, exercised a profound influence on its successor cultures.

The explanation of the long survival and apparent adaptability of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture must remain a matter for speculation. But an economic stability based on cattle and sheep-rearing and on agriculture seems to have been achieved, as Soviet authorities have emphasized.¹⁴ Where this means of livelihood changed in the second millennium BC, there the continuity of settled life itself was broken; but where the farmers and stock-breeders maintained their ancestral way of life, the traditions of this culture continued, although increasingly modified until eventually no longer recognizable in terms of material remains.

An attempt to place the population of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture in the context of the ancient Near East, where written records were

beginning to provide meagre historical data, seems here appropriate. Physical anthropology is of no help, nor are written records available from the highland zone itself till the ninth century BC, with the rise of Urartu.¹⁵ What is known is that the Urartian language was closely related to Hurrian, so much so that, whatever the reservations of some philologists, it may legitimately be described as latter-day Hurrian.

There is thus good reason to class the Urartian people as being of Hurrian stock, a conclusion in no way undermined by the settlement of Hurrians in preponderant numbers in north Syria and north Mesopotamia during the second millennium BC. The tablets from Nuzi and Alalakh are among the sources bearing witness to the Hurrian presence in the central arc of the Fertile Crescent.¹⁶ Mursilis I, the Hittite king who successfully carried out a lightning raid on Babylon, dated on the 'middle chronology'¹⁷ to c. 1,595 BC, thus brought to an end the dynasty of Hammurabi and allowed the Kassites, a people of largely Indo-European ancestry who had been infiltrating into the plains of Akkad from the Zagros highlands, to take over control of Babylon, which they maintained for four centuries. On his march homeward, laden with booty, Mursilis was harrassed by Hurrians in the territory through which his army had to march.¹⁸

Hurrians also settled on the Mediterranean coast, where such Phoenician towns as Arvad still retained in later centuries their Hurrian name. They extended their zone of settlement westwards into Kizzuwatna (later Que and then Cilicia), where they exerted a dominant influence on the Hittite court and on the state cult of the Hittite New Kingdom in the thirteenth century BC and to a lesser extent in earlier generations. The role of the Hurrians in the Near East in the second millennium BC is now fairly clearly appreciated and known to have been geographically very wide. But it is also well understood that they had arrived as newcomers in north Syria and north Mesopotamia, where they mingled with Semites of different groups, the Amorites then being politically dominant.¹⁹ Yet the Hurrian element in the population of Kizzuwatna entered a plain already settled by Indo-Europeans of Luvian stock, probably originating from north-west Anatolia, whose arrival (c. 2,300 BC) marks the start of the Cilician Early Bronze III period.²⁰ Then, some two centuries later (c. 2,100 BC), came the introduction into Kizzuwatna of a painted pottery entirely different from the products of the Early Bronze III period and with undoubted affinities with pottery found at Alalakh and elsewhere in north Syria. Some derivation of this painted pottery from that of the Early Trans-Caucasian III sub-province in the Elaziğ-Malatya region seems possible, though the influence could have been in the other direction, spreading from Syria northwards into the upper Euphrates valley.²¹ The Cilician Middle Bronze Age began with

the arrival of this painted pottery, while the Hittite sources indicate a Hittite cultural dominance there some centuries later, in the Late Bronze Age. No intermediate date seems at all plausible for the arrival in Kizzuwatna of the Hurrians, who must surely therefore have settled there from c. 2,100 BC. They must have been present already before then in north Syria, whence they had come.

The Hurrians can therefore be reckoned as an element in the civilization of the Near East beyond the highland zone already well before 2,000 BC. Supporting this contention is the occurrence of Hurrian personal names in tablets of the Akkadian period (c. 2,340–2,180 BC) at Tell Chagar Bazar on the River Khabur.²² Their appearance on this navigable tributary of the Euphrates means that Hurrians were even then at least beginning to gain access to the rich commerce of Mesopotamia, then first expanding through the military and trading expeditions of Sargon of Agade and his successors, particularly his grandson Naram-Sin. These expeditions, while partly to traditional objectives such as the Amanus range, opened up new markets and may well have facilitated the establishment of an Assyrian trading colony at Kanesh (Kültepe) in central Anatolia, followed later by the foundation of other such colonies.²³ They were in Hattian rather than Hurrian territory; but an important route up into central Anatolia lay through the region of Elaziğ, later known to the Hittites as Isua, whose population was, through its links with north Syria, probably Hurrian at least by the Early Trans-Caucasian III period. The growth of Mesopotamian trade, particularly in the Akkadian period and under the Third Dynasty of Ur, very probably acted as a magnet drawing Hurrians southward into Syria.

All the above evidence presupposes a homeland whence the Hurrians irrupted into surrounding regions to the south and west. This homeland can only have been in the highland zone. Who therefore but the Hurrians could have left behind them the Early Trans-Caucasian culture? No theory that they came from beyond the Caucasus and pushed through the highlands without leaving any trace of themselves will bear scrutiny, even though it is perfectly possible for nomads to leave little or no evidence of their passing. The general cultural continuity of the highland zone, emphasized above, lasted throughout the third millennium BC, and implies ethnic stability, though not proving this, the clear inference being that the population was Hurrian, and had been so since the end of the fourth millennium BC.

An objection to this theory of ethnic continuity might be lodged on the grounds that the treasures of Maikop, the great barrow in the Kuban valley, and of Alaca, the rich cemetery on the plateau of central Anatolia, indicate a cultural and even an ethnic intrusion from the northern steppes as far as Anatolia. This suggestion is perhaps based partly on the

belief that the 'animal style', whose earliest manifestation (it is argued) occurs at Maikop, was an original creation of the inhabitants of the steppes, the northern nomads. One scholar has gone so far as to suggest Indo-European affinities for Maikop and for Alaca too, associating the latter with the first Hittites to settle in the bend of the River Halys.²⁴ This last suggestion can be dismissed as wholly unfounded. The people of Alaca were Hattian, the indigenous 'Asiatic' (non-Indo-European) population who inhabited and controlled the Anatolian plateau immediately west of the Hurrian zone. The cultural influence was from Alaca and its vicinity, probably by way of Horoztepe and sites near or on the Pontic coast, to Maikop, not in the reverse direction. This can be seen as but one manifestation of the penetration of the Caucasus and the steppes just beyond by Near Eastern influences, following contacts between the highlanders and the population of the northern fringes of the Fertile Crescent. The possibility that a small warrior class of Indo-European race erected the great barrows of the Early Kuban phase and even reached as far as Alaca in no way affects the affinities of the material culture of Alaca and Maikop nor the racial composition of the majority of the population.

The burnished pottery of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture, with its bold decoration in relief and grooving, first came to the direct attention of Near Eastern archaeologists in a derivative form commonly called Khirbet Kerak ware, after a site in the Jordan valley termed in the Israeli publications Beth Yerah.²⁵ As so often happens, however, when a culture or type of artifact is named after one site, this is not the most important occurrence of this ware. It has been found abundantly in the plain of Antioch (the Amuq), where the American excavators have assigned it to their Amuq II and I phases. In addition to pottery vessels, a hearth of horseshoe shape, distinctive of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture and known from many sites, was found in Level 11 at Tell Judeideh.²⁶ Architectural parallels with the highland zone include the presence of clay benches and bins, not incomparable with those of Yanik Tepe, and more or less contemporary. In the Amuq Khirbet Kerak ware, termed 'Red-Black Burnished Ware' by R.J. Braidwood, has been found in stratified context at Tell Judeideh, the most important site, and similarly at Çatal Hüyük, Tell Ta'yinat and Tell Dhahab: it was thus very well established there. Whoever introduced this pottery evidently then made it locally, for the clay used was from local sources, an indication that people and not merely pots arrived in the Amuq plain. Braidwood seems to have missed the significance of this pottery in Amuq II-I, for he dismisses it as 'the result of some one regional ceramic variant of a general Anatolian development of the old Syro-Cilician Dark-Faced Burnished Ware'.²⁷ One virtue, however, of Braidwood's term for this pottery is

that it emphasizes the use of more than one colour apart from black. Much of the Early Trans-Caucasian pottery proper is not black at all but light in tone. Khirbet Kerak ware was undoubtedly derived from the Hurrian homeland, but had developed along its own lines, retaining the use of incised decoration, including occasional birds, though incision occurs mostly on lids. Amuq H comprised six levels (12-7) at Tell Judeideh and four (9-6) at Tell Ta'yinat. In the following phase, Amuq I, this pottery continued side by side with other wares. Southwards through Syria into Palestine, where excavations have been relatively numerous, Khirbet Kerak ware has also been found, though less and less the further south the site. At Jericho, for example, it occurs only in tombs.²⁸ Its chronology first gave some evidence for the dating of the culture of the highland zone before the advent of radio-carbon dates, for it can be assigned to the Palestinian Early Bronze III period, contemporary with the Old Kingdom of Egypt (Dynasties IV-VI) and dated through secure Egyptian connections. This indicates the arrival of northerners in Palestine, who mingled with the largely Semitic population: nothing in the archaeology of Palestine contradicts their description as Hurrians.²⁹ They would thus have been present, if only in small numbers, when the Amorites invaded the land in the Early Bronze-Middle Bronze period,³⁰ an invasion resulting in a general decline of urban life and a reversion to nomadism. Hurrians certainly formed one of the elements composing the Rulers of Foreign Countries, or Hyksos, who built up the flourishing Middle Bronze Age civilization in Palestine after an influx of Canaanites from the Mediterranean littoral to the north. That these Hurrians were survivors of the original group which introduced the Khirbet Kerak ware from the north seems rather improbable: too long a time had elapsed, and they must have become absorbed in the Semitic population. Another wave of Hurrians was almost certainly caught up in the Hyksos movement. Yet in north Syria there seems to have been no discontinuity in the Hurrian presence.

Some pottery from Alaca and elsewhere in central Anatolia, dating to approximately the same period as the Khirbet Kerak ware, is to some degree comparable.³¹ There is nothing to suggest direct influence from the one to the other, so that the explanation must lie in parallel development from a common cultural background in the Hurrian highlands of eastern Anatolia. Any movement of Hurrians into central Anatolia in the mid-third millennium BC must have been in very small numbers.

The evidence for the origins of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture virtually comprises pottery alone, for, as more than one Soviet archaeologist has observed, there is a singular dearth of other classes of artifact.³² The

main exceptions to this are where graves have produced metal and other artifacts seldom found in occupation levels. For the second and third periods Yanik Tepe exemplifies this dearth of non-ceramic evidence: there the cemeteries must have been extramural, no burials being found in the excavated areas of the village.

Pottery said to be of 'proto-Kura-Araxes' form (i.e. proto-Early Trans-Caucasian I in the terminology used in this book) occurs at Samele Kldé,³³ the Fox Cave, in Chiatura, situated in north-western Georgia; but the rest of the finds from this cave, the chipped and ground stone industries and the bone industry, are, as above-mentioned, more easily attributable to the fourth or fifth millennium B.C. Baba-Dervish, Meynatepe and Tsopi have all yielded what appear to be prototypes of Early Trans-Caucasian I pottery, Tsopi providing evidence of the start of this culture in southern Georgia.³⁴ The material from the settlement, but not the cemetery, of Tetrisqaro appears likewise to date back into the late fourth millennium B.C.³⁵ But the absence of any continuous stratified sequence of occupation levels dating back into the mid-fourth millennium B.C. and earlier makes it difficult to assess the place in any relative chronology to be given to this early material from sites in Georgia and in the Kura valley in north-western Azerbaijan. Even at Kültepe (Nakhichevan) evidence for the immediate antecedents of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture appears to be lacking, since a sterile layer was found between the top of Level I and the beginning of the Early Trans-Caucasian occupation in Level II; and the radio-carbon dates lend some support to the probability that this site was deserted for several centuries in the fourth millennium B.C. In Georgia the round houses of Shulaveri may conceivably have provided the prototype for those of one thousand years and more later at Shresh-Blur, Shengavit, Jerahovid, Garni, Kültepe (Nakhichevan), Yanik Tepe, Kayakent and elsewhere, as well as the modified variants at Kvatskhelebi. The excavations at Tegut lend weight to this suggestion of a very long-lasting architectural tradition of round houses in Trans-Caucasia. No proof, however, is yet available to indicate any significant influence of Shulaveri and contemporary settlements on the Early Trans-Caucasian culture.³⁶

Piotrovskii's preference for an origin of this culture in the middle Araxes valley, the fertile plain now the heart of the Armenian SSR, is supported by certain aspects of the evidence, though as yet not reinforced by radio-carbon dates from levels of the Early Trans-Caucasian I period and earlier.³⁷ Certainly the artistry of the people of this region attained a higher level in the decoration of pottery than appears elsewhere in Trans-Caucasia, though not till the second of the three periods were the best of their products made. The limited evidence from eastern Anatolia suggests that no such high standard of pottery was normally achieved there. In

the Urmia basin this culture was clearly introduced from the north, and indeed, as surveys have proved, spread as far south as the Hamadan region, where stratified material is now available from Godin Tepe IV.³⁸ To look to Iran for the origins of this culture would be irrelevant; and the balance of probability is against an origin in eastern Anatolia, where the richest region is that of Malatya and Elaziğ. Unless an ethnic movement thence north-eastward be postulated, this region, important as it later became in the history of conflict between the Hittite state, Mitanni and Assyria, can surely be discounted as too peripheral, situated as it is in the south-western extremity of this wide cultural zone.³⁹ The claims of the Erzurum plain and its environs must be judged on the evidence of the excavated sites of Karaz and Pülür, admittedly early in date:⁴⁰ though theoretically a possible centre of origin of this culture, the natural environment seems too severe, too restricted by altitude, for it to have had a surplus population to give the impetus to wide expansion in all directions. Only its geographical position, near the centre of the zone, makes it at all plausible as the original nucleus. More probably the Erzurum region was, with Georgia, the first territory in which the bearers of this culture settled in the years around 3,000 BC, after their initial expansion from their first homeland.

Other regions can be eliminated as possible nuclei of this culture. It is impossible to be sure how soon the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR, apart from the middle reaches of the Kura valley just east of Tbilisi, was settled by these people. The relative poverty of the pottery from the sites of that territory suggests that the lands just west of the Caspian Sea, though perhaps occupied as early as Georgia, were never settled by communities including the more progressive elements in the population. Perhaps more probably the indigenous population of the region around Baku and the lower Araxes valley was never overrun by the bearers of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture, but rather absorbed it at second hand, never attaining a high level. Near the Talysh region, by the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea, pottery said to be immediately preceding the Early Trans-Caucasian I period has been found; but this straw-tempered ware seems very probably earlier.⁴¹ In eastern Anatolia the Van region seems to have been sparsely inhabited, if the small number of sites is any guide, while the Muş plain may have had a local culture, characterized by rather crude pottery of distinctive forms.⁴² Further up the Murat valley, at Liz and around Bulanik, normal Early Trans-Caucasian pottery has been collected.

The arguments for the placing of the original nucleus of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture in the Araxes valley around Erevan are not based solely on the elimination of alternatives for varying reasons, nor only on the quality of the pottery nor again on the fertility of the region

and its potentiality as the cradle of an expanding population finding itself in need of *Lebensraum*. There is some evidence possibly indicating continuous occupation in the Erevan plain during the period relevant to any enquiry into the origins of this culture, the late fourth millennium B.C. Shengavit, now on the outskirts of Erevan, has produced results important in themselves and providing a stratified sequence of four cultural periods, of which the earliest (Shengavit I) has already been mentioned as antedating the Early Trans-Caucasian culture. There seems, however, to have been a change rather than merely a development from the culture of Shengavit I to that of Shengavit II. The most recent excavator of Shengavit is inclined to describe the latest of three successive periods at another site in the Araxes plain, Kevhzyak-Blur, as transitional, that is to the Early Trans-Caucasian I culture; but at the same time he equates it with Shengavit I and Kültepe (Nakhichevan) I, neither of which seems to lead on into the subsequent period.⁴³ At Mashtots-Blur a sequence comparable with that of Kevhzyak-Blur has been obtained, though there the lifetime of the settlement certainly lasted into the Early Trans-Caucasian I period. Other sites also have occupation before and during this same period. All these strands of evidence hardly add up to an unassailable case in favour of the theory of an original centre of this culture in the middle Araxes valley, the plain around Erevan; but they surely indicate it as the most probable centre. No objection that metal-working is attested very early in Georgia, for example at Kvatskhelebi, and that that region was more advanced in this respect than Armenia, need be taken too seriously: Metsamor, not far from Armavir-Blur, was a metallurgical workshop with its origins dating back well into the third millennium B.C.; and finds at Kültepe (Nakhichevan) prove that the people of the Araxes valley were not more backward in metal-working than those of regions nearer the Caucasus.⁴⁴ Nor were settlements in Armenia confined to the plain: at Garni, in the mountains above Erevan, have been excavated remains of a typical village of the third millennium B.C., with the usual range of pottery and with stone-built round houses.

Several settlements have been quoted as 'type sites' of the first of the three periods of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture. Some western archaeologists have suggested Karaz;⁴⁵ Piotrovskii and Khanzadian favour Shresh-Blur;⁴⁶ Kültepe (Nakhichevan) II is recognized as an important site. No single site in Georgia seems preeminent, though Didube and Kiketi were early singled out as typical of the first phase of this culture, on which B.A. Kuftin was the pioneer authority.⁴⁷ Among the above-mentioned sites Karaz and Kültepe stand out for their material and for the extent to which it has been published. Kvatskhelebi Levels c3-c1, Amiranis-Gora

and Khiznaant-Gora E are outstanding among the many Georgian sites of this culture, and are the most significant for this first period.

Armenian sites of this period include Shresh-Blur II, Shengavit II, Mashtots-Blur III, Mokhra-Blur II and Sev-Blur II, all these having earlier occupation stratified beneath these levels. Contemporary Georgian sites include Kvatskhelebi c3-c1, Amiranis-Gora, Khiznaant-Gora E, Sadakhlo, Tetri-Tsqaro, Didube, Kiketi, Zemoavchala and Sagvarjile; and a second list also probably to be included in this period are Zghuderi, Kulbakebi, Ozni, Beshtasheni (moat and hearth) and Tqviavi. These latter sites do not, however, date back as early as the others in Georgia, and perhaps a sub-division into two phases (IA and IB) would be justifiable for that region, though insufficiently documented elsewhere. This implies an end for this whole period (Early Trans-Caucasian IA and IB) in Georgia c. 2,600 BC, but probably slightly earlier in Armenia, a conclusion supported by the radio-carbon dates for the Early Trans-Caucasian II levels at Yanik Tepe, mentioned above. Apart from Kültepe in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Region in the Araxes valley, Baba-Dervish is an Azerbaijani site with occupation datable to this period. Beyond Trans-Caucasia, Hamit Köşay's site of Karaz certainly was occupied at this time, and probably Pülür likewise. Elsewhere in eastern Anatolia only scattered surface occurrences of sherds with relief decoration could point to occupation from early in the third millennium BC.⁴⁸ Current excavations in the area of the Keban dam are clearly revealing occupation of this period, which the radio-carbon date from Korucutepe suggests began by c. 3,000 BC.

The date of the beginning of the Early Trans-Caucasian I period has already been indicated as falling about or just before 3,000 BC in Georgia and perhaps also in the Araxes valley. But if the theory of an original homeland around Erevan is accepted, Shresh-Blur II, Shengavit II and the other contemporary Armenian sites must surely have to be dated back to c. 3,250–3,000 BC. This would also help to narrow the period of time in the fourth millennium BC for which there is such a paucity of evidence. An even higher date cannot be ruled out. While certain sites can be quoted as suggesting not too protracted a timespan for each of the three successive main periods of this culture, others prove that such indications can often be very misleading, the same being true elsewhere in the ancient Near East. For the Early Trans-Caucasian I period Kültepe (Nakhichevan) II can be taken as a yardstick. Here there were fourteen levels distinguished in Period II, with a total depth of deposit of eight metres (from 4.50 m. down to 12.50 m.), the radio-carbon date of 2,920 \pm 90 BC being from a sample obtained at a depth of 8.50 m.⁴⁹ This supports a beginning of this sequence of levels well before 3,000 BC, though too much reliance should never be placed on one radio-carbon date. In

contrast to this succession of fourteen levels, there were only three at Kvatskhelebi in Period c: this suggests, in spite of the excavators' insistence that after the fire which destroyed Level c3 there was only a brief abandonment of the site, that there was in fact a long period of desertion. There are simply too few levels at Kvatskhelebi to extend over anything approaching the whole duration of the Early Trans-Caucasian culture.⁵⁰ The same can be said of many other sites, a fact suggesting that the distribution and intensity of settled life varied considerably during the third millennium B.C. Over-cropping and perhaps also minor climatic fluctuations would have been among factors causing changing patterns of village economy, in turn of course affecting the life-time of settlements. Deforestation of parts of Georgia has been suggested as a factor diminishing earlier settlements of this culture in the plains.⁵¹ Hardly any sites were occupied without any interruption. Even Shengavit has a total depth of deposit of only four metres.

It has been said that round houses were characteristic of the eastern part of the Early Trans-Caucasian cultural zone, including regions as far apart as Daghestan, in the north-east Caucasus, and the Urmia basin, near Tabriz, with all the intervening settlements and most of those in Georgia likewise having round houses.⁵² Further west, however, rectangular houses occur at Amiranis-Gora and at Karaz, while the dwellings excavated at Kvatskhelebi, including nine in the most prolific level (c3), cannot be described as circular: some are square with rounded corners; others have more the plan of a squared off circle. Round houses occur at sites in Armenia including Shengavit, Shresh-Blur, Jerahovid, Kültepe (Echmiadzin) and Garni; at Ozni and Khiznaant-Gora (close to Kvatschelebi) in Georgia; at Kayakent in Daghestan; at Kültepe (Nakhichevan) in that region of Azerbaijan; and at Yanik Tepe, near Tabriz. Not all these date to this first period. A circular structure at Khirbet Kerak in Palestine cannot be classed as a house.⁵³ The central wooden post was a common feature already in the Early Trans-Caucasian I period, and is well exemplified at Kvatskhelebi, where there was also a hearth beside the post. The need for the central post largely depended on the diameter of the houses, those at Shengavit, not all of this first period, being of six to eight metres. At Kültepe II there was a wide divergence, from little more than a hut (3.50 m.) to as much as 13 m. in diameter: here too were the central post, hearth and ovens. Walls were never very massive, being from 20 to 70 cm. thick. At Kültepe foundations were in some buildings of stone, in others simply of mud brick or of *terre pisée*. Rectangular annexes, serving normally as entrance porches, occur here, at Kvatskhelebi and at Shengavit, as well as in the next period at Yanik Tepe.

The importance of the hearth has been much emphasized, especially at Kvatskhelebi, where, it has been suggested, the fire which razed the

village to the ground probably happened at a time when the inhabitants were enacting an important ritual centred round each family hearth.⁵⁴ A factor supporting this suggestion is the decoration lavished on the portable hearths and stands which are so distinctive a feature of the whole Early Trans-Caucasian tradition. An altogether wider question is whether these portable hearths can in any way be compared with the 'horns of consecration' of Minoan Crete and their counterparts in the shrines excavated in the Early Bronze II levels (XVI-XIV) at Beycesultan, in south-western Anatolia.⁵⁵ At Yanik Tepe the hearths are neither portable nor centrally placed, but are put next to the doorway, suggesting that practical considerations of allowing the smoke to escape took precedence over the social attributes of the hearth, whose religious significance for this prehistoric population is understandable in the context of the long severe winters, when the family must have sat for hours in the dark, their eyes drawn to the fire.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton, N.J., etc., 1885-.
- ARAB: D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylon*, Chicago, 1926.
- AS: *Anatolian Studies*.
- Belleten: *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, Ankara.
- Bronze Age USSR: T. Sulimirski, 'The Bronze Age of the USSR, Bulletin no. 7 of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1968.
- CAH: *Cambridge Ancient History* (revised edition of Volumes I and II, in separate fascicles).
- Chronologies: R.W. Ehrich (editor), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago, 1965.
- ESA: *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*.
- GIM: *Trudy Gosudarsvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya*, Moscow.
- Handbuch: F.W. König, *Handbuch der chaldäischen Inschriften Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 8, Graz, 1955-7.
- JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JCS: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
- JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- KSIA: *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii*. AN SSSR, Moscow.
- MIA: *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii* SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad.
- Neolithic USSR: T. Sulimirski, 'The Neolithic of the USSR Bulletin no. 6 of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1967.
- OIP: *Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago.
- PEQ: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*.
- PPS: *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*.
- SA: *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, Moscow.
- SAOC: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Chicago.
- Stratigraphie: C.F.A. Schaeffer: *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, Oxford University Press, London, 1948.
- UKN: G.A. Melikishvili, *Urartskie Klinobraznye Nadpisi* (Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions), Moscow, 1960.
- ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

- 13 Burney, AS VIII, 1958, pp. 167-8.
- 14 See note 2 (b) and (c) (Japaridze, Piotrovskii).
- 15 With the solitary exception of the stele set up by Tiglath-Pileser I at Yoncalu, in the plain near Bulanik in the upper Murat (Arsanias) valley. (ARAB I, para. 270).
- 16 (a) I.J. Gelb, P.M. Purves and A.M. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP LVII, Chicago, 1943, reprinted 1963, for the onomastic evidence, mostly Hurrian. (b) D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London, 1953.
- 17 The crux of the 'middle chronology' is the date of the reign of Hammurabi (1792-1750 BC). The classic statement of this chronology remains Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, London, 1940.
- 18 O.R. Gurney, 'Anatolia, c. 1,750-1,600 BC', CAHII, fasc. 11, pp. 24-6, for a description of this campaign and its sequel.
- 19 E.A. Speiser, 'The Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine', *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, I, 1953-4, pp. 311-27.
- 20 James Mellaart, 'The End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean', AJA 62, 1958, pp. 9-33. For Kizzuwatna, pp. 23-4 especially.
- 21 (a) *Chronologies*, p. 119. (b) Burney: AS VIII, 1958, pp. 205-8. (c) James Mellaart, 'Anatolian Chronology in the Early and Middle Bronze Age', AS VII 1957, pp. 55-88, especially pp. 66-7.
- 22 (a) C.J. Gadd, 'Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-8' *Iraq* VII, 1940, pp. 22-66, with reference to Hurrian divine names (pp. 27-8). (b) AS VIII, 1958, p. 166, note 29.
- 23 (a) Paul Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris, 1963, the standard work

- on the evidence of the published tablets. (b) Julius Lewy, 'Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts', *Orientalia* XXXIII, 1964, pp. 181-98, for a highly individual interpretation of the evidence. The theory of an Assyrian empire in Anatolia scarcely requires refutation. (c) For a brief general account, James Mellaart, 'Anatolia, c. 2,300-1,750 BC', CAH I, fasc. 20 1964.
- 24 (a) M. Gimbutas, 'The Indo-Europeans: Archaeological Problems', *American Anthropologist* 65, 1963, pp. 815-36. (b) *Chronologies*, p. 487.
- 25 B. Maisler (Mazar), M. Stekelis and M. Avi Yonah, 'The Excavations at Beth-Yerah (Khirbet el Kerak) 1944-6', *Israel Exploration Journal* 2, 1952, pp. 165-73, 218-29; pls 17-18 and fig. 3 (p. 224).
- 26 *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* I, pp. 358-68 (Amuq H), 398-403 (Amuq I) and 518-21; figs 262-3 (p. 347), horseshoe-shaped hearth.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 519.
- 28 Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho I: The Tombs Excavated in 1952-4*, London, 1960, pp. 78-80, 96, 120-1, 133, 160.
- 29 One opinion is that they comprised 'small groups of itinerant craftsmen', without commitment concerning their ethnic affinities beyond stating their relationship to the Early Bronze Age people of eastern Anatolia. For this, J. B. Hennessy, *The Foreign Relations of Palestine during the Early Bronze Age*, Colt Archaeological Institute Publications, London, 1967, pp. 75, 84, 88.
- 30 Kathleen M. Kenyon, (a) *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, London, 1965, pp. 135-61, for a general account of the Early Bronze Age-Middle Bronze Age period. (b) *Amorites and Canaanites*, Schweich Lectures, British Academy, London, 1963, especially pp. 6-35.
- 31 Sherds seen by the writer in 1954 in the museum at Alaca Hüyük form the basis for this opinion. One published sherd could be relevant, though hardly definite evidence (R. O. Arik, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Hüyük 1935*, Ankara, 1937, pl. CXXI, no. 810). For a discussion of similarities between Khirbet Kerak ware and pottery from Anatolian sites (Kusura, Ahlatlibel etc.), Ruth B. K. Amiran, 'Connections between Anatolia and Palestine in the Early Bronze Age', *Israel Exploration Journal* 2, 1952, pp. 89-103. For another aspect, R. B. K. Amiran, 'Yanik Tepe, Shengavit and the Khirbet Kerak Ware', AS XV 1965, pp. 165-67.
- 32 See note 2 (c) above (Piotrovskii), where a subdivision of the pottery is given, into successive styles named after Shresh-Blur, Shengavit and Elar (p. 7). For Khanzadian's classification, note 59 below.
- 33 T. N. Chubinishvili and K. Kh. Kushnareva, 'New Materials on the Aeneolithic of the Southern Caucasus (Fifth-Fourth Millennia BC)', *Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR* 6, 39, Tbilisi, 1967. In Russian. For Samele Klde, pp. 350 (with note 35), 356, 359 and plate I (map: site no. 12).
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 338 (note 4), 339 (note 6), 357-9 etc. and plate I (map: sites 2, 30).
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 357 and plate I (map: site 7). See also notes 2 (a) (Chubinishvili) and 82.

- 36 For Shulaveri, Chapter II, notes 48 and 55. There remains a chronological hiatus extending through most of the fourth millennium BC: this needs to be diminished by further discoveries before any influence from Shulaveri on the Early Trans-Caucasian culture can be substantiated.
- 37 See note 2 (c) (Piotrovskii). There is a great need for a series of radio-carbon dates from sites in the Armenian SSR.
- 38 (a) T.C. Young and P.E.L. Smith, 'Research in the Prehistory of Central Western Iran', *Science* 153, 1966, pp. 386ff., especially p. 390. (b) CAH I, fasc. 66, p. 15.
- 39 Burney, AS VIII, 1958, p. 68. The writer's opinion at that time that the origin of this culture might lie in the Elaziğ-Malatya region is now clearly incorrect.
- 40 H.Z.Koşay: (a) Preliminary report on Karaz in *Türk Tarih Kongresi* 1943, pp. 164-77, with figs 1-21 and plan. (b) 'Erzurum-Karaz Kazisi Raporu', *Belleten* 23, 1959, pp. 349-413. H.Z.Koşay and H.Vary: (c) *Pulur Kazisi: Die Ausgrabungen von Pulur*, Ankara, 1964. (d) *Güzelova Kazisi: Ausgrabungen von Güzelova* Ankara, 1967.
- 41 Information given to the writer in Baku. For the remoter areas to the north, including Daghestan, in the Early Trans-Caucasian period, R.M.Munchaev, 'The Earliest Culture of the North-East Caucasus', *MIA* 100 1961.
- 42 The pottery from the Muş plain, collected by the writer in his 1956 survey, has not been published. Its general date remains uncertain; it could well be later than the Early Trans-Caucasian culture.
- 43 S.A.Sardarian, *Primitive Society in Armenia*, Erevan, 1967, p. 332, for the contemporaneity of Shengavit I and Kechzyak-Blur II etc. For a summary of the sequence at Shengavit, *ibid*, pp. 343-47.
- 44 (a) A.I.Javakhishvili and L.I. Glonti, *Urbnisi I: Archaeological Excavations Carried Out in 1954-1961 at the Site of Kvatskhelebi*, Tbilisi, 1962; in Georgian, with Russian summary; pp. 48 and 62, pl. XXXV. (b) For Kültepe, note 96 below. (c) For examples of metalwork from Armenian sites, note 130 (c) below and Khanzadian, *The Armenian Highlands in the Third Millennium BC*, figs 7 and 10, p. 60, pl. VII.
- 45 The significance attached to Karaz was a natural result of priority of discovery (note 5 above). For an earlier discussion, W.Lamb, 'The Culture of North-East Anatolia and its Neighbours', AS IV, 1954, pp. 21-32.
- 46 See notes 32 and 59.
- 47 B.A.Kuftin, *Excavations in Trialeti I*, Tbilisi, 1941, pp. 168-9.
- 48 Burney, AS VIII, 1958, sherds nos. 39, 171-3, 222-4.
- 49 See Chapter II, note 58 (Abibullaev).
- 50 *Urbnisi I* (see note 44 [a]).
- 51 See note 2 (b) (Japaridze), p. 6.
- 52 See note 2 (a) (Chubinishvili), p. 8.
- 53 But this Circles Building was a unit comprising nine circles within the thickness of its walls and thus perhaps a fortified structure. For a brief discussion, R.B.K.Amiran, AS XV, 1965, p. 167. See also note 25.

- 54 See notes 44 (a) and 50 above. The writer was fortunate enough to be given a lengthy summary in English of this report. For brief references, D.M.Lang, *The Georgians*, Ancient Peoples and Places, London, 1966, pp. 37, 40.
- 55 Steven Diamant and Jeremy Rutter, 'Horned Objects in Anatolia and the Near East and Possible Connexions with the Minoan "Horns of Consecration"', *AS XIX*, 1969, pp. 147-77.
- 56 (a) For Kulbakebi and other sites, the important work by O.M.Japaridze, *On the History of the Georgian Tribes in the Early Bronze Age*, Tbilisi, 1961. In Georgian, with an English summary. (b) *The Georgians*, pp. 39-40. (c) G.A.Burney, 'Circular Buildings Found at Yanik Tepe, North-West Iran', *Antiquity XXXV*, 1961, pp. 239-40.
- 57 (a) Sardarian, *Primitive Society in Armenia*, p. 344 and plan facing p. 180 (Shengavit). (b) *Iraq XXXIII*, 1961, pp. 138-53 (Yanik Tepe): Level 4B (i.e. Level XVII), pl. LXVI.
- 58 (a) Particularly important among published material of the Early Trans-Caucasian I period, T.N.Chubinishvili, *Amiranis-Gora: Materials on the Ancient History of Meskhet-Javakheti*, Tbilisi, 1963. In Georgian. (b) B.A.Kuftin, *Archaeological Excavations in Trialeti I*, Tbilisi, 1941, especially pp. 168-9. Translation by Henry Field, in *South-Western Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1946: University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque. (c) G.G.Pkhakadze: *The Aeneolithic Culture of Lower Kartli: Aeneolithic Remains from Kiketi*, Tbilisi, 1963. In Russian.
- 59 Khanzadian, *The Culture of the Armenian Highlands in the Third Millennium BC*, pls XIX-XX (pottery from Shresh-Blur and Kültepe [Echmiadzin]). The Kirovakan group (pls XXI-XXII) seems to have points of similarity.
- 60 Burney, *AS VIII*, 1958, pp. 167-8.
- 61 A radio-carbon date (P-199) of $2,574 \pm 146$ BC for Geoy Tepe K₃, from a sample obtained some years after the excavations from a burnt layer, suggests that the K₁ phase dates back well into the Early Trans-Caucasian I period, if not to its very beginning (*Chronologies*, p. 248).
- 62 See note 38 (Godin Tepe IV).
- 63 *Ibid*, pp. 168, 179, 182-6.
- 64 The writer's thanks are due to the University Museum, Philadelphia, for treating the carbon samples submitted from Yanik Tepe. The dates relevant to the Early Trans-Caucasian II period (all to half-life of 5730) are: $2,381 \pm 62$ BC (P-1247), $2,324 \pm 78$ BC (P-1248), $2,621 \pm 79$ BC (P-1249), $2,495 \pm 61$ BC (P-1250).
- 65 (a) G.A.Burney, 'Excavations at Yanik Tepe, North-West Iran', *Iraq XXXIII*, 1961, pp. 138-53 and pls LXVI-LXXV. (b) *Iraq XXIV*, 1962, p. 140. (c) Note 56 (Burney).
- 66 *Iraq 24* (1962), p. 141.
- 67 H.Goldman, *The Excavations at Gözli Kule*, Tarsus II, Princeton, 1956, nos. 278-9 (pp. 122-3 and pl. 255); and fig. 254. There are also close parallels at Zincirli with the 'red gritty cross-stitched incised ware' of Tarsus.

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[The Place of Urartu in First-Millennium B.C. Trade](#), by Maurits van Loon, from *Iraq*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 229-231, in 5 pdf pages.

[Ecology and Empire: The Structure of the Urtian State](#), by Paul E. Zimansky (Chicago, 1985), in 189 pdf pages. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 41.

[The Hurrians](#), by Gernot Wilhelm, translated from German by Jenifer Barnes, with a chapter by Diana L. Stein (Wiltshire, England, 1989), in 141 searchable pdf pages. Includes plates and map.

[The Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies](#), Volume 1, *The Foundations of Research and Regional Survey in the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Armenia*, by Adam T. Smith, Ruben S. Badalyan, and Pavel Avetisyan, with contributions by Alan Greene and Leah Minc (Chicago, 2009), *Oriental Institute Publications*, volume 134, in 540 pdf pages.

[Main Menu](#)

I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People* ***Predystoriia armianskogo naroda***

Excerpts

**Erevan, 1968, English Translation by Lori Jennings
(Delmar, New York, 1984)**

* This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

[15]

Chapter 1. **The Historical Situation in Western Asia at the Beginning of the Bronze Age**

2. The Armenian Highlands and the Creation of the Hittite and Mitanni Empires

2.1. The Economy of the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia in the Chalcolithic Age

The mountain areas of Western Asia (48) were the cradle of agriculture, which arose here thousands of years before the Age of Metal. By the second half of the 4th millennium B.C. the cultures of the Copper Age (Chalcolithic) had been formed in all the more developed areas of the Near East. In the 4th-3rd millennium B.C., still during the Copper Age (*12), societies with class structure and state-type organization were formed among the Egyptians, the Sumerians and Akkadians of Mesopotamia, later in Elam (in the south of present-day Iran), and at least in some regions of Syria. But the entire surrounding world, including the mountain areas of the Near East, still lived under conditions of pre-urban and pre-class social structures.

We know little about the Armenian Highlands proper in the 3rd millennium B.C.; but, inasmuch as it entered into the area of the Kur-Araxes culture which has been well studied in Transcaucasia, we may judge of the society in the Highlands during that period to the extent that the nature of the archeological sources will allow (*13).

A primitive agricultural life still predominated here. The people dwelt in open settlements consisting of round or rectangular huts with clay walls, on a wicker frame and stone (cobblestone) foundation. They raised domestic animals--cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs; they harnessed oxen to carts. Along with stone they used copper with an arsenic alloy, a metal technologically much more perfect than pure copper, although later it had to give way to the better alloy bronze (copper plus tin).

2.2. The Economy of the Armenian Highlands, Transcaucasia, and Asia Minor at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age

Only Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, and a few regions of Iran have been well studied archeologically for the 2nd millennium B.C. (*14) For Asia Minor in the 2nd millennium B.C. we have not only archeological but also written sources. Our information about the Armenian Highlands is extremely scant, and we can judge of the conditions of the society here only on the basis of fragmentary data and by comparison with what was going on in the neighboring areas of Asia Minor and Transcaucasia. But we must keep in [16] mind that the homogeneity of culture typical of the Kur-Araxes period now no longer existed.

The population of the three countries continued to practice agriculture and animal husbandry in the 2nd millennium B.C. Along with mountainstream and field farming there also existed horticulture and viticulture. Extensive development of animal husbandry had begun. In the early 2nd millennium B.C. horse breeding was introduced. The size of the herd changed; the number of sheep and goats (which could move about in mountainous terrain better) increased. This brought a changeover to the use of mountain pastures remote from the village settlements. The result, as far as we can judge from the archeological material, seems to have been a growth in the wealth of the individual tribes which possessed the best pastures. In connection with the frequent wars in the Highlands of Transcaucasia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, the former open settlements with round hut-homes gave way to fortress-refuges (towers) and fortress-settlements, sometimes with tower dwellings. The walls of these fortresses were made of unburnt brick erected over a raised foundation of huge stone blocks. Inside the walls the rectangular dwellings, also made of unburnt brick, were pressed tightly next to one another. The chiefs of the armed tribes, who led a clan aristocracy, had obviously accumulated riches. Military tribal confederacies were formed (as can be seen from Hittite and Assyrian texts). At the same time the clearing of the forests for sowing crops and to get logs for beams, as well as the destruction of the undergrowth by the sheep and goats, led to a thinning-out of the forest which at an earlier time had covered the slopes of the mountains of the Armenian and Cilician Taurus, the Caucasus Minor, and other mountain ranges.

Mining and metallurgy quickly developed along with animal husbandry and agriculture. Already in the 3rd millennium B.C. the Cilician Taurus Mountains were famed for their silver mines, and at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. the metallurgy of bronze (i.e., alloy of copper and tin) developed there and reached a high level. Along with arsenic copper, bronze was used in the manufacture of farming and hand tools, weapons, and vessels of highly artistic craftsmanship. Somewhat later, beginning in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., the copper mine deposits of Transcaucasia began to be exploited. At the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. the export of tin from the Highlands of Iran may have been monopolized by the city of Assur on the Tigris; by the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st millennium, other tin deposits, probably those of Spain, became known and used widely.

[17] In spite of the quick growth of the productive forces (for instance, a change from the hoe to the plough with a metal plough-share had occurred by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.), agriculture in the mountain valleys remained comparatively unproductive and could not guarantee a constant surplus product. Thus a changeover to a society based on real class structure could not take place (although the pre-urban social structure was in itself complex enough). The accumulation of wealth by the cattle-breeding tribes led, no doubt, to an increase in wealth for whole clans, but was not sufficient to destroy the collective character of production or the communal (clan) type of property. The patriarchal ties between the heads of the rich clans and the mass of their kinsmen were still too strong, and the property stratification within the tribe did not crystallize into class stratification.

2.3. The Rise of Class Society in Asia Minor. The Assyrian Colonies

By the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. the situation in eastern Asia Minor, on the one hand, and in the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia, on the other, was not identical. The earlier development of metallurgy in Asia Minor brought about a more intensive participation of the local tribes in the exchange with the advanced civilizations of Western Asia. This in turn allowed the tribes of Asia Minor to accumulate even more wealth. At the same time it promoted the concentration of personal property among the leaders of the community, which brought about a faster disintegration of community-owned property, both in land and cattle, and in the end quickly brought the society to the level of early civilization.

Evidence for the importance of exchange in Asia Minor is found in the appearance of a network of trading colonies (49), in which the major role was played by the Assyrians (or, strictly speaking, the Assurians) and the inhabitants of northern Syria. The more prosperous representatives of the local population also took a notable part in the activity of these colonies. Many thousands of clay tablets from the archives of merchants --with documents written in cuneiform--have come down to us, mainly from the colony of Kanes (*15) at the modern site of Kültepe near Kayseri, but also from Amkuwa (modern Alisar), Hattusas (modern Bogazkoy), and others. Dozens of colonies and trading stations are mentioned in these documents. Unfortunately we do not know the exact location of many of these. (Note that all the [18] colonies existed on the outskirts of the local cities and did not constitute separate urban entities.) The majority were undoubtedly situated in Asia Minor--from Lake Tuz, south of which Purushanda was located, to the Lycus River (Kelkit), where the colony of Samuha apparently lay, and to a point north of the mouth of the Halys near the Black Sea coast, the site of the town of Zalpa. The base for the penetration of the merchants into Asia Minor was probably the colony at Ursu, apparently south of the outlet of the Euphrates from the mountains into the hilly plains of Syria (or according to another opinion, in Northern Mesopotamia). At least one colony may have been located near to the upper reaches of the Tigris, namely, the colony of Nahria (later Neheria).

The area of colonization from Assur coincides with the regions where metallurgy developed; thus the Assyrians did not penetrate to the Armenian Highlands, where the metallurgy of real bronze did not develop fully until later.

The data from the trading archives show that already in the 20th century B.C. (50), in the territory where the Assyrian colonies were in operation, city-states with early class systems were arising everywhere, each of them governed by a chief ("prince") and a queen-priestess ("princess"), probably in coordination with a council of elders (*16). The center of such a state was a fortified town (51). Completely primitive tribes undoubtedly existed alongside of the city-states, especially in the mountain regions.

There has been much discussion about the political status of the colonies: whether they were a part of an Assyrian Empire (J. Lewy) or a part of the polity of Assur (this is the most widely accepted theory), or a part of an independent union of trade colonies based on Kanes and bound by treaties with the local city-states (Jankowska). The most plausible solution is the following. Living on and trading in the territory of the local city-states and paying duties on their merchandise to the local princes, the merchants, in accordance to a universal principle of international customary law of the period, remained citizens of their home city. This means that the colonists were a part of the home polity, but the colonies of the merchants were part of the territory which was under the sovereignty of the local city governments. Actually "colony" is perhaps not the best designation for these merchant organizations on foreign ground; we use the term following the established scholarly tradition, but "trading factory" may be a more apt name.

The local population of the city-states of Asia Minor lived in patriarchal family (clan) communes and apparently completely satisfied its needs by its own produce from cattle-breeding, grain (barley, wheat, and emmer), grapes, and handicraft articles. They [19] made some textiles, but they also bought wool and linen from the colonists. What they acquired first and foremost, though, was tin, which was necessary for the manufacture of bronze. For their part the colonists mainly imported textiles; the means of payment was silver. In addition to this they tried to seize some sort of precious local metal, whose export was forbidden--probably iron (52). It is characteristic that slave trade was practiced on a very small scale, although slaves are known to have been employed. Merchandise was imported and exported by caravans, the beast of burden being the donkey; the local rulers collected duty from these caravans and had the right of first choice from the commodities that were brought, which, of course, promoted the further accumulation of wealth by the local aristocracy.

Rapid property and class stratification took place among the inhabitants of Asia Minor, and debtor slavery developed. Toward the end of the "colonial" period (the beginning or middle of the 19th century B.C.) the more powerful rulers began to conquer the neighboring city-states, which in the end led to the creation of the Hittite Old Kingdom and to the cessation of the Assyrian trade activity. The Assyrians had been powerful precisely because the local rulers had not acted in concert.

To the east and northeast of the area of Assyrian colonization, the process of property and class differentiation also took place but, for the reasons given above, more slowly; however the magnificent tombs of the chiefs, found near Trialeti and Kirovakan, which seem to belong to a somewhat later period, point to the fact that property stratification among the leading tribes had also made marked advances here. These tombs contained highly artistic gold, silver, and bronze objects, as well as abundant cattle brought as sacrifices, and slaves who accompanied the chiefs to the grave. More humble burials of the same period have also been found in Transcaucasia alongside the tombs of the chiefs. The ritual of cremation and the clothing of the people depicted on one of the Trialeti silver goblets (short skirts and shoes with upturned toes) point to a connection between these Transcaucasian tribes and the Hittite-Hurrian culture.

2.4. The Rise of the Hittite Empire

In the 19th century B.C., after a period when rulers of other city-states had been predominant in central Asia Minor, Anittas, the ruler of the town of Kussar, acquired general control. He succeeded among other things in capturing the old Hattic center, the city of Hatti (Hattusas), which at a later date became the capital [20] of the Hittite Empire named after it (53). But it was one Laparnas whom the Hittites themselves considered the founder of the ruling house and of the power of the Hittite state. He probably ruled in the beginning of the 17th century B.C. (54) According to tradition this king claimed power over the entire territory of Asia Minor from the Mediterranean and Aegean to the Black Sea (55). The subsequent Hittite kings tried to conquer northern Syria, and the grandson of Laparnas, Mursilis I, even made a devastating raid on Babylon (around 1595 B.C.). On the way back he collided with the Hurrians, perhaps the nascent state of Mitanni. Later, after the violent death of Mursilis I, the Hittite Empire collapsed, chiefly because of feuds among the aristocracy. While the kings tried to establish an order of succession to the throne from father to son, the aristocratic families supported the older method of passing the throne from the late king to the family of the husband of the king's daughter (from the king's principal wife) (56). An invasion of the Kaska occurred at that period; at some date before 1550 B.C. they cut the Hittite Empire off from the Black Sea forever (57). Even the establishment under King Telepinus (about 1525 B.C.) of a strict order of succession to the throne and a regularization of the relations between the king and the council of warriors, acting in the interests of the aristocracy, was not sufficient to restore the former might of the Hittite Empire (58).

2.5. The Role of the Hurrians

A whole series of city-states existed in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria in the 19th-18th centuries B.C. The Akkadian language (Eastern Semitic) and Akkadian cuneiform were used in business correspondence of these city-states, while the population consisted of Eastern and Western Semites, with some admixture of the Hurrian element (59). At the end of the 19th century power was seized in the city of Assur (on the Tigris), and all over Northern Mesopotamia by a Western Semite, Samsi-Adad I, who accepted the title "king". He temporarily placed the entire territory from the Euphrates (or even farther to the west) to the Zagros Mountains of Iran in the east under his own overlordship and organized a kind of military empire. Also he probably tried to take control over the remaining trade colonies in Asia Minor. However his state turned out to be unstable; soon after his death, first the area of the middle- Euphrates and then Assur itself as well as the neighboring cities (for example, Nineveh) were forced to submit to the Babylonian king, Hammurapi. But the power of the Dynasty of Hammurapi also turned out to be unstable in these regions. Apparently by the [21] middle of the 18th century B.C. the invasion of the Kassite tribes from the Iranian Highlands into Babylonia began, and the Babylonian kings could no longer keep Northern Mesopotamia in their hands. In the 17th and early 16th centuries the Hittites found themselves involved in a struggle with the Hurrians, especially over the Syrian city of Halpa in Syria (modern Aleppo, where until the 18th century B.C. the Western Semitic state of Yamhad flourished).

The advance of the Hurrians to the south and west which began in the 3rd millennium continued intensively into the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. Already in the 3rd millennium B.C. the Hurrians must have advanced to the Cilician Taurus Mountains (60). From here they later harassed the Hittite Old Kingdom. According to the data of the Hittite sources of the 14th-13th centuries we find in this region Hurrian proper names and solidly

implanted cults of Hurrian gods. At the same time a strong Hurrian influence on the culture of the central part of the Hittite state can also be traced. It is evidenced in the language of the Hittites, and even the ruling dynasty of the Hittite New Kingdom (15th-12th centuries B.C.) was half Hurrian by descent (61).

A similar or perhaps even stronger advance of the Hurrians took place in the southwest, into Syria, and in the southeast, into the area beyond the Tigris. Judging by the documents, we find many Hurrians in the city of Alalakh on a tributary of the Syrian river, Orontes, already in the 18th century B.C., and in the 15th century B.C. we find there a Hurrian (or predominantly Hurrianized) population (62). Throughout the 2nd millennium B.C. the Hurrians definitely prevailed also in the regions east of the Tigris, although they constituted only a small percentage in the city of Assur and in a few other cities (63).

However in their general advance the Hurrians evidently had neither a sufficiently strong common center nor the means to control power. In the course of the first quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C. city-states continued to exist in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia which were Akkadian in culture although headed by dynasties of Western Semitic speakers. Later the situation changed, probably in connection with the introduction of horse-breeding on a grand scale.

2.6. The Appearance of Horse-breeding

For a long time many scholars believed that the horse was unknown to the Ancient Near East until the appearance of the Indo-Europeans. Now we have abundant evidence that the wild horse was known on the Two Rivers in the 3rd and even in the 4th [22] millennia B.C. However the main beast of burden at this time was the donkey. At the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. the light two-wheeled chariot was introduced in Mesopotamia, making possible the use of the horse in war (64), although the horse remained a rare and very valuable animal (65), and its introduction did not change existing military tactics and strategy.

In Europe as well the horse had already been known for a long time, but originally only as the object of hunting and of cults. However by the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. the domestication of the horse had taken place there. No evidence seems to exist of the Indo-Europeans being charioteers in their eastern European homeland, and it is probable that they became acquainted with the Western Asian light chariot on their way into Iran and India. Moreover the Highlands of Iran and Armenia presented excellent possibilities for the development of horse-breeding, while not only in the 2nd but also in the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. the breeding of horses was apparently barely successful in the hot flatland territories of Western Asia. Therefore, although horse-breeding developed there also, the basic sources for replenishing the contingent of horses for the Ancient Oriental armies were the mountain regions, especially of eastern Armenia, the basin of Lake Urmia, and the northern regions of Iran. It is possible that it was precisely here that the breeding of horses by the migrant Indo-Iranian tribes first took place on a grand scale, as far back as the first quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C.

This question remains unclear; the only thing that is indisputable is the fact that wherever the Indo-Iranians and other Indo-Europeans appeared in Asia and southern Europe in the 2nd millennium B.C., they brought with them the art of horse-breeding and brought roughly the same type of light chariots for horse harness (66). We may hypothetically presume that large-scale horse-breeding and tactics of war based on light, horse-drawn chariots were introduced by the Indo-Iranian tribes during their stay in the Highlands of Iran; from them horse-breeding and the tactics of chariot warfare were taken up by the Hurrians and the Kassites (67). It is characteristic that both the Hittites and the Assyrians (68) of the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. learned horse-breeding with the help of the Hurrians, while the Hurrian terminology itself was full of Indo-Iranian terms (69). However the art of warfare using horse-drawn chariots could have come to Asia Minor even without the Hurrians, for example, by means of some mercenary soldiers such as the tribe of "Manda" or "the tribe of Sala." The burying of horses along with their masters is attested here already at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. (70) A small Hittite chariot detachment is [23] referred to in the inscription of Anittas (19th century B.C.). It is possible that chariots and horse-breeding came also to Achaean Greece from Asia Minor.

2.7. The Rise of the Mitannian State

The Indo-European horse-breeding tribes stood at a lower cultural level than the local agricultural population of Western Asia (both Semites and Hurrians). But their tactics of massive chariot warfare was an important advantage. Apparently certain groups of Hurrians, while still in the mountains, had contact with the Indo-Iranians and copied chariot tactics from them. Moving into the Northern Mesopotamian plain, they took possession, with the support of the local Hurrian population, of many city-states first there, and then in Syria, and even Palestine. They were now able to form their own dynasties, taking the place of the Amorites (Western Semites). However if the Indo-European horse-breeding did serve as an instrument which helped to create new states, the preconditions of their creation had arisen within the heart of the Western Asian society itself. The Mitannian state, with its capital of Washshukkanne on the upper reaches of the Habur River in Northern Mesopotamia, was formed by the 17th-16th century B.C. as a result of the process of conquering and merging of the small city-states. The Mitannian state played a leading role in Western Asia during the course of several centuries. This state was not Indo-Iranian. Although its kings (but not queens) bore officially Indo-Iranian names (71), in everyday life they apparently used the Hurrian language. In any event their scribal offices adapted the Hurrian language along with the Akkadian, as well as the Akkadian system of cuneiform writing. Apparently the Hittites used the terms "Hurrians" and "Mitanni" synonymously (other names for this state are "Maiteni," "Hanigalbat," (*17) "Ha1igalbad"). Unfortunately we know less about Mitanni than about the Hittite Empire.

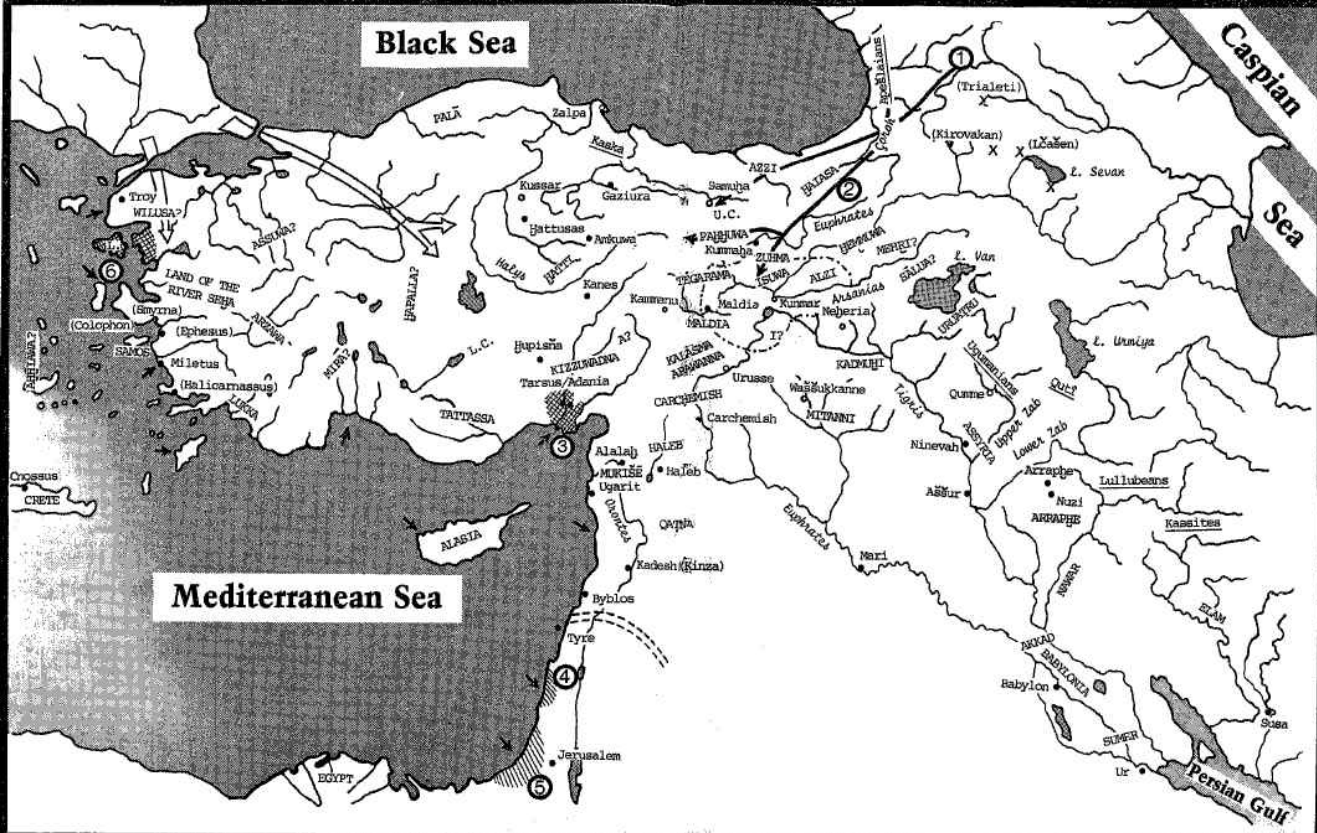
Mitanni was a loose state formation, including many semi-independent tribes and small kingdoms (city-states), tied to the Mitannian king by yielding him a tribute and a fixed quota of warriors. The influence of Mitanni is traceable from the regions of present-day Kirkuk in the east (ancient Arrapkhe) to the valley of the river Orontes in Syria (Mukishe-Alalakh, Qatna), to the Mediterranean coast (Ugarit) and the Cilician Taurus (where the kingdom of Kizzuwadna was situated, with a Luwian and Hurrian population) (73). The kings Parrattarna (16th century?) and Saussadattar (first half of the 15th century B.C.) may be considered the founders of Mitannian power.

There is no doubt that if not the direct dominion, then at least [24] the influence of Mitanni extended for some distance upwards along the valley of the Upper (Western) Euphrates (to the north of the sources of the Tigris), as far as the point where the river Arsanias (Arm. Aratsani, Turk. Muratsu) flows into it or further. It is difficult to say how far the influence and power of Mitanni extended into the more eastern regions of the Armenian Highlands. It is quite possible that the entire territory to the south of the Armenian Taurus belonged to the area of Mitannian influence, including the valleys of the rivers Kentrites (Bohtansu) and the Upper Zab, although at present this cannot be proven. We can only make guesses as to whether Mitannian influence reached as far as Lake Van.

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Map 2. SCHEMATIC MAP OF WESTERN ASIA AT THE TIME OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.)

COUNTRIES

- Tribes**
- southern border of the Hittite Empire in the 2nd half of the 13th centuries B.C.
 - Thraco-Phrygian invasion
 - the region of settling of the Eastern Muski and Urumeans
 - the probable direction of the invasion of the Georgian-speaking tribes (1) and Apeslaiani (2)
 - the raids of "the Peoples of the Sea"
 - the regions of settling of "the Peoples of the Sea"; (3) of the Danunians, (4) of the *ēter*, (5) of the Philistines, (6) of Greeks (Aeolians and others)
 - ancient cities
 - proposed locations of ancient cities

Abbreviations

- L ? Lazpas ?
- L.C. "Lower Country"
- U.C. "Upper Country"
- A ? Armatana ?
- I ? Ismerikda ?

potamian-Aryan" or "Western Indo-Aryan" language belonged to a special subgroup, different from both the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan, but there is very little data to support this hypothesis. It is even possible that it was the dialect of the future Iranian tribes at a date before the characteristic Iranian features had developed. The tribes could have separated from the common stock before the linguistic changes took place. (See also n. *1 to chap. 3 below).

46. The route through the Caucasus out of the ancient homeland of the Indo-Europeans in Eastern Europe is in this case possible, but only if the route in question led through Daghestan, and if the number of "Western Indo-Iranians" was not large. Much more probable, however, is the route through Central Asia, along the route of the "Aryan" tribes on their advance into Eastern Iran and India. Kammenhuber (1961a), 17, offers convincing arguments in favor of the fact that the Indo-Iranian tribes in question did not get any further than the highlands of Iran and Armenia, and that it was not they who penetrated into Mesopotamia but only a group of Hurrians which had incorporated an Indo-European element while they were still in the mountains.

47. At that time the name "Assyrians" (*Aššuráiu*) applied only to the natives of the city of Aššur on the Tigris, the nucleus of future Assyria, while "Babylonians" was the name of the inhabitants of the city of Babylon, which became the capital of Lower Mesopotamia for the first time in the 18th century B.C.

48. Between the 9th and the 5th millennia B.C. primitive agriculture

emerged in some regions of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, as well as in the south of the Armenian Highland, in the Iranian Highland including the mountains east of the Tigris, and in the southern region of Turkmenistan. In the 7th-6th millennia agriculture was introduced in the Balkans, and in the 5th-4th millennia in the Armenian Highland and in Transcaucasia. During the latter period also another type of agriculture began developing in the valleys of the Euphrates and Nile, as well as Elam, based on irrigating the fields with the waters of the river floods, which turned out to be the most productive.

49. It does not look likely that the "colonies" of the Akkadians (Assyrians) arose in Asia Minor earlier than 2000 B.C., although 300 years earlier the kings of Akkad made raids into the "Silver Mountains" (the Cilician Taurus). As Jankowska suggests, the epic connecting the Assyrian colonies with the Akkadian rulers — Sargon the Ancient and Narām-Suen — are the result of a confused reinterpretation of the historical tradition. This confusion led to an association of the names of these famed ancient heroes with events of the time of the two Assyrian rulers of the 2d millennium B.C. who happened to be their namesakes.

50. At present scholars accept several different estimates of the chronological framework (chronological systems) for the period from the 3d through the first half of the 2d millennia B.C. The beginning of the rule of King Hammurapi in Babylon is taken as a starting point (Goetze: 1850 B.C.; S. Smith: 1792 B.C.; W. F. Albright: 1732 B.C.) and

the end of the Dynasty of Hammurapi is dated correspondingly (Goetze: 1653 B.C.; Smith: 1595 B.C.; Albright: 1535 B.C.). Thus the dates of all events earlier than the end of the Dynasty of Hammurapi as cited by different authors may differ within ca. 120 years depending upon which chronological system is accepted. The differences of opinion in the dating of events of the 15th-14th centuries and later are less serious. For the earlier periods we use the chronology of Smith and for the later period the chronology of M. B. Rowton.

51. As to the colonists themselves, living in the suburbs, they had their own self-government in the form of councils and popular assemblies. In the period when their trade reached its highest point of development all the colonies were (according to Jankowska) welded into one organization, directed from Kanes. The colonists' political loyalties were thus divided between the local sovereign princes, the state of Aššur, and the Kanes traders' organization. In order not to modernize this organization too much, it is useful to remember that the trading societies consisted mainly of groups of kinsmen connected by patriarchal ties. See Garelli (1963) and the review by Jankowska (1965), 178 ff. See also n. *24 below.

52. Apparently the export of iron out of the later Hittite Empire was also forbidden. See a summary of the opinions on the question Menabde (1963), 84-85.

53. Hrozný (1929).

54. The name "Laparnas" later became an appellative designation of the Hittite king; cf. German *Kaiser* ("emperor"), Russian *car*

("czar"), both from *Caesar*, or Polish *król*, Russian *korol'* ("king"), from the Latin form of the name of the Emperor Charles the Great (Charlemagne) — *Carolus*.

55. This is referred to in "The Decree of Telepinus," see n. 58 below; cf. also Friedrich (1930), 50-51.

56. Dowgialo, 24-34. See also n. *25 below.

57. The evidence for the Hittite presence on the southern coast of the Black Sea is scant; see Maksimova (1948), 24-34. See also n. *26 below.

58. See "The Decree of Telepinus," in Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935).

59. Some Hurrian city-states (e.g., Urkeš in Northern Mesopotamia, mentioned above) existed already in the 3d millennium B.C. along with Semitic city-states, but at the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. they were apparently captured by the Amorites (Western Semites) along with the others.

60. Some Hurrian names are found already in the documents of the trading colonies.

61. Goetze (1957), 62.

62. On the chronology of this period, see Landsberger (1954), 1:31-45, 2:47-73, 3:106-33. See also n. *27 below.

63. This is indicated by our calculation of the number of Hurrian names in the documents from Aššur. It should be emphasized that Hurrians were among all strata of the population.

64. In the 21st century B.C., in a hymn to the Sumero-Akkadian king Šulgi, it is said that the king had made nearly 100 miles in a chariot in one day. Falkenstein, 61-91, ll. 75-78.

65. According to a letter published by Dossin, the price for a horse in the 19th-18th centuries B.C. was 5.5 minas (2.5 kg.) of silver—roughly the price of five to six slaves or ten hectares (about 25 acres) of field.

66. In addition to the examples given below, this also happened in Achaean Greece and in India. See Piggot, 274 ff. Horseback-riding was used only in special cases (for sending couriers, etc.); there were no saddles or stirrups. Cavalry as an armed force (still without stirrups) appears in Western Asia only in the 1st millennium B.C. among the Assyrians and the nomadic tribes (the Cimmerians and Scythians). See also n. *28 below.

67. It has been suggested that the Kassites owed their success in the final subjugation of Babylonia in the 16th century B.C. to the horse-drawn chariot borrowed from their Indo-European neighbors.

68. Ebeling (1951).

69. The whole range of these questions is investigated in Kammenhuber (1961a), 6-38, a work mainly devoted to the publication of a textbook on Hurrian horse-breeding by Kikkuli, translated by a Hittite, and of other similar texts. See also n. *23 below.

70. At Osmankayasi.

71. Or possibly two names, one Indo-Iranian, the other Hurrian. See Güterbock (1956), 120-21.

72. The opinions of the Hittitologists have differed as to whether these terms designate one state or two different ones. At present the first solution appears to be the more convincing. "Hurrian" is a broader term than Mitanni-Hanigalbat and could be applied also to a number of other states where the popula-

tion or the dynasties were Hurrian-speaking.

73. The localization of Kizzuwadna in Pontus, which makes it necessary to assume that the domain of Mitanni extended to the Black Sea, is out of date.

74. See the bibliography on Hittite society in Goetze (1957); see also Alp (1950), 113-35; Diakonoff (1967a); and n. *29 below.

75. This is a Sumerian heterogram with the meaning "(living) booty", Hittite probably *arnuwalas*.

76. The legal term was Akkad. *aštapiṛu*, Sum. "heads of female and male slaves."

77. The citizens of the autonomous temple cities were probably in a special position.

78. The Hittite Laws, table I, secs. 32-36.

79. The opinion about the humane treatment of slaves among the Hittites in no way corresponds to reality, as has been shown by V. V. Struve and others. Thus the case of a slave paying half as much wergeld for a crime and the lower assignment of his compensation of losses to the victim in comparison with a free man is, of course, explained by the fact that most of the slaves had no peculium, and the payment of the wergeld fell to the master.

80. In the Hittite cuneiform, which usually used heterograms, i.e., Sumerian or Akkadian words written where a Hittite word is to be read, the *hippares* were designated by the heterogram *LU₂A-SI-RUM* or *LU₂A-SI-aš*, which in Akkadian denotes "captured, bound" and especially refers to the slave-captives. (About their position in Babylonia, see Leemans [1961], 57 ff.) It is curious that in Urartian the same heterogram was used for the word

ilarities in structure and vocabulary, apparently does not belong to the Caucasian family. It may be collaterally related to Proto-Indo-European. (These are the author's conclusions from the unpublished research work done by S. A. Starostin, on the one hand, and by Ivanov and Gamkrelidze, v. n. *9, on the other).

*8. Recent excavations in Eastern Georgia have revealed impressive "royal" burials attesting the existence of a highly developed culture already in the 3d millennium B.C. It was probably connected with a Proto-Georgian ethnos. The culture in question may have links with Maikop, as well as with other cultures north of the Caucasus, besides having features linking it with the contemporary cultures in the Near East, and with the later culture of Trialeti and Kirovakan.

*9. Recently a hypothesis has been put forward by Ivanov and Gamkrelidze (1980/81), according to which all Indo-European-speakers have wandered out from the territory under study in the present book (the date of their supposed habitation there being the 6th-4th millennia B.C.). This hypothesis in its present form seems to me improbable. Cf. the criticism published in VDI, 1982, 3-4. I would like to point out here only the following important argument against this hypothesis: while there are numerous traces of a Hattic substratum in Hittite, and of a Hurro-Urartian substratum in Armenian, there are no traces of a Hittite substratum in Hattic, nor of an Armenian or other Indo-European substratum in Hurro-Urartian.

*10. Note that the cremation rite so characteristic of the speakers of Indo-European languages seems to have been introduced into Asia Mi-

nor from the Balkans during the third millennium B.C., and in Transcaucasia from Asia Minor.

*11. Recently a new Semitic language which was spoken in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia during the 3d millennium B.C., conventionally named Eblaite, was discovered. In my opinion this was an early form of Western Semitic, although such an authority as I. J. Gelb prefers to classify Eblaite with Akkadian as Eastern Semitic.

*12. See n. *6 above.

*13. At present the most reliable data on animal husbandry, agriculture, and forestation in Eastern Anatolia and the Armenian Highland of the 3d-2d millennium B.C. can be found in Van Loon (1975), with contributions by J. Boessneck and A. van den Driesch on paleozoology, and by W. van Zeist and J.A.H. Bakker-Heeres on paleobotany. The book is based on a careful investigation of an important archeological site in the lower part of the Arsanias (Muratsu) valley, not far from the confluence of the Muratsu with the Euphrates. The authors show that in what we term the Kur-Araxes period there were about 250 sheep and goats and about 25 pigs to every 100 cattle. The proportion changed to about 150 sheep and goats and about 27 pigs to 100 cattle in the Middle Bronze II (Hittite Old Kingdom), and to about 200 sheep and about 35-40 pigs to 100 cattle in the period of the Hittite New Kingdom. However in absolute numbers the herd had grown perhaps tenfold over what it had been in the Kur-Araxes period. As to the horse and the donkey, the proportion was 0:100 in the Kur-Araxes period, about 2:100 in the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and 4:100 in the New Kingdom

(which again implies a sixfold increase from the Old to the New Kingdom). Of course the horse remained exclusively a war animal, and only the donkey was used as a beast of burden. Curiously enough, although long domesticated in the Fertile Crescent countries, the donkey was virtually unknown in the mountains until late in the 3d millennium B.C.

*14. Since this volume was written, much archeological information from "Eastern Anatolia" (the Armenian Highland) has been amassed, but our main conclusions do not seem to need revision.

*15. It has now been shown that the correct pronunciation of this place name is *Gnes*, hence later *Nesa* and "Nesite."

*16. Actually Inner Anatolia was one of the earliest centers of agricultural civilization. Considerable town-like settlements with highly developed art (e.g., wall-paintings, sculpture) existed here already in the 7th-6th millennia B.C. However state structures with class stratification of society did not develop in Asia Minor until millennia later, possibly because of the beginning of an arid epoch in the 6th millennium.

*17. "Hanigalbat," the usual Akkadian name for Mitanni, is first mentioned in the Akkadian version of a bilingual text of the Old Hittite king Hattusilis I (17th century B.C.); the Hittite version has "Hurri." It has been thought that the Akkadian version was a late translation from Hittite, and the term was used anachronistically. But H. M. Avetisyan has shown, by a comparison with the grammatical forms and spelling habits in Akkadian translations of the Hittite New Kingdom texts, that the language of the Ak-

kadian version of Hattusilis's text is Old Babylonian, not Middle Babylonian. Hence the version is actually to be dated in the 17th century B.C. This means that Hanigalbat, i.e., Mitanni, already existed at that period.

*18. However see Diakonoff (forthcoming 2).

*19. (to n. 24) The near kinship between Elamite and Proto-Dravidian has, in the opinion of the author, finally been proved by McAlpin (1974); eadem (1975).

*20. (to n. 25) More probably it was the culture of a pre-Hurrian linguistic substratum.

*21. (to n. 30) Recently T. V. Gamkrelidze has shown that the number of common vocables in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian is considerable. They belong to the basic vocabulary, which points more to the possibility of a collateral kinship with Proto-Indo-European than to borrowing (the present author's opinion).

*22. (to n. 33) For a summary of the data on all Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) languages, see now Korolev (1976).

*23. (to n. 43) See also Kammenhuber (1968); Diakonoff (1972); Mayrhofer (1973).

*24. (to n. 51) See also Veenhof (1962); Larsen (1976).

*25. (to n. 56) See now Riemenschneider (1971), 79-102.

*26. (to n. 57) See V. Haas (1977/78).

*27. (to n. 62) There has been a heated discussion lately over the issues of Hittite chronology; see the references in Boese and Wilhelm (1979), n. 67. This paper is an important contribution to the chronology of the 2d millennium B.C., which unfortunately we were not able to use in the present book.

I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People* ***Predystoriia armianskogo naroda***

Excerpts

**Erevan, 1968, English Translation by Lori Jennings
(Delmar, New York, 1984)**

* This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

[24]

Chapter 1. **The Historical Situation in Western Asia at the Beginning of the Bronze Age**

3. The Hittite and the Hurrian Social Structure

3.1. The Significance of the Data on the Hittite Social Structure for the History of Armenia

The data on Hittite and Hurrian social structure in Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia have a very important significance also for the history of the Armenian Highlands, since our direct information about the conditions prevailing in the latter area during the 2nd millennium B.C. is very scant. These data are important because the Armenian Highlands was at that time also mostly inhabited by Hurrians, and its outlying parts were periodically included in the Hittite and Mitannian Empires, thus sharing their historical fate. It is true that society in these empires had by then advanced further in its development than in the depths of the highlands or in Transcaucasia. But what was being preserved in the Hittite and Hurrian society of the 2nd millennium B.C. as survivals must have still been very much alive in the highlands. The phenomena characteristic of the class societies of the Hittites and Hurrians in the 2nd millennium B.C. might thus point to the direction in which the lesser known society of the Armenian Highlands could have developed later. The natural environment and the state of the development of the productive forces at the period of the changeover to class structure of the society were much the same in the Armenian highlands as they had been in the corresponding period in Asia Minor (74).

3.1.1. Hittite Society. Occupations of the Hittites

Just as in the Armenian Highlands, the basic occupations of the population of the Hittite Empire were agriculture and particularly animal husbandry. Handicrafts, especially metalworking, had reached a relatively high level. However development of commodity production for the market was weak, and only an insignificant portion [25] of the products of professional artisans were for sale. The artisans lived not so much by selling their products as by providing their food from the plots of land assigned to them. Their produce was delivered to the centralized economic sector, i.e., either to the ruler of the Hittite Empire, or to one of the minor princes or powerful grandees subject to the empire, or to a temple. War was an extremely important branch of the economy, providing the Hittite society with a slave labor force and material goods. Both the king and the warriors profited

from plunder, while the king received tribute which made its way not only into the state treasury, but also was divided among his relatives and the most powerful dignitaries.

3.1.2. Royal Dependents and Slaves in the Hittite Empire

The Hittite army brought back a great number of captives from their campaigns. Not all of them became slaves. The Hittite sources often refer to people called NAM.RA (75). This was a designation for people of both sexes and all ages from subjugated territories who were led into captivity (not for prisoners of war in the proper sense). Apparently the NAM.RA did not constitute a specific social group, but after being taken from their homeland into the Hittite Empire, they either fell into the ranks of slaves of different types or were settled on the land, where they became subjects of the Hittite Empire liable to obligatory services; they could even be made to join the army.

As was true nearly everywhere in the Ancient Orient, people serving the king and the royal economy were called "royal slaves," (76) but this was a purely technical designation. "Royal slaves" were bound to the king by service (*sabhan*), which could differ depending on their profession. The more important servants (the officials, priests, military commanders, etc.) received for their service sizeable allotments of state land with slaves and sometimes the right to revenues and to levying obligatory labor service from the entire population of their district. The less important royal servants, artisans, etc., received smaller allotments of state land, but also usually with state slaves, in spite of the fact that the borderline between these slaves and the lowest of the state servants was rather indistinct.

The position of the temple personnel (77), as, for instance, "the slaves of the Stone House" (a temple dedicated to the funerary cult of a Hittite king), was approximately the same. Sometimes they were also liable to do obligatory services in common with the free Hittites (but apparently only when they acquired land outside of the state land reserve).

[26] The "royal slaves" working on the land lived under conditions of slavery proper (or helotry). They lived in families, on allotments of state land, and when the king granted an allotment from state land to a grandee, they could become his possession, but they apparently remained bound to that land (although not to their own particular parcel, if any). That is, they could neither leave the land of their own accord, nor be sold away from it. Still lower stood the shepherd-slaves and some others. The slaves involved in farming, the manager-slaves and the like, were permitted to have some movables, such as cattle. They sometimes received, as allotment for their work, a parcel of land for their own use. The family of the worker spent half of their time working on their own parcel. In certain cases slaves could take wives from among free women; the woman would only be temporarily enslaved, while her children--or at least some of her children--apparently remained free. Women who married slaves of a higher category did not become slaves at all (78). Half of the income of a mixed marriage belonged to the free wife. The more well-to-do slaves who possessed a small *peculium* could pay from it the bride-money for a wife and could acquire property on the side (79). (A *peculium* is certain property legally belonging to the owner of the slave but given to the slave to treat as his own.)

The *hippares* constituted a special group. They apparently had originally been prisoners of war. They lived on the land in artificially created communities (military settlements), with a severe mutual responsibility, and they were deprived of general civil rights (80).

The entire working personnel in the royal economies, the economies of the royal family, of the temples, and of the dignitaries, were in a position which amounted to slavery or a condition close to slavery (helotry). This personnel was the property of the state and was employed in herding cattle, farming, and a few forms of handicraft. But alongside of them there existed private slaves who were the property of their masters. Apparently they were primarily employed in the household, and thus freed other labor force for agricultural work and war (81). A slave could, of course, be sold or even killed at any time; a master could also use his slaves to pay the wergeld for his own crime.

Certain service liabilities (*luzzi*) were borne not only by the royal men but, at least technically, also by the free villagers. The most important (but certainly not the only) *luzzi* service was the military (82). In the village communities the *luzzi* service was usually entrusted to the local artisans (83). For their service they received what was termed the "king's share" in the community land. (This [27] is not to be confused with royal land proper; the apportioning of a certain part of the community land for keeping up of a royal serviceman was a sort of tax imposed upon the village. The same practice seems also to have been known, e.g., in Assur and in Arrapkhe). The holder of the king's share was called "man of arms" and could apparently be appointed either by the village or by the king himself. In the latter case the king could appoint even a prisoner of war with the stipulation of his fulfilling the obligatory service in question. At a later period the king would impose upon such servicemen not only the *luzzi* service but also the obligation of royal service in accordance with the man's specific peacetime trade (*sabban*), just as was the case with the royal men on the royal land proper. Thus the "men of arms" in the villages were also one of the population groups dependent on the state.

3.1.3. The Free Members of the Communities in the Hittite Empire

Free fanners and cattle-breeders undoubtedly constituted the main mass of the population of the Hittite Empire. In all of the Ancient Oriental societies of the 2nd millennium B.C. the free men participating in the community property in land were designated in the documents by first name and patronymic, and sometimes by the name of the community as well. By this they were distinctly differentiated from the dependents of the king, who were designated by first name and profession, usually without the patronymic (unless to differentiate namesakes). In the Hittite Empire the free members of the community were liable to the *luzzi* service, but, as we have seen, the community relegated the implementation of this service to a special "man of arms" approved or appointed by the king, while the members of the community probably were summoned only in especially important cases. In addition to this the members of the community paid tribute either to the king or to those to whom the king conceded this tribute--local princes or important dignitaries.

Free farmers lived in patriarchal communes (i.e., extended family groups living together) (84) with a common ownership in land, and, in addition, were organized in village communities. The land lot of a family commune was in Hittite called *iwaru*. The *luzzi* obligation lay upon the *iwaru* as an aggregate. In the case of selling part of the land, the obligation remained with the person who had the undivided *iwaru*, i.e., evidently with the head of the family commune (85). Usury and debtor-slavery, which had arisen as far back as the period of the trading colonies, undoubtedly continued to exist in the Hittite Empire, but far more is known in this respect [28] about the Hurrian society, in connection with which the problem will be discussed.

The territorial community (village or town) had its own self- government, and in certain cases the members bore mutual responsibility. The members of the community came under the jurisdiction of a royal officer and the elders of the community, in contradistinction to the royal and temple personnel, who came under the jurisdiction of the royal officers only (87).

3.1.4. The Hittite Aristocracy. Mercenaries from the Tribes of the Armenian Highlands

Dignitaries who had received land from the king in the form of a grant (with helots or with the right to collect tribute from the local population) could be freed from obligatory service. Some priests (but not always the members of their family) and some groups of warriors and artisans were personally freed of the *luzzi* service (88). It is interesting that the warriors of the tribes of Manda, Sala, and Hemmuwa (89) were also freed from the obligatory military service; their warriors served in the army not by way of obligation but for pay. The tribe of Manda has not been identified (90). As far as Sala (Salua) and Hemmuwa (Rimua, Hemme, etc.) are concerned, both these tribes (or both areas) should be sought in the Armenian Highlands between the Euphrates and Lake Van, or perhaps even further east. The Hittite texts in question are concerned with warriors from these tribes who served as mercenaries in the Hittite army. Later their privilege of getting paid for their service was extended to the warriors of the Hittite capital as well.

In all probability it was the privileged aristocracy with no labor obligations that constituted the "lords of the city of Hattusas," out of whom were recruited the above-mentioned dignitaries and administrators, as well as the charioteers, who were the nucleus of the army. The highest of the dignitaries and military commanders received the right to rule entire areas and collect tribute from them. The members of the royal family constituted the elite of Hittite society.

3.1.5. The Hittite State

The Hittite Empire had a loose structure. Some towns and areas were directly subject to the king (and in the period of the New Kingdom, i.e., after 1400 B.C., some were subject to royal deputies of different rank). In addition there existed small, semi-dependent kingdoms (which were sometimes specially carved out for Hittite [29] princes and sometimes had been subjugated by the Hittites), as well as regions which were allotted to be ruled by the most important dignitaries. The relations between all the rulers of these semi-independent areas and the Hittite government were stipulated by written treaties of allegiance to the Hittite king. The sacred temple-cities and their territory probably enjoyed autonomy and freedom from general state taxes and obligatory services.

At the head of the state stood the king (91)--*bassus* or *taparnas* (*laparnas*)--and the queen--*tawanannas*. The functions of the king were as follows: 1) to command the armed forces and go on military campaigns every summer; 2) to head the cults of the gods and conduct rituals, magically personifying the fertility and well-being of the country; 3) to head the whole state administration; and 4) to hold a court of law in all the most important matters, especially those punishable by death.

The mother of the king, and upon her death the mother of the heir-apparent, was a *tawanannas*. In this way not every head wife of a king (92) (a "queen"--*hassusar*) was a *tawanannas*, since this was a lifetime office. It was considered no less important than the office of the king. The *tawanannas* was the high priestess, with a wide range of religious and political rights and duties. She also had an income of her own, independent of the income of the king.

The king (*bassus*) was originally elected from a specific family or group of families by a popular assembly (*pankus*). However already within the period of the Old Kingdom (17th-15th centuries B. C.) the *pankus* actually consisted not of all men capable of bearing arms, but only of the kinsmen and chief retainers of the king and of his personal following. After the reforms of King Telepinus at the end of the 16th century, a firm order of succession to the throne from father to son was established. The *pankus* had by then only the right of formal confirmation of the hereditary king, a right held jointly with the elders of the kingdom (*nakkes*). Both the king and the *tawanannas* were, in certain instances, subject to the jurisdiction of the *pankus* and could be deposed (93).

In the New Kingdom the *pankus* retained only some religious functions (94), and the power of the king became despotic. The king began to accept lofty titles, and instead of calling himself "I", he began to refer to himself as "My Sun."

3.1.6. The Hittite Temple

Religion played a tremendous role in the life of the Hittite Empire. The major deity was the god of thunder, Tarhus or Tarhunts (the Hurrians called him Teshshub, or more precisely, Teshshob); the [30] Hattic Goddess of the Sun, who was worshipped in the city of Arinna, was considered to be the special protectress of the king. Apart from these there were a great number of deities of Hattic, Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian, and Sumero-Akkadian origin.

Religion was tremendously important not only in ideological life but also in production and consumption. This was because the temples constituted important economies, analogous in structure to the royal economy, which

exerted influence on the entire society. They made use of the obligatory labor of community members, and they probably received large payments from them in the form of cattle, agricultural goods, and handicrafts. But the temples were also important because everywhere in the Ancient Orient, participation in the abundant sacrifices of cattle and sheep was the only opportunity for the agricultural population, especially the poor, to get meat as part of their diet. This strengthened the population's dependence on the state all the more, since the cults of the gods were the ideological basis of royal power.

3.1.7. The Writing of the Hittites

Writing was well known to the Hittites. The Assyrian version of the Akkadian cuneiform script had been brought to Asia Minor by merchants of Assur, and the princes of the city-states of Asia Minor used it (as well as the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian) for their own needs (95). After the creation of the Hittite Old Kingdom the Hittite scribes adopted another variant of Akkadian cuneiform which had been current in Northern Syria and which also had been used by the Hurrians (96). Along with cuneiform the scribes also employed a local form of hieroglyphic writing. Although it was used throughout the entire Hittite domain, apparently the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions was in every instance one of the Luwian dialects (traditionally, though mistakenly, termed "the Hittite Hieroglyphic language" though now correctly called "Hieroglyphic Luwian").

We will not dwell on other aspects of Hittite society and its culture, since the above is only meant to illustrate conditions which may have existed in districts of the Armenian Highlands included in the Hittite Empire. It gives us some idea of what the neighboring and relatively more backward society of the Highlands itself was like in the 2nd millennium B.C.

3.2. Hurrian Society. The Sources

We know less about the society of the Hurrian state of Mitanni. Our notion of the Hittite Empire derives from the official documents of the archives of its capital (annals, decrees, correspondence [31] of the kings, international treaties, deeds of donation of land, instructions to officials, religious and ritual texts, etc). But of Hurrian society we know only what we can glean from private or minor administrative archives, chiefly legal documents, all of which originated from the outlying areas of Mitannian influence. This evidence comes from Nuzi in the kingdom of Arrapkhe (modern Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan) for the 15th-14th centuries B.C., and from Alalakh in the kingdom of Mukishe (present-day Tell Atchana on the Orontes River) for the 18th and 15th centuries B.C. In certain instances we can trace in complete detail the economic and social fates and even the personal relations of many dozens of Hurrian families through several generations. We have, therefore, a more vivid view of their economic life. We will here follow the reconstruction of Hurrian social conditions suggested by the Soviet scholar N. B. Jankowska (97). She has shown that the basic features of the social picture which she established for Arrapkhe were also characteristic of the whole of Western Asia outside of Babylonia and Egypt in the second millennium B.C.

3.2.1. The Hurrian Domestic Commune (Extended Family)

The Hurrians of the plains were basically farmers with well developed handicrafts. The farming population lived in patriarchal extended families (domestic communes) which in the documents (compiled in Akkadian) are called "houses" (*bitu*), or (especially in Arrapkhe) "towers" (*dimtu*). Each extended family had its own aggregated land fund, which was called "domain" (**ewro*), and was at the disposal of the patriarch, or "chief" (*ewri*). At some time in the past the entire land fund may have been worked jointly, but according to the sources which have come down to us, it was divided into parcels for each of the individual adult members of the extended family. All the members of such a family (or even a clan) were expected to render the obligatory service to which their community was liable (Akkad. *ilku*; Hurrian, *unoshshe*), which in due time became services to the state. One of the parcels (*kashka*) seems to have been dedicated to the cult of the family gods (98). It was at the special disposal of the *ewri*. Upon the death of the patriarch the family commune might

continue to be ruled jointly by the "brothers." The term "brothers" included not only the sons of the same parents but more or less all of the descendants of the patriarch of approximately the same degree of kinship, i.e., those who regarded each other as brothers, first cousins, second cousins, etc., and sometimes even cousins once and twice removed. As the extended family grew, it would split up. This usually occurred in the third or fourth generation. However the conditions of the [32] productive forces did not permit the maintenance of individual small families as independent economic units. Deprived of the extended family's mutual aid, they would either perish, become subject to other communal groups, or soon grow into a new extended family. There existed between the extended family communes a complicated system of mutual relations. The family communes which were formed when an extended family communal group of a greater size disintegrated, remained loosely united by a common cult. They would acknowledge a certain authority of the *ewri* of the "elder" family community and were probably, although not quite so obligatory as before, joined to kindred family communes by the custom of mutual aid. This allowed the richer families, by depending on patriarchal ties, to exploit the related poorer communes. But the members of the family communes (or groups of related communes) were not simply subject to the authority of the *ewri*. In certain cases he himself had to bear material responsibility for their actions. In any event, however, the position of the *ewri* was so important that the members of rich families would seek to buy his rights.

3.2.2. The Hurrian Territorial Commune

But apart from the ties of kinship, there were also ties between neighbors. Thus several weaker family groups could give their allegiance to an *ewri* of a neighboring stronger family community and would thus be tied to the latter by a patriarchal type of relation, despite their lack of actual kinship (99). Several related, and often even unrelated, families or family groups would form a sort of organizational union. Such a community of neighbors or neighboring extended families (or clans) constituted a self-governing village (Akkad. *alu*). The family tower (*dimtu*) could dominate over a village or a group of such villages; sometimes they could grow into a town and then into a city-state with its own self- government.

In this way individual fortified family homesteads (*dimtu*, "towers")(100) would group together along with nonfortified dwellings into a village or town. Note that the Ancient Near Eastern terminology makes no difference between these two, and both were called by one and the same term, e.g., Akkad. *alu*. But the *alu* was not only a settlement which included clan communes or a community of neighbors; it could also include people dependent on the "palace" (for instance, artisans) or even such dependent persons only. The villages would group together around one or several centers (fortified settlements), conventionally designated as "towns" or "cities," where there was a temple, the dwelling of a [33] leader or chief, and dwellings of the officials of the communities united in the "city-state." It is here that the council of elders and probably the popular assembly would gather (101). Thus, for example, in the "city" of Nuzi, a "mayor" (*bazannu*) stood at the head of the administration, and he sometimes took part in the meetings of the council of the elders. The "city" of Nuzi was subject to the king, who ruled in the center of the territory ("country") of Arrapkhe. Later it was apparently dependent on an Arrapkhean prince who had settled near the fortress of Nuzi. It is probable that Arrapkhe was allied to Mitanni and for some period may have paid tribute to it. The king of Alalakh was, all through its history, technically independent, but he also apparently paid tribute, first to Yamhad and later to Mitanni (102).

Such is the picture that can be reconstructed for an early stage of Hurrian society of the "Fertile Crescent," at least in its outlying regions. The society in the Highlands must have been similar,IO except that state power had not yet developed there. Instead tribal confederacies existed. The leading role of animal husbandry must also have modified the picture there.

By the period during which documents attest Hurrian society in the lowland, the situation had already become more complex.

3.2.3. The Disintegration of the Extended Family Commune

As Jankowska suggests, the intensification of farming and the changeover to specialized types of economy (either gardening only, or viticulture only, a departure from farming connected with animal husbandry to a pure field economy, etc.), served as the initial push. On the one hand this afforded a significant rise in the profitability of the economies, but on the other hand it heightened the requirement for internal exchange. At the same time it made for stronger contrasts in the stratification of individual family communes, and even within them, inasmuch as specialized economies were conducted inside the family commune by individual family cells. With the primitive development of the commodity market and money economy the one-sided development of separate households, coupled with their constant lack of means for exchange, intensified the need for credit. This credit was extended to the poorer families by the more successful figures, and by representatives of the communal aristocracy. (In Alalakh individual creditors systematically ceded their rights with respect to debtors to the king since he was economically stronger. The transaction took the form of a loan without a time limit, and the debtors were expected to work off the interest) (104).

[34] It should be noted that under the conditions of that time each economy was to a high degree dependent upon the chances of weather and war. The weaker a household was, the more insecure was its well-being, and the more easily it could fall into dependence on a more wealthy economy.

3.2.4. Usury

In view of the primitive development of commodity-money relations, credit was expensive: 30 percent per annum was considered a rather low interest. A creditor would require security for a loan. At first the poorer families would mortgage their own members, handing them over as debtor-slaves to work among the personnel of the creditor's household, or they themselves would become debtor-slaves, and often remain so, since they could not pay their debts on time. Such a debtor-slave was regarded as a slave in the proper sense, although he would sometimes still have a plot in his family community. Participation in property of land would allow him to retain certain civil rights or at least the hope of liberation in the future (105). Indeed, though the courts always decided in favor of the creditors in a litigation, an *ewri* would try to rescue member of his community, for if the head of an impoverished family should die, it was precisely the *ewri* who was to answer for his debts. Any community member ransomed by him would become the debtor of the *ewri* himself.

Since movables were personal property and not the property of the family commune, wealth would gradually amass in the hands of individuals and not of the family communes: the kinsmen of the rich men became dependent on them, and the obligation of mutual aid then turned into a right of exploitation of the poor by the rich. However the rich creditors in the communities were not satisfied with this. They began to round off their own real properties, especially since land bought by personal means remained the personal property of the buyer.

3.2.5. Usurpation of Land

As a matter of principle community land was regularly repartitioned (106), and it was inalienable. In Arrapkhe this rule was evaded by a device whereby the family commune of the vendors "adopted" or "accepted as brother" the actual purchaser. The "adopted" buyer, by special proviso, did not take on any of the responsibilities of the family commune which he technically entered. However such a transaction did allow him to use the help of the members of the adopting commune, i.e., in essence to [35] exploit them. According to customary law, these transactions, acknowledged by the judges, could be implemented only with the knowledge and consent of the commune members and especially of the *ewri* (who at that time was, in fact, losing his former significance, especially in the weak, disintegrating communes; but he was still responsible for seeing that the commune members fulfilled the conditions of their contracts). For the acquired land a purchaser would not pay a "price" (since this was not considered a purchase), but a "gift," which therefore became the personal property of the vendor or vendors (not of the whole family commune). Actually the "adoptee" as often as not received the land almost for free, since the vendors were his debtors, and his "gift" was only as much as they owed him (107).

Roughly the same situation can be observed in Assur, in Alalakh, and probably in the Hittite Empire, with the exception that, for example, in Assur the purchase of the fields was in no way disguised (108).

3.2.6. Fugitives from Obligatory Labor

Ordinary community members continued to bear the burden of obligatory labor and military services. Although a rich man would technically remain a community member, with all the ensuing obligations (109), it is improbable that he ever fulfilled them. Instead he relied on the mutual aid of the family commune or sent his own slaves to work. Even if he acquired land, he did not take on the obligation of military service associated with it. Instead the obligation remained with the vendors, according to the conditions of the contract. In this manner the rudiments of societal separation into taxable and nontaxable estates were formed, although for a long time this was not formalized in law.

Communal obligations and rights were tied to the land; they were maintained for each member of the family commune as long as the commune owned at least the last land parcel, the one dedicated to the cult. But under the conditions described, it is completely understandable that many community members would decide to sacrifice their civil rights in order to free themselves from the obligations. It is about this time that groups of people who had abandoned their communities and lost their status could be found wandering from country to country, now plundering, now hiring themselves out to military detachments or as workers (110). Many poor people fled into the mountains, also, no doubt, to the Armenian Highlands, saving themselves from exploitation among the tribes which were still free. The influx of people with the [36] experience of advanced agriculture and of conditions characteristic of class civilization must have quickened the development of social relations in the territories that still continued as pre-state organizations. Their population, however, was fated to take the same path which had been trodden by the Hittite and Hurrian societies.

3.2.7. The Problem of Slavery

In the emerging large private economies of the rich Hurrians, the problem of labor force was of paramount importance. Debtor-slavery and mutual aid between family commune members could only partially resolve it. Moreover in the exploitation of one's compatriots enslaved for debt one had to overcome their attempts to free themselves, as well as the attempts of their kinsmen to ransom them, which led to litigations in court, etc. (112). Foreign slaves were more highly valued, in particular the mountaineers (*lullu*) who, once having fallen into slavery, were completely defenseless (113).

Therefore beginning with the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. we find in the Hittite and Assyrian sources the first evidence of military campaigns arranged specially for the seizure of captives (114). We have already discussed the fate of captives in the Hittite Empire. However when the army brought home too many captives, it was not possible to use all of them effectively in production. Furthermore *en masse* they presented a danger to their masters. Thus as late as the 14th century the Hittites slaughtered a part of the captives (115), while in the 13th century the Assyrians blinded many of them and then could probably use them only in simple household jobs, and most probably only in large households such as the palace households (obviously in order to free more reliable working hands for more necessary jobs) (116). As we have seen, the Hittites did not turn all captives into slaves, but used some of them in other ways.

3.2.8. The Palace and Temple Economy in the Hurrian States

Apart from the conditions prevailing in the community economy which we have already described, we should mention the existence of other types of economies in Hurrian society: the palace and temple estates. Neither had the same significance they did have in the river civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt, but they undoubtedly were an important element in the country's general economy. Workers of different categories (the *taluhli*, the "people

of the house," etc.), deprived in different degrees of their civil [37] rights, worked in the palace household (117). They were typologically similar to the "royal slaves" among the Hittites.

3.2.8.1. The Aristocracy and the Charioteers

Since we have the source material only from the periphery, we apparently do not get a complete enough presentation of Hurrian society as a whole. We know nearly nothing of Mitannian society. There is no doubt that an aristocracy of birth surrounded the Mitannian king. It seems, though, that it is a mistake to assign the *marianna* (charioteers) to the aristocracy (118). And there is no evidence to suggest that the *marianna* were Indo-Iranians, as some scholars suggest. Apparently the Indo-Iranian ethnic group had already been subsumed by the Hurrians *in toto* by the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.

3.2.8.2. Hurrian State Structure

It is now necessary to say a few words about the state structure in Hurrian society. We know very little about it, but judging by the fact that the Hittite governmental terminology is frequently derived from the Hurrian (119), we can presume that the state system of Mitanni and the other Hurrian states (Kizzuwadna, Alzi, Arrapkhe, etc.) differed from the Hittite only in details. We have already spoken about the administrative organization on the lower level, that of "town mayors" and councils of elders. We have good ground for thinking that at least in the rural and probably in the urban communities there also existed popular assemblies. We also know that in the Mitannian Empire, just as in the Hittite Empire, important areas were ruled by royal kinsmen, and that a whole series of autonomous kingdoms were, more or less formally, subject to the Mitanni Empire. Ashur, for instance, a purely Akkadian enclave completely retaining its internal structure, was ruled by a council of elders and a prince who had little independent power (120). But there a Mitannian "envoy" (*sukkallu*) took part in the city administration alongside of the prince and his elders (121). Only later, when the Mitannian Empire had weakened, and the rulers of Ashur had started large campaigns of conquests, did they begin to use the title of "king of Assyria," while the council of elders fell into the background. This process began with Assuruballit I (in the middle of the 14th century B.C.), who made good use of his city's strategic position, lying, as it did, on or very near to all the important trading and military routes (122).

The individual local rulers and, when they were absent, the councils of elders (123) were in Mitannian (and generally in Hurrian) [38] society probably autonomous to a very large degree. As mentioned above, the documents from the kingdom of Mukishe-Alalakh in the 18th century B.C. attest a curious phenomenon: the kings of Alalakh bought from their own subjects the right to receive taxes and the obligatory labor of villages and whole groups of villages (124).

3.2.8.3. Military Organization

The organization of military service and of the army seems to have been, in Hurrian society, essentially similar to that which we have seen in the Hittite Empire. Apparently the warriors were recruited from the communities and partially equipped by them, but during inspections and campaigns they were fed by the palace. The palace also supplied the common warriors with arrows and other ammunition (125). It is a Hurrian warrior to whom the most ancient coat of mail known to archeology belonged, at a time when the Hittites still seem not to have been using it. However the state and military organizations of Mitanni were obviously less effective than those of the Hittites, inasmuch as Mitanni suffered quick defeat in its struggle with them.

3.2.9. Religion and Literature of the Hurrians

The greater part of what we know about the spiritual culture of the lowland Hurrians is gleaned from certain texts in the Hittite royal archives written in Hurrian or translated from the Hurrian (126). Religion played just as

important a role for the Hurrians as for the other Ancient Oriental societies. A very strong influence of Babylonia is felt in religion as in the other areas of ideology. The most important deity was the god of thunder, Teshub (Teshob), whose centers of worship were the city of Kummanni (Comana) in the Cilician Taurus Mountains, and evidently also a city of the same name (Kum[m]anni, Qumenu, Qumme) (127) on the upper reaches of the Upper Zab River. Next came the wife of Teshub, the goddess Heba, or Hebat; the goddess of fertility, war, and carnal love, Shawushka (to whom apparently orgiastic cults were dedicated); the god of the Sun, Shimige, and countless other common and local gods. It is important to note that the pantheon differed from one city-state to another; it was not the same in Kizzuwadna (this is the pantheon which had been adopted, along with other gods, in the Hittite capital) as in Ugarit, in Mitanni, or in Arrapkhe, etc. Babylonian and (only in Mitanni proper) Indo-Iranian gods were also worshipped along with the Hurrian gods. A curious feature of Hurrian society is the existence in every settlement (territorial community) of special priestesses (apparently of the [39] fertility cults), designated by the heterogram MI2.LUGAL, which stands for "woman-king." These priestesses belonged to the aristocracy and apparently exercised not only cult functions but some administrative functions as well (128).

3.2.9.1. Hurrian Writing

The Hurrians were acquainted with writing (in the form of Akkadian cuneiform) already in the 3rd millennium B.C., as is attested by the inscription of Tishari, the priest(ess) of Urkesh, to which we have already referred. In the 2nd millennium B.C. they used the Akkadian cuneiform in its Northern Syrian-Mesopotamian variant. In addition the various parts of the Hurrian territory used different spelling systems (129). Hurrian literature was evidently rather rich, but only its insignificant remains have come down to us. It had been influenced by Babylonian literature (for example, fragments of a Hurrian version of the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic are known). The annals and other historical texts of the Mitannian kings, which, to judge from circumstantial evidence, must once have existed, have not been preserved (130).

3.3. The Significance of the History of Hurrian Society for the History of the Armenian Highlands

A certain portion of the Hurrians lived for a long time in Mesopotamia and the immediately contiguous regions like Arrapkhe and Alalakh, where the population had ancient traditions of settled agriculture and where the features of class society had long ago been apparent (131). By the time we find written documents, that portion of the Hurrians had altogether lost its original tribal structure (*18). The sources show us only family communes and their groups, as well as territorial organizations of the village and town. But in the mountains the tribe apparently remained as the highest form of organization. Nevertheless the historical situation as it had taken shape among the southern Hurrians gives a pretty true indication of the direction in which Hurrian society must have developed in the less advanced areas both of the valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Armenian Highlands in general. Class civilization would be born amid trials and tribulations which the people of the Highlands had still to experience.

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65. According to a letter published by Dossin, the price for a horse in the 19th-18th centuries B.C. was 5.5 minas (2.5 kg.) of silver—roughly the price of five to six slaves or ten hectares (about 25 acres) of field.

66. In addition to the examples given below, this also happened in Achaean Greece and in India. See Piggot, 274 ff. Horseback-riding was used only in special cases (for sending couriers, etc.); there were no saddles or stirrups. Cavalry as an armed force (still without stirrups) appears in Western Asia only in the 1st millennium B.C. among the Assyrians and the nomadic tribes (the Cimmerians and Scythians). See also n. *28 below.

67. It has been suggested that the Kassites owed their success in the final subjugation of Babylonia in the 16th century B.C. to the horse-drawn chariot borrowed from their Indo-European neighbors.

68. Ebeling (1951).

69. The whole range of these questions is investigated in Kammenhuber (1961a), 6-38, a work mainly devoted to the publication of a textbook on Hurrian horse-breeding by Kikkuli, translated by a Hittite, and of other similar texts. See also n. *23 below.

70. At Osmankayasi.

71. Or possibly two names, one Indo-Iranian, the other Hurrian. See Güterbock (1956), 120-21.

72. The opinions of the Hittitologists have differed as to whether these terms designate one state or two different ones. At present the first solution appears to be the more convincing. "Hurrian" is a broader term than Mitanni-Hanigalbat and could be applied also to a number of other states where the popula-

tion or the dynasties were Hurrian-speaking.

73. The localization of Kizzuwadna in Pontus, which makes it necessary to assume that the domain of Mitanni extended to the Black Sea, is out of date.

74. See the bibliography on Hittite society in Goetze (1957); see also Alp (1950), 113-35; Diakonoff (1967a); and n. *29 below.

75. This is a Sumerian heterogram with the meaning "(living) booty", Hittite probably *arnuwalas*.

76. The legal term was Akkad. *aštapiṛu*, Sum. "heads of female and male slaves."

77. The citizens of the autonomous temple cities were probably in a special position.

78. The Hittite Laws, table I, secs. 32-36.

79. The opinion about the humane treatment of slaves among the Hittites in no way corresponds to reality, as has been shown by V. V. Struve and others. Thus the case of a slave paying half as much wergeld for a crime and the lower assignment of his compensation of losses to the victim in comparison with a free man is, of course, explained by the fact that most of the slaves had no peculium, and the payment of the wergeld fell to the master.

80. In the Hittite cuneiform, which usually used heterograms, i.e., Sumerian or Akkadian words written where a Hittite word is to be read, the *hippares* were designated by the heterogram *LU₂A-SI-RUM* or *LU₂A-SI-aš*, which in Akkadian denotes "captured, bound" and especially refers to the slave-captives. (About their position in Babylonia, see Leemans [1961], 57 ff.) It is curious that in Urartian the same heterogram was used for the word

"warrior"; most likely what was originally meant was the warriors of the auxiliary units selected originally from captives, but later used for any warriors; cf. The Hittite Laws, secs. 48-59.

81. For details see Menabde (1961), 11 ff.

82. The Hittite Laws, sec. 40.

83. The heterogram by which they were designated is LU₂ GIŠ.TUKUL ("a man of weapon," "man of arms"); in Hittite, probably to be read *bantatialis*. However, as F. Sommer has shown in Sommer and Falkenstein (1938), 120-33, the "man of arms" had actually a peacetime profession, and probably was usually an artisan. It is probably more correct to translate the term as "liable to military conscription." See also about the slave-artisans in the Hittite Laws, sec. 176(b).

84. Thus when a member of the family commune died, the other adult members of the family would inherit his wife and probably his share in the household. Jointly with the "man of arms" liable to conscription and sometimes jointly with a priest or some other person whose duties often distracted him from the household, the latter was managed by a "man of (his) share," probably one of his younger kinsmen. In dividing the household, the "man of the share" had a right to a certain portion (about a third). See The Hittite Laws, table I, sec. 53; table II, secs. 192-193; cf. table I, sec. 51.

85. The people who were dependent upon the king or on the dignitaries apparently lived in small homesteads. However the rule of *iwaru* also applied to them, or at least to those of them whose parcels had been allotted out of the common land for their carrying out

obligatory services. Only a person who had acquired the *iwaru* from them and thus either entered the family group as its head, or formed a new family commune on the base of this *iwaru*, was obliged to overtake the service in question (The Hittite Laws, table I, secs. 46-47; table III, secs. 36-39).

86. Cf. Menabde (1961), 19 ff.

87. The elders of the community (*miabwantes*) are often referred to in the Hittite sources; see von Schuler (1957), 47-48, as well as The Hittite Laws, table III, sec. 4.

88. The Hittite Laws, table I, secs. 47, 50-51, 54-55; table III, sec. 4.

89. Ibid., table I, sec. 54. The Hemmuwa which is referred to in the text KUB. XVII, II, 21, is perhaps another country.

90. This term designated some northern tribe, whom the inhabitants of the more southerly regions considered to be barbarians. Later, in the Assyrian and Babylonian texts of various periods, the Cimmerians, the Scythians, and the Medes were at various times designated by this term (*Ummān-manda*). E. Forrer suggested that in the time of the Hittites this term possibly denoted the Indo-Iranian horse-breeding tribes to which we referred above. Kapantsjan found traces of the ethnonyms Manda and Sala in the names of some of the families of the Armenian nobility in the Middle Ages. His conclusions, however, require checking.

91. See Goetze (1957), 85-103. Apart from the kings of the great powers (Egypt, Babylonia, etc.), whom the Hittite kings considered on a par with themselves, the Hittites differentiated subject kings (*bassus*) of various rank: there were "allies" and those that were "sworn

(to **allegiance**)"; in a separate category were the minor "kings"—the members of the Hittite royal house. Only the supreme king of the Hittites bore the title of *taparnas* and could style himself (from the New Kingdom on) "My Sun."

92. Apart from the head wife and queen, the Hittite king had a harem of wives and concubines of differing ranks, while the queen was surrounded by a court which included priestesses.

93. For example, the king could be deposed for the arbitrary execution of royal kinsmen.

94. On the *pankus*, see Ivanov (1957), 19-36; (1958), 3-15.

95. Cf. the texts in Gelb (1935), nos. 1, 49, etc.

96. Gamkrelidze (1961), 406 ff. The reason for this change is unknown. A similar reform also took place, roughly at the same time, in Assyria itself, where King Šamši-Adad I abolished the Old Assyrian variant of the cuneiform writing system and introduced in his offices another variant, which had its origin in his own homeland in Northern Mesopotamia (as well as in Syria). This variant of cuneiform was closer to the Babylonian. Perhaps he meant to create a means of communication which would be generally understandable throughout the entire Near East. In the Hittite Empire the new variant of the cuneiform writing system was used for writing both in Akkadian and in Hittite. However the services in the temples of the Hittite Empire were conducted in various languages. Therefore although ritual texts are all written in the same variant of cuneiform script, in parts of the texts it is used to reproduce the Hattic, Hurrian, Luwian, and Palaic languages. The need to know Akkadian — the interna-

tional language of that time — and Akkadian cuneiform required that the Hittite scribes learn Sumerian as well, which was necessary for the understanding and correct usage of the Sumerian heterograms, in which the Akkadian and Hittite texts abounded. On heterograms, see also n. 80 above.

97. Jankowska (1957), 17-33; eadem (1961), 424-580; eadem (1959), 35 ff.; eadem (1963a), 35 ff.; eadem (1963b), 226 ff., and others. Cf. Diakonoff (1949), chap. 2. See also n. *30 below.

98. Speiser (1930), 365-66.

99. See Jankowska (1963a), 54.

100. The tower could consist of a main structure on the ground floor (where animals were kept) and a superstructure of lesser floor area. The superstructure could have two or more additional floors inhabited by dozens of people. Clay models of such buildings are known, and representations of buildings of approximately the same type are well known from Urartu. The Caucasian mountaineers built such "dwelling towers" until the last century.

Dimtu also meant the land around.

101. In any event there were popular assemblies in the rural communities; cf. Jankowska (1963), 54-55.

102. Woolley (1953), 126-27.

103. This is not a mere supposition; the data of the Assyrian and Urartian inscriptions, although scant, reveal similarities between the Urartian society in the 1st millennium B.C. and that of the Hurrians of the 2d millennium B.C. Among other things they show the existence of family-commune settlements in towers and homesteads and self-government of territorial communities.

104. Heltzer (1956), 17 ff.

105. Jankowska (1961), 428.

106. Apparently there existed two types of partitionings: (1) within the family commune, taking place probably every year; and (2) a general partitioning of the land in a territorial community, with invalidation of all agreements involving debts and the ensuing alienations of land (*andurāru*), announced over an interval of time. However this question still has not been sufficiently investigated.

107. In Nuzi, Tehib-Tilla, who was simultaneously the head of a military district, a member of the council of elders, and a usurer, was "adopted" almost 150 times. Note that state officials never intervened.

108. Here the richer families had managed to accumulate great wealth already during the period when the trading colonies were active, and the influence of exchange on the stability of the communal sector of the economy was probably felt more strongly than in the other neighboring centers.

109. The obligation to perform military service, as well as other forms of service for the palace, was usually connected with allotments of land. In some regions (Aššur, Arrapkhe, the Hittite Empire) land allotments were granted specifically for this purpose out of the family-commune reserves inside the territorial community. In Arrapkhe the plots in question were apparently ceded to the state in exchange for the granting of water to the commune.

110. These were the so-called *bapiru*, a term which in the past was mistakenly held to be the ethnic designation of the Hebrews' ancestors. Actually they were widespread in *all* countries of the An-

cient East. See Bottéro (1954); the later works by Greenberg (1955); Borger (1958), 121-32; Yeivin (1963), 39, and some others seem to us to be a step backward in comparison with the conclusions made in the book edited by Bottéro.

111. This is very probable with respect to the Hurrians and known to be true with respect to the Hittite NAM.RA; see the following chapter. Cf. also Rowton (1965), 377 ff.

112. According to customary law, which was, however, less and less taken into consideration, debtor-slaves were to be set free in connection with the general redistribution of land of a territorial commune following an *andurāru* (cf. n. 106 above). This probably took place in those cases when their share of land was still kept for them within their own family community.

113. Jankowska (1961), 454-55.

114. In the Hittite Empire this is mentioned for the first time in the annals of Suppiluliumas I (14th century B.C.); in the Assyrian sources the first mentions of displacement (and blinding) of 14,400 captives occurs in the annals of Shalmaneser I (13th century B.C.); see Grayson (1972), 530. See also n. *31 below.

115. Menabde (1961), 14, n. 13.

116. See the cited text of Shalmaneser I; cf. also Ebeling (1927), no. 180.

117. In the opinion of Jankowska, a "palace" in Hurrian society was not a synonym for the royal economy: the kings themselves and the royal kinsmen received payments from it on the same basis as the other officials. The "palace" must thus be viewed as the state economy, which had grown up out of the security reserves (land

fund) of the territorial community, and only later was seized by the king as belonging to him personally.

118. This term is often found in the correspondence between the Egyptian pharaohs and the Syrian kinglets in the archives of Tell-Amarna, in the documents from Ugarit, Alalakh, etc. In our opinion the term itself is Hurrian, not Indo-European, having close analogies in Urartian and in Nakh-Daghestan languages.

119. Goetze (1957), 104. However this is held in contention by other scholars.

120. Diakonoff (1949), 18 ff.; cf. p. 40.

121. The Mitannian "envoys" placed their own stelae in Aššur alongside of the stelae of the eponym officials, who changed every year. These officials (*limmu*) were apparently heads of the treasury and possibly presided over the council of elders. Cf. Andrae (1913), no. 63, 129, 137a; Saporetto (1974).

122. Diakonoff (1949), 38.

123. Apart from Aššur, this type of situation apparently existed in some cities of Syria.

124. Heltzer (1956), 15 ff.

125. Jankowska (1959), 42-43. The author justly notes that the "palace" supplied the warriors at the expense of taxation of the population. She also remarks (*ibid.*, 41) that the communities themselves may have received the necessary supplies for the warriors in a centralized manner from the state.

126. These are myths and fairy tales; they are preserved only in fragments. See Güterbock (1946); Friedrich (1950), 213-55; eadem (1949), 230-54; Güterbock (1952), and others.

127. Melikišvili (1954), 154 ff.

128. Among these priestesses were Tulbunnaia, one of the most active usurers, who was connected with the palace at Nuzi, and queen Amminae, the addressee of a letter from the king of Mitanni preserved in the archives of the Prince Šilwi-Teššub; see Pfeiffer (1932); cf. the list of MI₂ LUGAL : SMN 2662; cf. Speiser (1952), 95.

129. Speiser (1941), 11 ff.

130. It is known that the Hittite, early Assyrian (12th to 9th centuries B.C.), and Urartian royal inscriptions were constructed according to definite, constantly repeated formulae. Many formulae of the Urartian inscriptions coincide with both the Hittite and the Assyrian formulae, but some others have no analogy in the Assyrian annals; instead they have analogies in the Hittite annals. Cf., e.g., the Urartian formula: "With the god Haldi these deeds I accomplished within one year" (see, e.g., Goetze [1922], 130-31); or compare the Urartian formula: "I led away men and women from there, *x* youths I captured, *y* women, *z* warriors, *n* cattle, *a* sheep—this fell to the king, but what the warriors led away, they led away separately when I was leaving the country" with the Hittite formula: "and what I, the Sun, of the captives led away to the palace, of these there were *x* captives in all, but what the lords and warriors and charioteers of Hattusas led away of prisoners, cattle, and sheep was impossible to count" (*ibid.*, 76-77). These formulae are not found in the Assyrian annals. However it is difficult to trace the Urartian annals directly to the Hittites, since there are no apparent traces of contacts between the Hittites and the Urartians, and the Urartian writ-

ing itself has features in common with Hurrian and Assyrian, but not with Hittite. Thus there must have been links which connected the Hittite *annalistic* texts both with the Urartian and the Assyrian. Such a link could only have been a Hurrian one. See Diakonoff (1963c), 23 ff., 96, 101.

131. In the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., at the site of Nuzi

stood the town of Gasur, where a state economy and temple of the Sumerian type already existed. See Meek (1935); cf. Tjumenev (1956), 237 ff. The population of Gasur was not yet Hurrian; apparently at the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. the city was abandoned and its site was subsequently settled by new inhabitants.

ilarities in structure and vocabulary, apparently does not belong to the Caucasian family. It may be collaterally related to Proto-Indo-European. (These are the author's conclusions from the unpublished research work done by S. A. Starostin, on the one hand, and by Ivanov and Gamkrelidze, v. n. *9, on the other).

*8. Recent excavations in Eastern Georgia have revealed impressive "royal" burials attesting the existence of a highly developed culture already in the 3d millennium B.C. It was probably connected with a Proto-Georgian ethnos. The culture in question may have links with Maikop, as well as with other cultures north of the Caucasus, besides having features linking it with the contemporary cultures in the Near East, and with the later culture of Trialeti and Kirovakan.

*9. Recently a hypothesis has been put forward by Ivanov and Gamkrelidze (1980/81), according to which all Indo-European-speakers have wandered out from the territory under study in the present book (the date of their supposed habitation there being the 6th-4th millennia B.C.). This hypothesis in its present form seems to me improbable. Cf. the criticism published in VDI, 1982, 3-4. I would like to point out here only the following important argument against this hypothesis: while there are numerous traces of a Hattic substratum in Hittite, and of a Hurro-Urartian substratum in Armenian, there are no traces of a Hittite substratum in Hattic, nor of an Armenian or other Indo-European substratum in Hurro-Urartian.

*10. Note that the cremation rite so characteristic of the speakers of Indo-European languages seems to have been introduced into Asia Mi-

nor from the Balkans during the third millennium B.C., and in Transcaucasia from Asia Minor.

*11. Recently a new Semitic language which was spoken in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia during the 3d millennium B.C., conventionally named Eblaite, was discovered. In my opinion this was an early form of Western Semitic, although such an authority as I. J. Gelb prefers to classify Eblaite with Akkadian as Eastern Semitic.

*12. See n. *6 above.

*13. At present the most reliable data on animal husbandry, agriculture, and forestation in Eastern Anatolia and the Armenian Highland of the 3d-2d millennium B.C. can be found in Van Loon (1975), with contributions by J. Boessneck and A. van den Driesch on paleozoology, and by W. van Zeist and J.A.H. Bakker-Heeres on paleobotany. The book is based on a careful investigation of an important archeological site in the lower part of the Arsanias (Muratsu) valley, not far from the confluence of the Muratsu with the Euphrates. The authors show that in what we term the Kur-Araxes period there were about 250 sheep and goats and about 25 pigs to every 100 cattle. The proportion changed to about 150 sheep and goats and about 27 pigs to 100 cattle in the Middle Bronze II (Hittite Old Kingdom), and to about 200 sheep and about 35-40 pigs to 100 cattle in the period of the Hittite New Kingdom. However in absolute numbers the herd had grown perhaps tenfold over what it had been in the Kur-Araxes period. As to the horse and the donkey, the proportion was 0:100 in the Kur-Araxes period, about 2:100 in the period of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and 4:100 in the New Kingdom

(which again implies a sixfold increase from the Old to the New Kingdom). Of course the horse remained exclusively a war animal, and only the donkey was used as a beast of burden. Curiously enough, although long domesticated in the Fertile Crescent countries, the donkey was virtually unknown in the mountains until late in the 3d millennium B.C.

*14. Since this volume was written, much archeological information from "Eastern Anatolia" (the Armenian Highland) has been amassed, but our main conclusions do not seem to need revision.

*15. It has now been shown that the correct pronunciation of this place name is *Gnes*, hence later *Nesa* and "Nesite."

*16. Actually Inner Anatolia was one of the earliest centers of agricultural civilization. Considerable town-like settlements with highly developed art (e.g., wall-paintings, sculpture) existed here already in the 7th-6th millennia B.C. However state structures with class stratification of society did not develop in Asia Minor until millennia later, possibly because of the beginning of an arid epoch in the 6th millennium.

*17. "Hanigalbat," the usual Akkadian name for Mitanni, is first mentioned in the Akkadian version of a bilingual text of the Old Hittite king Hattusilis I (17th century B.C.); the Hittite version has "Hurri." It has been thought that the Akkadian version was a late translation from Hittite, and the term was used anachronistically. But H. M. Avetisyan has shown, by a comparison with the grammatical forms and spelling habits in Akkadian translations of the Hittite New Kingdom texts, that the language of the Ak-

kadian version of Hattusilis's text is Old Babylonian, not Middle Babylonian. Hence the version is actually to be dated in the 17th century B.C. This means that Hanigalbat, i.e., Mitanni, already existed at that period.

*18. However see Diakonoff (forthcoming 2).

*19. (to n. 24) The near kinship between Elamite and Proto-Dravidian has, in the opinion of the author, finally been proved by McAlpin (1974); eadem (1975).

*20. (to n. 25) More probably it was the culture of a pre-Hurrian linguistic substratum.

*21. (to n. 30) Recently T. V. Gamkrelidze has shown that the number of common vocables in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian is considerable. They belong to the basic vocabulary, which points more to the possibility of a collateral kinship with Proto-Indo-European than to borrowing (the present author's opinion).

*22. (to n. 33) For a summary of the data on all Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) languages, see now Korolev (1976).

*23. (to n. 43) See also Kammenhuber (1968); Diakonoff (1972); Mayrhofer (1973).

*24. (to n. 51) See also Veenhof (1962); Larsen (1976).

*25. (to n. 56) See now Riem-schneider (1971), 79-102.

*26. (to n. 57) See V. Haas (1977/78).

*27. (to n. 62) There has been a heated discussion lately over the issues of Hittite chronology; see the references in Boese and Wilhelm (1979), n. 67. This paper is an important contribution to the chronology of the 2d millennium B.C., which unfortunately we were not able to use in the present book.

I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People* ***Predystoriia armianskogo naroda***

Excerpts

Erevan, 1968, English Translation by Lori Jennings
(Delmar, New York, 1984)

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Chapter 3. The Formation of the Armenian People

1. The Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Armenian Highlands at the Beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C.

We began with a characterization of the ethnic composition of the population on the Armenian Highlands and the surrounding countries during the 3d and 2d millennia B.C.; now we must try to characterize the ethnic composition of the population there at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. Just as before, we will dwell chiefly on the linguistic features of the ethnos, as they are more relevant than the anthropological and less vague than the cultural-historical features.

1.1. The Linguistic Situation at the Beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C.

We encounter some of the same linguistic groups now as before. Thus the mountains of Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan were occupied to a certain extent by the descendents of the same Quti who lived here in the 3d millennium B.C. (1). However Iranian languages, part of the Indo-Iranian linguistic branch, had already also spread widely in Iranian Azerbaijan and in the entire Highlands of Iran. The northernmost of them was the language of the Medes (in the Armenian sources--*medac'i* or *mar*) (2). These languages belong to the same branch of Indo-European languages as the so-called "Mesopotamian-Aryan" or "Western Indo-Iranian" of Mitanni which we encountered in the 2d millennium B.C. (actually not in Mesopotamia, at least as a living language, but probably near Lake Urmia). The "Western Indo-Iranian" is usually supposed to have been Indo-Aryan, while the Iranian languages belonged to another subgroup of Indo-Iranian. If in the earliest period they ever penetrated to the Armenian Highlands as well (3), they did not leave any stable linguistic traces here. Their appearance in Iranian Azerbaijan has been dated variously, e.g., to the 11th or 10th centuries [102] B.C. (4); however, still earlier dates are now proposed as, e.g., the middle or even the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. The present author has suggested that the language attested by the Mitannian sources may not have belonged to the Indo-Aryan subgroup at all, but that the division of the Indo-Iranian languages into Indo-Aryan and Iranian postdates the contact of the undivided language with the Hurrians of Mitanni (*1).

The Urartians occupied the center of the Armenian Highlands and the upper valley of the Upper Zab; their relatives the Hurrians are traceable in some regions along the southern and western periphery of the Highlands,

possibly from Lake Urmia to the valley of the river Coroh. In Syria and Mesopotamia the Hurrians as such disappeared between the 11th and 9th centuries. The population here was Aramized in their language as a result of the powerful penetration of nomadic Aramaean tribes into these lands by the beginning of the 11th century, and then subsequently by the Assyrian policy of forced deportation, resettlement, and mixing of ethnic groups. By the 7th century B.C. the Aramaic language had already supplanted the Akkadian to an appreciable degree in the daily life of the population of Mesopotamia (5),

Farther to the west, in the mountains of Cilicia, in the valley of the Upper Euphrates, in the Cilician Taurus, and in some regions of Northern Syria, we may suppose a Luwian ("Luwian Hieroglyphic") population. In Asia Minor the Anatolian languages were also preserved in the valley of the river Gediz, the ancient Hermus (Lydian, belonging to the Hittite subgroup); in the valley of the Menderes (Meander) and to the south of it (Carian); and on the peninsula of Lycia (Lycian dialects, certainly late Luwian). The languages of the Pisidians and the Cappadocians ("White Syrians") are unknown except for proper names. From the town of Side, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, come a few inscriptions in a local tongue; apparently all these languages also belonged to the Luwian group of Anatolian languages.

Eastern Pontus, Colchis, western and part of central Transcaucasia were probably occupied by Georgian-speaking tribes -- the Chaldians, the Colchi, the Saspis, and others, some of whom are mentioned in Urartian (6) and Greek sources (7). Probably most of the languages of the Abkhazo-Adyghian group had already been pushed to the north, into the territory of their present distribution. However in the country of Kasku, which at this time seems to have been situated on the upper reaches of the Halys and/or in the valley of the Lycus(?), the old language of the Kaska may have been preserved, but only if they had not been absorbed by a numerically greater aboriginal element or by one of the newly[103] arrived groups which invaded northern Asia Minor in the 12th century B.C. and later. To the west of Pontus, Paphlagonia was probably still speaking Palaic.

Greek colonies now existed in all the coastal areas of Asia Minor, and the Aegean coast of the peninsula was completely settled by Greeks--Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians. On the coast of Cilicia there were Greeks and Phoenicians.

Thracian-speaking groups show up as an important new ethnic element. In Asia Minor their most important representatives were the Thrygians. The center of their territory was the valley of the river Sakarya (Sangarius) and the central Anatolian plain, but their inscriptions are also found in the area which was earlier occupied by the speakers of Hittite (8), while objects of their archaeological culture are found even in Pontus (Akatan), in the Cilician Taurus (Elbistan), and on the right shore of the Upper Euphrates (Malatya) (9). The classical sources call the area between the river Sangarius and the Sea of Marmara "Thrygia Minor."

The northwest corner of Asia Minor was occupied by the Mysians, who spoke a Thrygian (or Thracian) dialect strongly influenced by Lydian (10), while the western part of the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, beginning with the Bosphorus, was occupied by the Thracian people of the Bithynians, who had moved from the Balkans later than the others. The Mariandyni were possibly the remnant of the pre-Bithynian population; to the east of Bithynia lived the above-mentioned Paphlagonians.

The questions of who inhabited the country of Tabal (Hebrew Tubal) in the Cilician Taurus, and of how to identify the Mushki (Hebrew Meshech or, better, *Moshak') has been much debated. The latter were recorded by the Assyrian, Urartian, and Hebrew sources of the 8th-6th centuries B.C. as located in Asia Minor to the west of the Cilician Taurus, while the Assyrians of the 12th-9th centuries B.C. also recorded the Mushki in the valley of the Upper Euphrates and in the area between the lower reaches of the Arsanias and the Sasun Mountains. The inhabitants of Tabal and the Mushki are frequently identified with the Moschi and the Tibareni, tribes which lived, according to the data of Greek and Roman authors (11), in Pontus and who, in all probability, must have belonged to Georgian or Abkhazo-Adyghian-speaking peoples. However the problem is not resolved by a simple identification of Tabal and the Mushki with the Tibareni and the Moschi.

If it were not for the superficial similarity between the name of the province of Tabal and the name of the tribe of the Tibareni, hardly anyone would doubt that this province, just as in the 2d millennium B.C., was part of the area of the Luwian [104] ("Hieroglyphic") language, since numerous official inscriptions are written in this

language, and also the proper names of kings are Luwian (12). However it cannot be denied that the dominance of this language here might not have been undisputed. Even if some of the localities here certainly preserved the ancient Luwian names (13), there also did appear new names (14)--perhaps as the result of an influx of a new population. As far as the Mushki are concerned, at least their western group can be reliably identified with the Phrygians (15).

Greek authors (16) and some modern scholars have assigned Proto-Armenian to the languages of the Thracophrygian group. In any event it has no place in any other branch of the Indo-European languages (17). It is our aim to establish the original area of where the speakers of this language did settle in Asia Minor.

For a long time it was the common opinion of scholars that Armenians and the Armenian language appeared in the Highlands when the term "Armenia" was attested for the first time, i.e., in the 6th century B.C., and that the history of the Armenian people should begin from this period. This point of view must be regarded as naive and in no way satisfactory.

1.2. Principles of Approach to Ethnonymic Terms

Ethnic names are a completely unreliable source for the restoration of the ethnic and linguistic history of a people. The sources very rarely allow us to establish whether or not a given ethnic designation is a self-appellation (autonym) or a name which was used only by neighboring peoples (heteronym). In the latter case it may be very general, encompassing an entire group of different peoples similar in culture (for example, the "Tatars" of Eastern Europe and Asia, the "Indians" of America, the "Scythians" of the Greek authors) (18). Or, vice versa, the designation may originally be the local name of the inhabitants of a limited region, but used by their neighbors in a broader sense (for example, Latvian *krievs*, originally the designation of the neighboring Slavonic tribe of the Krivichi, now meaning "Russian"; analogous is the derivation of the French *allemand* with the meaning of "German," from the tribe of Alamanni; Georgian *Somexi* "Armenian," which strictly signifies an inhabitant of the region of Suhmu on the Upper Euphrates. Or it can be a traditional name, transferred from the earlier inhabitants of a given locality (*Gauls* in the sense of "Frenchmen," *Sarmatians* in the sense of "Slavs," Finnish *venäläinen* "Wend," the name of an Old Slavonic people, in the sense of "Russian") or even from a completely different people, on the basis of some sort of [105] historico-cultural associations (for example, the term *tadjik*, now meaning the Iranian-speaking population of Soviet Central Asia, originally meant "Arab") (19).

Finally purely accidental sound coincidences are frequently found in ethnonyms--cf. *Albanians* in the Balkans, *Albani* (Arm. *Aghuank'*) in ancient Transcaucasia, *Albani*--the inhabitants of the city of Alba in ancient Italy, *Albany* in Britain and the ancient name of England itself--*Albion*, the German tribe of the *Alamanni* (cf. the French name of Germany--*Allemagne*), and many others. All of these names have nothing in common as to their ethnic origin; trying to make sense of such coincidences is useless. However among the suggested ancestors of the Armenians some scholars have included, with no more reason, such ethnonyms and toponyms as the *Arimi*, *Arme*, *Urmie*, the *Urumeans*, etc., and sometimes even the *Aramaeans*. If these last do not enjoy popularity as candidates for being the ancestors of the Armenian nation, then it is only because they are known to have spoken a Semitic language, in no way related to Armenian. If this were not commonly known to be the case, the Aramaeans would certainly be introduced into discussions of the hypothetical ethnogenesis of the Armenians, the more so since they were their southern neighbors. Obviously similarity of names should be backed up by other, more weighty data; otherwise it is completely unreliable.

But even if it is known to us quite precisely that a certain ethnic term is a self-appellation (autonym), it is not always possible to rely on it in ethnogenetic constructions. An ethnic self-designation may change (for example, in the Middle Ages the Greeks at one time called themselves the *Rhomaioi*, i.e., actually *Romans*.) While growing into a nation an ethnic unit may sometimes accept as its self-designation a name of foreign or even accidental derivation. (Thus the French call themselves *français* after the name of the Germanic tribe of the *Franks*, who played a secondary role in the ethnogenesis of the French nation. The self-designation *Tadjik*, as has already been mentioned, meant "Arab," then "a man of the Arabic Muslim culture," and only later the modern Iranian-speaking nation of Central Asia; but that group did exist before this particular name was

adopted. The self-appellation of the *Americans* is accidental, being derived from the name of the geographer Amerigo Vespucci).

Sometimes the designation of earlier inhabitants of a given country, who have long since disappeared, is preserved as a self-appellation (for example, *British* is now a self-designation of the Anglo-Saxons, who supplanted and destroyed the ancient Celtic tribes of the *Britons*).

[106] It is very important to bear in mind that at the early stages of a society's development there does not, as a general rule, exist a comprehensive self-appellation for the entire ethnic mass--the people usually name themselves only after their local community (thus the Phoenicians called themselves "Sidonians," "Tyrians," etc.) or tribe (the Slavic "Krivichi," "Drevlians"; the Germanic "Vandals," "Franks," etc.). Or take another case: the Slavs, Slav. *Slovienie*, are "those of (intelligible) speech" in contradistinction to the *Niemcy*--"mutes," i.e., foreigners (at present it is the Russian designation of the Germans, but earlier it was used in a much broader sense). The majority of the peoples of the Far North of the USSR call themselves simply "people." Of a similar derivation is the self-appellation of the Germans--*Deutsche*; the term "Germans" was not used by the Germanic tribes themselves. In the Ancient Near East the Sumerians had no common self-appellation (they called themselves "the Black-headed ones," but this term also included the Semitic-speaking inhabitants of Mesopotamia).

This is why searching in antiquity for various similarly sounding ethnonyms is an unreliable way to reconstruct ethnic prehistory, and it leads mostly to great confusion. That the words sound similar not by mere chance can be established only after taking into consideration all the regular developments in the languages under comparison and the historical changes in their phonetic structure over the ages. Unfortunately we are rarely able to get the necessary linguistic data for very remote periods. It is naive to suppose that words or proper names, if related in their origins, will in any event retain a similarity in sound through the course of centuries and millennia (20). A too strong similarity in names, separated by a large interval of time, is more often than not a sign of this similarity being fortuitous.

Therefore, in dealing with the question of when and where the speakers of the Proto-Armenian language first appeared, we shall have to proceed not from a search for ethnonyms, but from other, more objective data, drawing in their support on the data of ethnonyms and toponyms only with caution (21).

2. The Problem of the Original Speakers of Proto-Armenian

2.1. The Historical Composition of Old Armenian

Just as every language with a long history, Old Armenian contains many strata of varying origin. A number of words have been borrowed from Middle Persian, a very large stratum is constituted [107] of words of Parthian origin, and there seem to be a few words from the Old Iranian languages. No traces of contacts with the Scythians appear in the language at all, nor do there seem to be any traces of "Western (Mitannian) Indo-Iranian" (22). But the presence of Iranian words even in great numbers does not indicate that Old Armenian belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European languages: these words are mainly terms of state administration, of the feudal way of life, of book-learning and various abstract concepts, etc. They do not belong to the basic stock of Old Armenian vocabulary and bear witness only to the fact, well known from the history of Armenia, that the Armenian people had exceedingly long and extensive contacts with the states which successively dominated in Iran and, at times, in the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia as well. The most important of these was the Parthian state of the Arsacids (23).

As Perikhanian has shown, there were at least two strata of words of Semitic, more precisely of Aramaic, derivation in Old Armenian. The more ancient stratum is traceable to one of the old Aramaic dialects of Northern Mesopotamia; these are terms which are chiefly connected with trade and handicrafts (24), and with the state scribal offices. They represent a trace of the existence in Armenia of Aramaic chancelleries, which were created by the Achaemenian Empire, and of trade relations existing between the Armenian Highlands and

Mesopotamia in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. A part of these terms were brought by the Aramaic- and Hebrew-speaking townspeople, who were settled in several cities of Armenia during the rule of Tigran the Great and Artavazd II, in 77-40 B.C. (25). The later stratum represents words of an ecclesiastical-literary nature, which derive from the Syro-Edessan dialect of Aramaic, brought to Armenia with the Christian faith and Christian church (26). There are a few words of Akkadian origin, but all can be shown to have been brought into Old Armenian through the Aramaeans or the Hurro-Urartians (27). There is also a certain stratum of Greek words, which are also mainly of an ecclesiastical-literary nature.

Below these strata, which date from approximately 500 B.C. to A.D. 500 (and partly later), there are other strata. These are words of Hurro-Urartian origin (28). For the time being it is difficult to establish the number of Armenian words belonging to this stratum, since we know very little of the Hurrian and Urartian vocabulary. In all probability many words of Old Armenian (perhaps hundreds) which have not yet been explained will turn out to be words of Hurro-Urartian origin (29). However these words do not belong to the basic vocabulary either, and therefore, of course, Old [108] Armenian cannot be considered to be a Hurro-Urartian language. Hurro-Urartian must be viewed as a substratum of Old Armenian--i.e., the remnant of the language of the local population of the Armenian Highlands preserved during its changeover to Old Armenian.

Kapantsjan has dedicated a series of studies to the discovery of Hittite words in Old Armenian. Not all of his etymologies can bear criticism, but there is no reason to doubt that there actually was also a Hittito-Luwian stratum in Old Armenian (30). Unfortunately scholars have as yet looked only for Hittite words proper, but a long contact between speakers of Hittite (Nesite) and Proto-Armenian is unlikely. At the same time no one has looked for words from other ancient Anatolian (Hittito-Luwian) languages, and in particular for Luwian words, which undoubtedly must have existed in Old Armenian (31). Some of the commonly supposed Hittite words might well turn out to be Luwian or Common Anatolian.

The Anatolian stratum also does not include words of the basic vocabulary (32).

Only by stripping away the above-mentioned strata shall we get to the basic lexical stock of Old Armenian. To this main nucleus belong words that denote objects and notions common to all humanity. Designations of such must have existed even in the very oldest form of the language, and no language can do without them. Therefore there seldom was any valid reason for borrowing their designation from outside. To them usually belong the names of the parts of the body, simple kinship terms, elementary actions and states, a few numerals, etc. (33) The basic lexical stock is not absolutely unchangeable, and new designations for old concepts are occasionally created or borrowed in this field also. It has been estimated that the basic lexical stock of a language is renewed by no more than 15 percent during the course of a thousand years. This ratio is not a hard and fast rule, as was thought for some time, but it gives an approximate idea of the comparative stability of the part of the vocabulary in question. Also the grammatical morphs--prefixes, suffixes, cases, verbal endings, etc.--belong to the basic lexical stock of any language.

An analysis of the Old Armenian basic vocabulary shows without any shadow of doubt that the language is Indo-European. By the same token any question about a possible "dual nature" of Old Armenian is excluded (34). The linguistic ancestor of Old Armenian, Proto-Armenian, certainly was Indo-European and was not related to either the Hurro-Urartian languages, nor to Hattic, nor to the modern Caucasian languages (Abkhazo-Adyghian, Kartvelian, Nakh-Daghestanian), nor to the Semitic languages.

Secondly, it appears that Proto-Armenian did not belong to the [109] Anatolian (Hittito-Luwian), Indo-Iranian, or, e.g., the Slavonic (35) branch of Indo-European, since the phonetic changes in comparison with reconstructed Proto-Indo-European which are peculiar to Old Armenian are different from those in all of these branches (36). Also the basic vocabulary differs substantially from that of the other ancient Indo-European languages (37). Important is the fact that terms relating to cattle- and sheep-breeding, and a few agricultural terms, also belong to the basic lexical stock of Old Armenian.

2.2. The Question of the True Date of the Appearance of the Speakers of Proto-Armenian in the Armenian Highlands

Inasmuch as Old Armenian is not related to the languages of the aborigines of the Armenian Highlands--the Hurrians, Urartians, etc. (although it is precisely these languages which form its substratum), it is clear that it was brought here from the outside. And inasmuch as it does not belong to those branches of the Indo-European family which penetrated into Western Asia in the 3d or first half of the 2d millennium B.C., it must have appeared here either before or after that time.

However there are no traces of the presence in Western Asia of Indo-European languages earlier than the Anatolian and Indo-Iranian languages, such as clearly Indo-European non-Anatolian toponyms, proper names, or borrowed words. According to Djahukyan's theory, Urartian was in collateral kinship with Proto-Indo-European. However we have already noted that the Indo-European features in Urartian, if any, should most probably be explained by influence of an adstratum of the neighboring Anatolian languages. In any event the alleged Indo-European elements, either in the so-called "Haian language" or in Urartian, do not seem to share the typical phonetic peculiarities of Old Armenian (38). The remaining solution is that Proto-Armenian arrived in the Armenian Highlands after the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. but of course before the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., the period to which the first strata of borrowings from the Iranian and Semitic languages into Old Armenian are traceable. Thus the only branch of the Indo-European language family to which Old Armenian can be related is Thracian-Phrygian, which in Asia dates from the 12th century B.C. It must be conceded that there is no unanimity among the linguists as to whether Thracian, Phrygian, and Armenian really constitute a single branch inside the Indo-European linguistic family, or whether each of these languages represents by itself a different branch. The question is too complicated to treat it here. We shall use the term "Thracian-Phrygian" conventionally. This is not only [110] because the three languages have in common the negative quality of not belonging to any other known branch of Indo-European. Such usage is justified by the fact that at least from the phonetic point of view, all three constitute a single group with a definite common system of features distinguishing them from all other Indo-European languages. Proto-Armenian is perhaps the more archaic in some respects. Unfortunately the data on possible common features in morphology, vocabulary, and syntax are too scant for safe conclusions. However we do have some positive data which point to a nearer kinship of the Armenian vocabulary to Thracian, Phrygian, and Greek than to any other group of Indo-European languages (39). In addition the Greeks who met speakers of the Armenian language at an extremely early stage of its development--a thousand years before the first written Armenian texts--bear witness that at that time it sounded very "similar to Phrygian" (Eudoxus of Cnidus) and that the Armenians in Asia Minor were considered to have been "settlers having moved away from the Phrygians" (Herodotus). We have no ground to disbelieve this evidence (40). Thus Proto-Armenian could have appeared in the Armenian Highlands no earlier than the 12th and no later than the 6th century B.C.

Beginning with the middle of the 8th to the end of the 7th centuries B.C., the entire territory from the mountains of the Cilician Taurus to the east was engulfed by mighty empires which could hardly have allowed significant ethnic movements through their territories. And in any event such movement could hardly have taken place without information about it being preserved by the numerous chronicles, annals, inscriptions, and royal letters which have come down to us. These sources give us some information about the incursion of the Cimmerians from the northern Black Sea coast--apparently through the Klukhor, the Mamison, and the Darial Passes--in the second half of the 8th century B.C., and about the incursion of the Scythians through Daghestan at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. The Scythians could not have had any connection with the formation of the Old Armenian language, since theirs was a language of the Iranian group (41), and this, from our point of view, is also true of the Cimmerians (42). However, some scholars consider the Cimmerians to have been speakers of Thracian, and therefore we must examine whether or not their language can be considered an ancestor of Old Armenian (43).

To this we must answer in the negative. First of all the Cimmerians were too few in number (44). Their danger consisted only in their great mobility and in the fact that they were the first to introduce the tactics of massive warfare on horseback. Next, [111] according to the existent data, they settled not in the Armenian Highlands, which at that time was firmly held by the Urartian Empire, but to the west of it--in eastern Asia Minor and in Pontus, and possibly to the north of it-- in some regions of Georgia (45).

Thus we must exclude the period from 750 to roughly 634 B.C. as a time possible for the penetration of the speakers of Proto-Armenian into the Armenian Highlands .

We have already made reference to the well-known suggestion according to which the Proto-Armenians penetrated into this area between 635 and 590 B.C., in the chaotic period of the Scythian invasion and the collapse of the Assyrian and Urartian empires, before the firm establishment first of the Median kingdom, and then of the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids. But if that were the case, we must explain where the Proto-Armenians were before 635 B.C. The history of the territories of the Cilician Taurus and the more eastern regions is, as we have seen, quite well attested by the sources from roughly 745 to 635, and we can be sure that during this period only a settled agricultural population lived there. It would be strange if such a population should leave its place and go wandering (46). Therefore, if Proto-Armenian tribes were anywhere else at all other than in Armenia Minor, where we encounter them in the 6th century B.C., they would have to have hidden either in the more northerly mountainous regions (however, it is hard to see how the Proto-Armenians could have gotten there, since, as far as we can judge, these regions were then in the hands of the Georgian-speaking tribes), or in the central Anatolian steppes to the west of the Cilician Taurus. But here the powerful empire of Phrygia (Mushku or Mushki, as it is called in the Assyrian and Urartian sources--we have called it "Western Mushki") existed at least from the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 8th centuries to 676 B.C. (actually also later). It might be suggested that until the period of the Scythian invasion the Armenians were part of the Phrygians, and that they moved away in connection with this invasion, advancing to the east. But even this suggestion is unacceptable, since the linguistic data show that Phrygian and Old Armenian separated from a common language-base a very long time before. Old Armenian is a quite specific language of the Thraco-Phrygian group and not at all a dialect of the Phrygian of the 8th century B.C. (47) Therefore if the Proto-Armenians did participate in the general movement of the Thraco-Phrygian tribes at the end of the 2d millennium B.C., it was not as a part of the Phrygians, but as a separate nation or tribal group.

There remains the assumption that Proto-Armenian penetrated into the Armenian Highlands before the 9th century B.C. Thus the [112] period we are looking for is narrowed to three or four centuries: from the 12th to the 9th centuries B.C. Since the general movement of the Thraco-Phrygian tribes was, as we have seen, from the west to the east, we must think of the Proto-Armenians as a vanguard of this movement.

And in fact the Assyrian sources, as we have seen, relate of an incursion of still-mobile tribes from the west into the valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Arsianias in the first half of the 12th century B.C., immediately after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. The Mushki, the Apeshlaian Kaska, and the Urumeans are mentioned. Of these at least the Mushki and the Urumeans evidently settled here (48), since they are mentioned in this territory as agricultural tribes as far back as the beginning of the 9th century B.C., and the existence of the "country" of Urumu, or Urmie, also roughly in this region, is evidenced by the Assyrian and Urartian inscriptions in the 9th to 8th centuries B.C.

Thus we should apparently seek the Proto-Armenians either in the Mushki or in the Urumeans who penetrated into the valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Arsianias around 1165 B.C. We must remember that for the time being we are speaking about the Proto-Armenians as the speakers of an ancestor language of Old and Modern Armenian, and not about the problem of the emergence of the Armenian nation as such, which is much more complicated.

2.3. The Theory of the Haiasan Ancestry of the Armenian Nation

Before dealing with the problem of the Mushki and the Urumeans, we must consider the popular theory which sees the "cradle of the Armenian nation" in Haiasa (49).

We shall begin by clearly stating the question: are we talking about a physical, linguistic, or cultural succession, or of all these types of succession together?

We may speak of a physical succession between Haiasa and the Armenian nation only if we can prove that the Haiasans withdrew from their original dwelling places in Pontus, in the valley of the Choroh River and possibly

on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, and scattered their settlements throughout the entire Armenian Highlands, completely or to a significant degree supplanting the former Hurro-Urartian population. This would prove that the entire Armenian nation or a large part of it descended physically from the Haiasans. Otherwise we can only speak of a physical succession from Haiasa with respect to those comparatively small groups of the Armenian nation which lived directly in the territory of former Haiasa.

[113] There are no data about a mass resettling of the Haiasans to the south, southeast, or east. The assertion made in *Istoriija armjanskogo naroda* (50) that with the collapse of the Hittite Empire Haiasa consolidated, spread out to the western regions of the Armenian Highlands, and turned into a strong kingdom rivaling Urartu, is entirely unfounded. On the contrary, from our sources it apparently follows that the federation of Azzi-Haiasa fell apart as far back as the 13th century B.C., long before the collapse of the Hittite Empire, and from that time on it is not mentioned in any of the texts. Subsequently the Hurrian kingdom of Daiene emerged in the territory of what was earlier Haiasa, and later its northern part was occupied by Georgian-speaking tribes. It is true that a piece of former Haiasan land in the upper valley of the Euphrates could have been encompassed in the process of the genesis of the Armenian nation, but only at a time when no more traces of Haiasa as such existed. There are no data in the sources about any Haiasans beyond the confines of the former territory of Haiasa, nor about any direct links between Haiasa and the Armenians of later times. As far as cultural succession is concerned, the Armenians are undoubtedly the successors of the entire ancient population of the Highlands, i.e., of the Hurrians, the Urartians, and the Luwians. There is no indication that Haiasa had any more specifically important cultural influence on the later population of the Highlands than did, say, Isuwa, Alzi, Uruatri, or Qumme. Actually we know very little indeed about the culture of Haiasa, except for its marriage customs and the names of some deities, but no recollection of these has remained at all in the Armenian tradition (51).

There remains the linguistic succession. The assumption of a development from the hypothetical Haiasa language to Old Armenian has no base in any known linguistic fact whatever. It rests entirely on a certain similarity between the name of the country *Haiasa* (probably /xaiasa/, with the Arm. sound *x*) and the self-appellation of the Armenian--*hayk'* (with the sound *h*) (52). From what has already been said above about the nature of ethnonyms in general it is evident that this similarity can in no way serve as proof of an organic connection between these terms. Moreover, as the Old Armenian words of analogous structure show, it is difficult to say how the initial form of the word *hayk'* sounded. The initial consonant might have been either *p-, as in *hayr* "father," from I.-E. *pe"ter, or the Proto-Indo-European laryngeal *H-, as in *haw* "grandfather," or *h-, which itself has a different derivation in the Indo-European languages, for example, from *s-. The diphthong -ai- might also be traced to different sound combinations, including -ate-, -ati-. The stem of the word *hayk'* is *hayo-* (and not, let [114] us say, *haya- (53). Kapantsjan interprets the suffix -sa in *Haiasa* as the ancient Luwian toponymical suffix -ssas (54), which was certainly widely in use throughout all of Asia Minor. But there is one area where this suffix is not found at all, and this area is Armenia. Therefore in the word "Haiasa" the element -sa, if it is a suffix, has no relation to Old Armenian.

As concerns the other data on the Haiasa language, they are represented by five personal names: Aissias, Annias, Marias, Muttis, and Hukkannas (as well as Karannis [or Lannis; the signs cannot be read clearly]) (55), and by five divine names: Tarumus, Terittutunus, Unakkastas, Utaktannas(?), and Paltaik(?), not counting a few damaged names or names in heterographic writing (56). We exclude the names of localities since there is no guarantee that they belong to the language of Haiasa and not to some other earlier language (57). All the cited names have been distorted by the Hittite transliteration (it is Hittite, in particular, to which the case endings in -s, -as, -is belong). In the original version of the Haiasa theory, as it was developed by Kapantsjan, these names were etymologized on the principle of external similarity (the "siren of consonance") from various languages, primarily from Hurrian, but in any event not from Indo-European, which *eo ipso* excludes the possibility of identifying the Haiasa language with Proto-Armenian. Therefore Kapantsjan had to resort to the thesis, earlier proposed by N. Y. Marr, on the "dual nature" of Armenian and to negate its Indo-European origin. However the latest research has completely confirmed its Indo-European affiliation, as first established in the 19th century.

Djahukyan (58) has tried to prove the Indo-European nature of the language of the Haiasans. In spite of his erudition in the field of Indo-European linguistics, his conclusions are not compelling. In a root-list of any linguistic family it is possible to choose roots which sound sufficiently similar to a dozen arbitrarily chosen

names. Moreover, as the meanings of the names are unknown, there can be no guarantee that the roots, chosen by virtue of similar sound, fit these names in meaning as well (59). But even if we accept the conclusions of Djahukyan, the "Indo-European Haiasa language" belongs, on his own assertion, to another Indo-European group and has no relation whatsoever to Armenian (60). And how could it be that Armenian phonology (if derived from the language of Haiasa) should turn out to be so close to the phonology of the Phrygians (newcomers who arrived in Asia Minor many centuries later and who had no actual contact with Haiasa)? How could it be the Phrygian and Armenian sounded so strikingly similar to the Greek observers?

[115] Thus the connection of the Armenian nation and language with Haiasa is not provable and in its very essence not probable (*2).

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I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People

(Continued from Previous Page [115])

Chapter 3. The Formation of the Armenian People

2.4. The Problem of the Mushki

Now we can turn to the analysis of the data on the Mushki and the Urumeans. We shall begin with the problem of the Mushki.

In favor of the fact that the earlier (Eastern) Mushki were speakers of Proto-Armenian is the time of their appearance and the place of their settling, which from the earliest times has been considered the homeland of the Armenian nation (61). It is also important that their designation coincides in Assyrian with that of the Phrygians. Note that there are two different groups called "Mushki" in the Assyrian sources: one group of Mushki captured Alzi and Purulumzi (near the confluence of the Arsania and the Euphrates) around 1165 B.C. They are in evidence as an agricultural population in this region right up to the beginning of the 9th century B.C. It is impossible to establish whether this group of Mushki lived only in this region or also in others, to the west, which they may have occupied on their way through Asia Minor, since the Assyrian annals in which they are mentioned naturally speak each time only about those territories which the Assyrian army contacted at the moment. But actually there is ground to suppose that this group of Mushki spread also to the western bank of the Upper Euphrates.

The other group of Mushki are mentioned in connection with the campaigns of the Assyrian king Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) and the Urartian king Rusa II (first half of the 7th century B.C.) as dwelling to the west of the Cilician Taurus. They are unquestionably to be identified with the Phrygians (62).

It might seem strange that the Eastern Mushki, whom we identify with the Proto-Armenians, are no longer mentioned in the Assyrian and Urartian sources after Assurnasirpal II. But this is explained by the fact that Alzi, the new home of the Mushki, as we have seen, was subjected in 856 B.C. by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser V (in his inscription it is called by the apparently archaic term Isua, i.e., Isuwa) and was included in the "province of Nairi, Alzi, and Suhmu," which became part of Assyria. Between 799 and c. 780 B.C. it was conquered and annexed by Minua, king of Urartu. The inscriptions of both these kings, as was often the case in texts of this sort, do not mention tribal or ethnic designations, but only topographical and political ones. From this time on, to the end of the existence of Assyria and Urartu, no more campaigns were conducted into the territory of Alzi. Therefore there was no longer any reason to mention the Eastern Mushki in the inscriptions (63) Only two of the [116] "countries" in which the Mushki may have partly settled, remained independent. These were Shubria to the south, and Melid-Kammanu to the west of Alzi (across the Euphrates). The first was subdued in 673 by Assyria for a short time but probably regained its independence at the end of the 7th century B.C. The second was in part re-settled by people replaced by the Assyrians from beyond the Euphrates, but remained subject to Assyria for only thirty years.

However the problem of the identification of the ethnic term Mushki remains complicated. Goetze compared the Mushki (on the basis of external similarity of the word's structure) with the Kaska (Kashka), but an ethnic

connection between them is most improbable (64). In contradistinction to the Kaska, the Mushki are not known to the Hittite sources (65). Several scholars connect the Mushki with the tribe of Moschi attested by the Greek sources in Pontus, and with the Georgian tribe of Meskhi. Note that while with the Assyrians, Urartians, and ancient Hebrews Mushki was undoubtedly a name for Phrygians, the Greeks neatly differentiated the Phrygians from the Moschi.

The data of the classical authors are contradictory. Hecataeus (66) speaks of the Moschi as a "Colchian," i.e., probably Georgian-speaking people who lived in the neighborhood of the Matieni, or in other words, the Hurrians. Herodotus (III, 95; VII, 78) lists them among the peoples of the XIX satrapy of the Achaemenian Empire, i.e., Pontus, uniting them with the Tibareni, who lived near Cotyora (modern Ordu, cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, 1 ff.). It follows that they lived to the west of the Colchi (67) and, in any event, did not live to the east of the Upper Euphrates valley. However half a millennium later Strabo places the Moschi in two different places, but in both cases far from Pontus. The first location is somewhere in modern Abkhazia on the eastern shore of the Black Sea (XI, 2, 12 ff.; Stephan of Byzantium also places them there, quoting the 6th-century-B.C. writer Hellanicus--possibly mistakenly, as Melikishvili suggests, with a reference to Kiessling). The second is in the mountains where Colchis, Iberia, and Armenia meet (XI, 2, 18). The later Moschi are obviously the Meskhi /Mesxi/ of the later writers, both Byzantine and Georgian, and it is possible that we have here a simple confusion of two similar terms or an attempt to identify a later term with one known from the ancient authors. Melikishvili considers the term Meskhi, as used for a Georgian-speaking tribe in this region, to be a later, and perhaps foreign term. The Urartian sources do not know either the Moschi or the Meskhi in this area (68). Note that the term Mosok is used in Avarian (Daghestan) as the name of the Georgians as a whole (69). All of this makes us suspect that the term Moschi was not an ethnonym at all but more likely some sort of nickname, which could have been [117] applied to various tribes. This is also the case with the Chalybes: the Greeks evidently used the name Chalybes for all of the inhabitants of the Pontus who traded in iron ore (see Pauly, s.v. Chalybes); in some cases we might suspect that the Moschi (in Pontus) and/or the Chalybes were foreign designations for the Chaldians (Halitu, Xaghtik') who actually did live between the Tibareni in the west, the Mosynoeci in the north, and the Matieni in the southeast (70).

It has been suggested that the Mushki of the Ancient Oriental texts which we identify as Phrygians were actually a Georgian-speaking tribe and that Tabal, a region in the Cilician Taurus, corresponds to the Pontian Tibareni (71). The latter allegedly migrated here from Tabal (or vice versa, from here to Tabal). At the same time the Tibareni, by reason of a rather doubtful similarity in the sound of the term, were thought to correspond to the Iberians, i.e., the eastern Georgians. Melikishvili expresses himself more cautiously as to Tabal (72), only admitting the possibility of a presence of Georgian-speaking tribes in the Cilician Taurus (Tabal) at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.⁷³ But according to him the Mushki should be regarded as Georgian. He supposes that the Assyrian sources mention at least two different invasions of these tribes into the region of the Armenian Taurus; the first is evidenced by Tiglath-pileser I for the first time around 1165 B.C., and the second is connected with the reference to the Mushki in the same region in the 9th century B.C.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Moreover Melikishvili compares the name of the king of Phrygia, Gordias, (and the name of the Phrygian capital, Gordion) with the name of the mountain tribe in the eastern part of the Armenian Taurus and the mountaineers of Gordyene or Corduene (modern Kurdistan), viz., the Carduchi, which name he also connects with the self-appellation of the Kartvelians. All of this, however, is most strained and unconvincing. Linguistically we can hardly accept a comparison of remotely similarly sounding names without an explanation of the regularities of the changes ($k > g$, $t > d$, etc.) (75). Moreover, according to Melikishvili's own remark, the suffix -uchi in the name of the Carduchi more likely indicates their Hurro-Urartian affiliation. The habitat of the Carduchi was the valley of the river Kentrites-Bohtan and the mountains around the upper reaches of the Upper Zab (i.e., the regions where Assyrian sources attest Hurrian mountaineer tribes, who, like the Carduchi of the 5th-4th centuries B.C., kept the surrounding valleys in fear) (76). Corduene had no contact either with the place of habitation of unquestionably Georgian tribes or with the place of settlement of the Eastern Mushki (even if we place the latter, with Melikishvili, in the northern Mesopotamian mountains of Kashiari-- Tur-'Abdin, which from our point of view is [118] incorrect) (77). And, finally, it is completely impossible to derive the name of a tribe from the name of a person who lived a thousand miles to the west and of a city named for this person. (Or, vice versa, why should the Phrygian king and the Phrygian capital be named after the Carduchi?) Thus nothing

remains of all the argumentation, except for a similarity between the name of the Mushki and the name of the Moschi and the Georgian tribe of the Meskhi.

Melikishvili writes (78): "The name of the Tabalians may have been used by the Assyrians (like the name of the Mushki) in a comprehensive sense, designating tribes of varying origin; however, among them (at least as one composing part) we must probably suppose the presence of Kartvelian (particularly of western Georgian) tribes as well." Here a correction is needed: the Assyrian sources do not know of a "Tabalian" tribe or nation, but speak only of "Tabal" (79), as the name of one of the regions with Luwian population (although other ethnic groups are also possible here). As far as the term Mushki is concerned, a comprehensive meaning is actually possible. But it is in any event improbable that the Assyrians, Urartians, and Hebrews should designate Thraco-Phrygian tribes and state formations by the term Mushki after a Georgian tribe (the Moschi), as Melikishvili, Cavaignac, Khazaradze, and others suggest (80). The alternative explanation, which I have suggested, is that certain Georgian tribes were called Moschi because at one time they lived in territory subject to Phrygia (Mushki), or had a Phrygian-type culture (81).

It is important to determine the original phonetic form of the term in question. There was no x ("loch")-sound in it: it does not appear in the Assyrian transliteration (Mushki, Mushki, Musku), or the Urartian (Mushki-) (22) nor in the Luwian Hieroglyphic Muska-(a /sh/ phoneme did not exist in Luwian), nor in Hebrew, where all the forms which have come down to us can be traced to *moshk-, nor in Ancient Greek (Gk. Moschoi has the aspirated /kh/ sound which corresponds to Armenian /k'/ and not the Armenian /x/ (as in "loch") (83). Therefore, the original form of the term must have been /*mushk'-/ or /*musk'-/ (thus perhaps preferably to /*moshk'-/ or /*mosk'-/). But as pointed out above, Greek kh could also be used to transcribe the foreign phoneme /x/ which was absent from the Greek phonological system. Hence Strabo's Moschi and Moschian Mountains correspond to Georgian and Old Armenian Mesx-, but whether Georgian Mesx- (Meskh-) with, actually, only two phonemes, /m/ and /s/, coinciding with those in the term /*mosk'-, *musk'-/, can be identical with the latter, is very doubtful, since both Georgian and Armenian distinguish /k'/ aspirated from /x/ (84). It is improbable that at a time when the invasion of the Thraco-Phrygians was spreading throughout Asia Minor, [119] some of their tribes should have penetrated into Pontus and even into Transcaucasia and subsequently become speakers of Georgian. Perhaps certain Georgian tribes, which were for a period subject to Phrygia, received the nickname "Phrygians" (Mushki) because of the amount of Phrygian cultural borrowings. Or, finally, perhaps this nickname was widely used for various tribes and peoples by reason of some common historico-cultural features or associations.

One thing is clear, however: in the Ancient Oriental sources the term Mushki was used to designate Phrygia and the Phrygians, whose Indo-European linguistic affiliation is unquestionable (85) Therefore other Thraco-Phrygian tribes may also have been so designated, including the Proto-Armenian ones. Note the important suggestion of A. Goetze (86) that the term Mushki originally referred to the Thraco-Phrygian tribe of the Mysians in northwestern Asia Minor and Troad, and to the province of Moesia in the Balkans. (Gk. Mysoi, read /Musoi/; the stem is *mus-, /sh/ did not exist in Greek.) The Mysians may have been the first Thraco-Phrygian tribe whom the inhabitants of Asia Minor learned to know. Later their name spread to all the tribes related to them or close to them in culture (87).

Should we assume that the Eastern Mushki in Armenia Minor, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I, Tukulti-Ninurta II, and Assurnasirpal (as well as the Muska- of King Iariris of Carchemish) were not Proto-Armenians, but Proto-Georgian tribes which temporarily found themselves here (88), then the question again arises, in what manner, when, and from where did the Indo-European Armenians come, who subsequently were the stable population of the country in question? We have already indicated that in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. a cattle-breeding, mobile population is not noted in the adjacent areas. Therefore the most probable date for the appearance of the Proto-Armenians in the Armenian Highlands is the 12th century B.C., the century when there actually is historical evidence of great migrations (including, in the first place, the Thraco-Phrygian migration, of which the Proto-Armenians must have been a part). And when we have direct evidence about the appearance, in precisely this place and at precisely this time, of a new tribe bearing the designation which was unquestionably applied to certain Thraco-Phrygian tribes, it can logically be inferred that this tribe, i.e., the Eastern Mushki, should be identified as the Proto-Armenians (who continued to live here also in the future), and not as Georgians, who never lived here afterward, and had they appeared here, this could anyway have happened

but accidentally and temporarily. In addition the inscription of Assurnasirapal bears witness to the fact that the Eastern Mushki changed here to a settled way of life.

[120]

2.5. The Problem of the Urumeans. The Theory of S. T. Eremyan

The same inscription of Tiglath-pileser I which speaks of the first appearance of the Mushki in the valley of the Upper Euphrates also mentions two more tribes which arrived here at the same time: the Apeshlaian Kaska and the Urumeans. Therefore we must analyse the available data about the Urumeans as well (inasmuch as the Apeshlaians were already discussed above in Chapter One). In connection with this it is necessary to dwell on the theory of Eremyan, which in essence is an attempt to reconcile the "Haiasa" and "Mushki" theories of the Proto-Armenian ethnogenesis, and also the theory of J. Markwart, who saw the ancestors of the Armenians in the "Arimi" (or "Arima") of Homer (89).

In Eremyan's opinion, the Urumeans are to be identified with the Arimi, whom he locates, for the Hittite period, in the territory of Haiasa or thereabouts. Carried along by the general ethnic migrations of the 12th century B.C., the Arimi-Urumeans, along with their neighbors the Kaska-Apeshlaians, descended into the valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Arsianas. Here, in the region of the modern city of Mush and in the mountains of Sasun, they formed the "country" which is called Urumu, Urme, or Arme (90) in the sources, and which merged with the Hurrian "country" of Shubria. The mountainous region of Sasun could not be subjugated either by the Assyrians or the Urartians, and the nucleus of the future Armenian people and Armenian state system was formed here. It is precisely the Arimi-Urumeans who were the speakers of Proto-Armenian; they merged with the Mushki, or Phrygians, who were related to them by language and who introduced the Thraco-Phrygian element into Old Armenian.

The theory of Eremyan needs several modifications. First of all, the Arimi are not known to the Hittite sources either in the region of Haiasa or anywhere else (91). The Arimi, whose "right" to claim the role of ancestors to the Armenian people is based only on a certain similarity of names, are once mentioned in the Iliad in a most vague context (in an extended simile) (92). From it there is no way to decide where the author of the poem thought them living; it is also unclear whether he means a tribe of Arimi or a city of Arima (93). All that we can grasp is that he is talking about a volcanic locality. It in no way follows that the Arimi lived in Asia Minor at all, and the ancient commentators placed them in different countries by pure guesswork (94). Moreover, as we have already seen, it is not proven that any Indo-European-speaking tribes lived in the region of Haiasa in the 2d millennium B.C., much less tribes speaking languages of the Proto-Armenian type. And finally, if the [121] Urumeans and Mushki were tribes of such different geographical background, their languages could not be perceived as similar. As far as the Thraco-Phrygian (95) element in Old Armenian is concerned, it is not another stratum of borrowings (viz., from the Phrygians) but is the basic stock of vocabulary.

Just as in the case of the Mushki, we must try to establish the precise ancient phonetic form of the name of the Urumeans. If we connect this term with the Arimi, we have to explain the difference in the vocalization in accordance with the rules of Indo-European apophony, unless we can prove that there was a regular historical development of the phoneme /a/ into /u/ or /o/. Note that the Armenians themselves never, as far as is known, called themselves "Oromi," nor even "Armenians." The medieval term *Armn* was introduced by foreign conquerors.

It is difficult to say just who the Urumeans were. The source says of them only that they acted jointly with the Apeshlaian Kaska and that they originated from the "country of the Hittites," i.e., that they came from the west, from beyond the Euphrates. They could even have been another Kaska tribe, or a tribe related to the Kaska, or the name could be another designation for the Mushki (this, however, is improbable, since both the Mushki and the Urumeans are mentioned in one and the same inscription although under different years). Finally, they could have been another Thraco-Phrygian tribe of the same origin as the Mushki. The Thraco-Phrygians still lived in a tribal society and must have consisted of a number of small tribes, each with its own name. The tribes as a whole could hardly have had one common self-designation (autonym). But if they were another Mushki tribe, we must

explain why the Urumeans entered into an alliance, not with the rest of the Mushki, but with the Apeshlaian, who spoke a foreign language. The Urumeans no doubt finally became part of the Armenian nation, but there is no ground for attributing a more important role to them than to the Mushki.

2.6. The Territory of the Settling of the Speakers of Proto-Armenian

Thus we come to the conclusion that the speakers of Proto-Armenian, known to the ancients under the name of Mushki (the eastern ones), and possibly also of Urumeans, came to the valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Lower Arsanias in the second quarter of the 12th century B.C., after having destroyed the Hittite Empire.

We may attempt to establish the territory where they settled. The first Assyrian information seems to indicate that the place where the Mushki and the Urumeans settled was the country of Alzi (later [122] Aghdznik', Arzanene), which included at that time the lower part of the Arsanias (Muratsu) valley and the regions to the south of this river. But, as we have seen, there is some reason to believe that the Mushki also settled in the valley of the Upper Euphrates, on both sides of the river. The area of settlement of the Urumeans must probably be identified as the country of Urumu or Urmie; the term Arme seems to denote another region. The land Urmie is first named in the Urartian text of King Minua (UKN 41 c). In the fragment b of the same inscription the region *Qulmeri asune* is also mentioned, but it has been convincingly argued that the two fragments do not join, so that Qulmeri need not be placed in Urmie. The Assyrian sources place Qul(lim)meri in Shubria (96). The latter is the same term as the Akkadian *Subaru*, *Shubre* "Hurrian"; however the ending -ia shows that in this particular form the term is a borrowing in Assyrian, probably from an Urartian dialect. Hence although we still have no documentary proof, it is probable that Shubria is not the same as Urmie, but was known also to the Urartians as *Shubria and/or Qulmeri. Urmie (or Urmio) is also mentioned in the inscription of the Urartian king Argishti I (UKN 155 A 22), but its location cannot be decided from the context. The "Inner Urumu" of Assurnasirapal (Annals, II, 2-14; Grayson [1972-76], 2, 8, 551) was situated near Shubria but was different from it (97). According to Esarhaddon's *Letter to the God Assur*, Shubria had a Hurrian dynasty as late as 673 B.C., and some of the personal names of Shubrians in the letters found in the Assyrian state archives seem also to indicate that the population was Hurrian (98). However Esarhaddon led away the people of Shubria, and it is quite probable that beginning from that time the land was settled by Proto-Armenians. There is evidence that deportees from a region west of the Upper Euphrates were settled there. As to Arme and its city Neheria (99), it is mentioned by Sarduri II (UKN 156 DI DII 11-12). The term probably means "Aramaic country," but may have been used specifically of an Aramaic enclave amid the territories of local speakers in the region in question. The city Neh(e)ria is known since the early 2d millennium B.C. and was situated somewhere between the sources of the Tigris and the valley of the Euphrates. The identification with Nep'erkert-Mayafarkin is probably wrong. The early settlement of Proto-Armenians in Neheria is possible and even probable.

There is no doubt that after coming from Inner Anatolia to the Upper Euphrates valley, the Mushki must have first settled on the right shore of the Euphrates. Along the Euphrates they apparently contacted Carchemish in the 8th century B.C. (100). If Tiglath-pileser I makes no reference to this, it is probably because in that [123] particular context he was not interested in the area beyond the Euphrates. The capital of the XIII ("Armenian") satrapy under the Achaemenids in the 6th-4th centuries B.C., (see above, p. 88), was Melid (Eski Malatya), and at the beginning of the 5th century Herodotus (I, 72, 180) assigns to Armenia, not only the sources of the Euphrates, but also the territory up to the watershed where the river Halys has its beginning. The presence of Thracian-Phrygians in this region is supported, as we have already mentioned, by the "Old Phrygian" archeological culture reaching Eski Malatya (101). But we have also pointed out that all the dynasties on the right shore of the Upper Euphrates, including those in Melid, were Luwian right up to the end of the 8th century B.C. (102)

Thus as the territory where the speakers of Proto-Armenian originally settled we must consider the area from the Northern Taurus to the spurs of the Armenian Taurus near the sources of the Tigris River (the Sasun Mountains), including the valley of the Upper Euphrates on both sides of the river, i.e., what in the Hittite period were the "countries" of Pahhuwa, Zuhma, Tegarama, Isuwa, Maldia, and Alzi. The area in the center of this territory was called Supa (UKN 39, 3, 10; 128 A2, 22). This is the later Sophene, a term which, as a result of political events, came to be applied in a much broader sense than under the Hittites (103). The aboriginal

inhabitants whom the speakers of Proto-Armenian found were mainly Luwian and partially Hurrian on the right shore and mainly Hurrians on the left shore, although, as we have seen, the Luwian element had also penetrated there (see above, pp. 57, 74).

3. The Formation of the Armenian Nation

Up to this point we have been dealing with the problem of finding out who the speakers of Proto-Armenian were. The formation of the Armenian nation itself constitutes a separate problem.

3.1. The Number of Proto-Armenians in Comparison with the Local Population

There is absolutely no doubt that the Proto-Armenians of the Thraco-Phrygian linguistic group were not the only and not even the main component in the formation of the Armenian nation. The number of Mushki and Urumeans could not have been great. The annals of Tiglath-pileser I speaks about the penetration of 20,000 Mushki warriors into Kadmuhi (it is possible that some of these warriors actually might have been local inhabitants of Alzi; and we must not ignore the fact that the figure is almost certainly exaggerated) (104). He also mentions about 4,000 Kaska and Urumean [124] warriors. If we consider that in those times perhaps one out of every four men and women was a warrior, we must assume that the total number of the invading tribes might have been 100,000 or, say, 200,000, including those who did not participate in the campaign against Kadmuhi. But the aboriginal population was more numerous. According to the data of Sarduri II's annals, within the Urartian Empire he abolished the duty of military service for 350,000 men (105). This means that the population of Urartu certainly exceeded one million and may have reached two or three million. The rich valleys of the Upper Euphrates and the Arsianias constituted not less than 25 percent of the imperial territory, so we may assume that its inhabitants comprised at least one quarter of its total population, i.e., from nearly half a million to three-quarters of a million. Thus the number of the local inhabitants exceeded the number of invading tribes about three times or more (*3).

There are no data which would make us suppose that the newcomers supplanted or annihilated the local population, whom the Assyrian sources, as we have seen, indicated to have been active supporters of the Mushki against their common enemy. After the invasion these areas are still called "Subarean," i.e., Hurrian, and Hurrian and Luwian dynasties (106) continued to rule there.

3.2 The Period of Bilingualism

The very considerable layer of substratal vocabulary in Old Armenian clearly shows that the local inhabitants had not been ousted. For purposes of comparison, note that there are only a few words of the Celtic (Briton) substratum preserved in Anglo-Saxon and in modern English. Or, taking another example, note that even in Georgian the amount of substratal vocabulary is very small (107). Moreover it has been shown that the phonetics of Armenian reproduce, on the whole, the Urartian, and not the Indo-European phonetic system (108). These phenomena speak beyond any question of a long period of bilingualism, when the local population, in the process of changing over to Old Armenian, continued to use the older language as well, speaking Old Armenian according to the rules of pronunciation of its former native language (109) and introducing a great number of words from the latter into Old Armenian.

As we have seen, by the time of the appearance of the Mushki and the Urumeans the local population of the Upper Euphrates valley was speaking Luwian and Hurrian, i.e., it was already very much mixed. The Urartian dominion which had continued for about two hundred years must have also introduced an admixture of an Urartian-speaking population. It is precisely this mixed linguistic [125] nature of the local population, which used no less than four languages in everyday life (Proto-Armenian, Luwian, Hurrian, and Urartian), which explains the fact that in the end, under the conditions of a new political and economical unity, it at first began to use, along with its native language, a second language for mutual understanding, and then changed over to a single language (110).

It might have been expected that this language would be Urartian. However the ancient empires never thrust their language on their subjects (111), being satisfied with gathering tribute and organizing obligatory labor. They were not interested in a cultural subjugation of the population. Relocating inhabitants, as they did, from one end of the empire to the other, they were even interested in a Babel of tongues, which did not permit the subjects to plot among themselves. But the people, feeling the need for mutual understanding, developed a language common to all (at first a *lingua franca*, i.e., a commonly understandable language for individual instances of communication with neighbors who spoke a foreign language, and then a *koine*, i.e., a common spoken language, while preserving the local languages and dialects only in household use). As a common language the mass of the population accepted the one that was easier to learn, either by virtue of its being widely spread, or by virtue of its simplicity. For the Hittite Empire the common spoken language apparently was not Hittite-Nesite, but Luwian, which therefore survived the collapse of the empire. In the Assyrian Empire the common language which emerged was not the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian, but the Aramaic of that comparatively recently arrived population, which was still partly nomadic. This was exactly why that language was so widely spread. For the inhabitants of the western areas of the Urartian Empire, Urartian was the language of the officials, which the people did not know; that language prevailed among the elite, to whom the people were strangers. But shortly after the arrival of the Mushki and the Urumeans even those who spoke Hurrian and Luwian probably became only a small local ruling stratum, which was annihilated during the Assyrian and Urartian conquests, just as the Akkadian aristocracy of Assyria was destroyed during the Median conquest.

The spread of Proto-Armenian was greatly assisted by the policy of the Urartians themselves, who used to resettle conquered inhabitants. Thus we know that when the Urartian king Argishti I built the fortress of Erbune at the site of modern Erevan in 782 (or 776) B.C., he settled there people brought from Supa (Cop'k', Sophene) and Hate (Melitia-Melid) (112), i.e., precisely from the Upper Euphrates valley, with its mixed Proto-Armenian-Luwian-Hurrian [126] population, which at that time undoubtedly was already using Proto-Armenian as a second and perhaps even as its main language (113). There were many such instances in the history of Urartu, so that ethnic mixing occurred on a very large scale, just as in the case of Assyria.

An important factor in the strengthening of the significance of Proto-Armenian (to the detriment of Hurrian and Luwian, which by about the 8th century may have been spoken only by the local ruling class) could have been the existence of such centers to which the exploited population of Urartu and Assyria could flee: one of them was Shubria. But it was Melid that seems to have been the nucleus around which the Armenian nation formed, perhaps because the social conditions brought by the pastoralists were more liberal. Here the people easily changed over to a common language (just as in Assyria and later in Babylonia the common people began to speak Aramaic earlier than the aristocracy and the citizens of the privileged cities).

3.3. Name

Since the population of the Upper Euphrates valley at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. was mixed in its ethnic composition, it probably did not have a common self-appellation which could have been generally used as its name by its neighbors. Therefore the neighbors called the whole group by the name of the one Proto-Armenian-speaking subgroup closest to themselves. For the Georgians such an area was Suhmu, in the north of the valley; for the Aramaeans (*4) it was Arme, which bordered on the northernmost of the regions with an Aramaic population (Amed, Carchemish, etc.). Therefore for the Georgians an inhabitant of the Proto-Armenian-speaking countries was a *Somexi* (114), while for the Aramaeans he was an **Armnaia* (115). The ancient Persians borrowed this term, as well as other geographical terms of Western Asia (116), from the Aramaeans, for it was they who supplied the Achaemenian chancellery with scribes and officials (117). And the Greeks borrowed this name from the Persians, although originally they had used another terms, viz., Melittenians.

As to the Urartians, for them all the inhabitants to the west of their empire were "Hittites" (*Hatine*), and all the area west of the Euphrates was called *Hate*. The term "Luwians" is unknown in the 1st millennium B.C. For the inhabitants of western Asia of this time all the Luwians were "Hittites," and they also probably called themselves by that name (118). Apparently the entire mixed population of the right bank of the Upper Euphrates valley were bracketed as "Hittites" (119).

[127] If, as we suppose, the Proto-Armenians lived not only on the left bank, but also on the right, it would be completely natural for Urartians to call their language "Hittite," and the population "Hittites." That was probably the name of the language during the long period of bilingualism. Subsequently, when the Urartians themselves changed over to Old Armenian and merged with the Armenian nation (in which they probably constituted the majority), the name "Hittites" became their own self-designation. In Proto-Armenian this name could have sounded like **Hatiyos*; according to the rules of Old Armenian phonetics, this had to develop into *hayo-* (120).

3.4. The Components of the Old Armenian Nation

Thus from our point of view the Old Armenian nation was formed in the Upper Euphrates valley from three components--the Hurrians, the Luwians, and the Proto-Armenians (the Mushki, and possibly the Urumeans). Moreover the Hurrians and later the Urartians constituted the main mass of the nation and determined the basic line of biological succession, while the language of the nation, because of a certain historical situation, was taken over from the Proto-Armenians. Less significant, apparently, was the contribution of the Luwians (121). This process began in the 12th century B.C. and in the western part of the Highlands was completed by the 6th century B.C. (122)

When in the 6th century B.C. the Old Persian and Greek sources begin to mention the "Armenians" and "Armenia," the first of these terms is applied either to the entire population of the Highlands or to the newly formed Old Armenian nation in the western part of the Armenian Highlands (thus Herodotus) (123).

As to the term "Armenia," it is used in two different senses. Sometimes the source (as, for instance, the Bisitun inscription) does not distinguish between the XIII and the XVIII satrapies; then by the Persians and the Greeks the whole Highlands is called "Armenia," while the Babylonians (124) and probably the Hebrews (125) use the old term Urartu (Urashtu, Ararat). But when the two satrapies are distinguished, then the term "Armenia" applies to the XIII, or western, satrapy (although the Babylonians use the term Melid (126), probably after its capital). The XVIII satrapy is called Urashtu by the Babylonians; Herodotus (III, 94; VII, 79) does not give it a name but states that it was inhabited by the Alarodians (or Urartians), the Matieni (or Hurrians), and the Saspiri (probably western Georgians). Apparently the main part of the population of the XVIII, or eastern, satrapy still spoke Urartian, although the extension of the name "Armenia" to the whole Highlands may be [128] evidence that the Proto-Armenian language had also spread to its eastern half already by the 6th-5th centuries B.C.

The Armenian kingdom probably already existed in the period of Media's hegemony (as Xenophon informs us in *Cyropaedia*, and which may also be inferred from Ezekiel and from the Old Armenian legends transmitted by Moses Xorenac'i) (127). If so, this fact could have been favorable for the spread of the Proto-Armenian language to the entire territory of the Highlands (128). After the 5th century B.C. the Alarodians are no longer mentioned in history. In all probability the final merger of the Urartians with the Old Armenian nation was accomplished by the period of the Armenian state of the Eruandides/Orontids (4th-2d centuries B.C.) and of Greater Armenia of the Artashesides/Artaxiads (2d century B.C.) (129). With respect to numbers and the importance of their cultural contribution, the Urartians may have been the strongest component of the Armenian nation.

3.5. The Hurrians, Urartians, and Luwians Beyond the Confines of the Old Armenian Ethnic Area. The Georgians

We must not forget the enormous cultural impact the Urartian state and culture also had beyond the confines of the Urartian linguistic territory proper. In this sense the cultural heritage of Urartu is the property of all the peoples of Transcaucasia and not of the Armenian nation alone. Moreover during the period of Urartian domination a certain number of Urartians must have settled throughout the entire territory of the empire (130) and thus merged with the local inhabitants, and not just with the Armenian-speaking population.

The main mass of the Urartian-speaking people, however, lived inside the territory of the formation of the Armenian people and merged with it. As far as the Hurrians, the "Etio," and the Luwians are concerned, a considerable part of them lived outside of this territory and thus did not merge with the Armenians. In the Middle Ages, instead of the mountaineer Hurrians (?) in the eastern part of the Armenian Taurus and Kurdistan

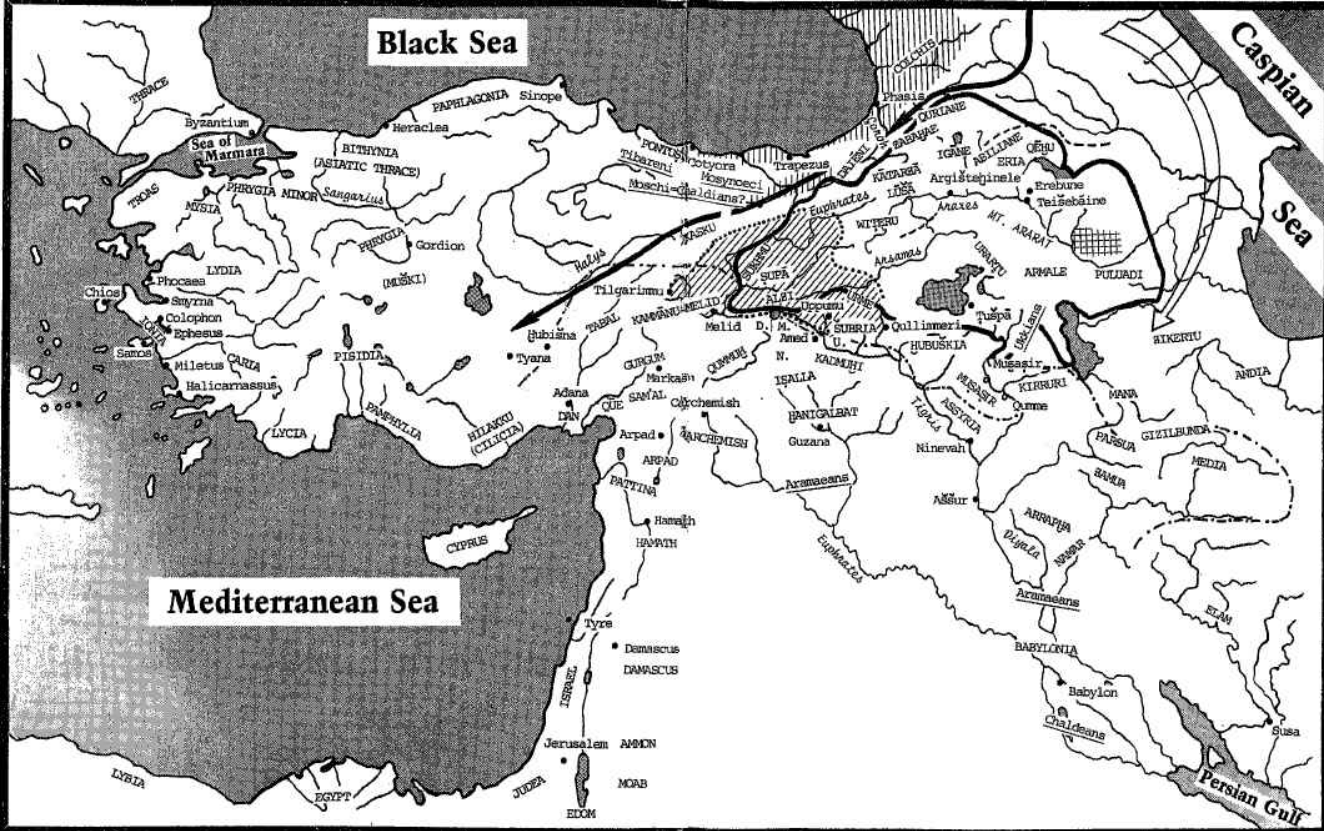
Mountains (the Carduchi), as well as instead of the Quti, we find the Kurds, who speak a language which is obviously a descendant of Median, but which developed in a specific direction. In it we should perhaps see the influence of a Hurrian substratum (131). A considerable portion of the "Etio" must have merged with the Albani in the east of their area and with the Georgians in the west (132), while within the confines of the Ararat valley and the adjacent territories they must have merged with the Armenian nation. Likewise the northwestern group of Hurrians may have merged with the [129] Georgians [133], who, as we have surmised, spread out widely during the course of the 12th (?) to 8th centuries B.C., taking in the aboriginal population of many areas of Transcaucasia and Pontus. From this time on the Georgians appear as one of the leading ethnic groups of the territory under study. Geographically, culturally, and politically, they occupied a very important area, sharing a common cultural substratum with the Armenian nation (134).

As for the Luwians, a great portion of them lived far to the west of the main region of the formation of the Armenian nation. Their descendants were, in all probability, the inhabitants of Cilicia, Cataonia, Pisidia, Lycia, and Caria of the Hellenistic period; they were subsequently Hellenized. Considerably later some eastern groups of the long since Hellenized Luwians were also subjected to Armenization.

3.6. Conclusion

From all that has been set forth it is evident that the history of the Armenian people is a direct continuation of the history not only of the Proto-Armenians, but also (and to no lesser degree) of the Hurrians, the Urartians, and the Luwians. The main mass of the Armenian nation consists of their descendants; there was a historical moment when a person might speak Old Armenian, his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather was more likely to have been bilingual, while his forefather was a pure Hurrian or Urartian. It is difficult to determine the moment of change. There are no written sources in Old Armenian before the 5th century A.D., and the proper names preserved by the older sources do not tell us much. From the Armenian historical tradition we know, for example, that the king Artashes I in the 2d century B.C. was an Armenian, but he bore an Iranian name and used the Aramaic language and the Aramaic writing system for official purposes. In view of this, and inasmuch as the Armenian historical tradition does not go back any further than the 2d quarter of the 1st millennium B.C., how can we be sure that all the dynasties of the Highlands in the 9th-7th centuries B.C., which bore Hurrian or Luwian names and used Luwian Hieroglyphic writing or cuneiform, were still really Hurrians and Luwians (135)? But from the historical point of view this is not too important: their subjects, in any event, were the direct ancestors of the Armenian-speaking inhabitants of these lands in the following centuries. Therefore in studying the ancient socio-economical or cultural history of the Armenian people, we cannot begin it from scratch and look for primitive tribal relations in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., as has frequently been done. There is no question but that ancient Armenian history can correctly be understood only [130] as the continuation of the more ancient history of the Hurrians and the Urartians, as well as that of the Luwians (136).

It is now recognized that the rudiments of the Armenian state go back not only to the epoch of the collapse of Urartu and Assyria, but even further. Piotrovsky believes that its nucleus was the kingdom of Shubria, which he identifies with Arme. He supposes that a Scythian-Armenian league emerged here in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., but that Shubria itself already had been a state earlier. Perhaps it is more likely that the nucleus of the Armenian nation is to be sought in the kingdom of Melid, capital of the XIII satrapy of Armenia in the 5th century B.C., and perhaps also the capital of the Armenian kingdom of the legendary Tigran I in the 6th century B.C. Melid was also the "Land of Hatti" of the 12th-8th centuries B.C. The Mushkian kingdom of Alzi in the 12th to 9th centuries B.C., later included in Urartu, can also be viewed as one of the nuclei of the Armenian state, but to a certain extent we can view as such nuclei any Hurrian, Urartian, or Luwian kingdom in the Armenian Highlands. These states were also created by ethnic groups which were not foreign to the Armenians, by people whose descendants merged with the Armenian nation, although at the time they themselves still spoke other languages.



Map 3. SCHEMATIC MAP OF WESTERN ASIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM B.C. (IX-VII CENTURIES B.C.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. The presence of a pre-Iranian element here is revealed by the large number of proper names of persons, places, peoples, and tribes (Lullubians, Mannaeans, etc.), preserved by the Assyrian sources, which cannot be etymologized from the Iranian languages. It can also be inferred from the difference made by the inscriptions of Sargon II between the "Quti" as a specific ethnic element different from the "Medes," who must certainly be considered as Iranian-speaking tribes. See Diakonoff (1956a), 212.

2. We must not confuse the *Mars* of the Armenian sources, i.e., the Medes (*mar* from Parthian *madb*), with the Mares mentioned by Herodotus along with the Colchi (VII, 79) and along with the tribes of Pontus (III, 94). The change from *d* to *db* and then to Old Armenian *r* took place much later than the time of Herodotus.

3. This is the opinion of Grantovsky (1962), 254-65. However it seems to us that Grantovsky exaggerates the number of names with Iranian etymologies, particularly in the western regions of the area. As before, the identification of the goddess of Mušašir, Bagmaštu, or Bagbartu (the precise reading has not been established; Urart. Warubane) with the Iranian *baga mazda*—"the Wise God(!)," seems completely unacceptable.

4. Grantovsky (*ibid.*, 264) (suggesting their arrival through the Caucasus); Diakonoff (1956a), 124-25, 139, 150-51 (suggesting their arrival from Central Asia). See also n. *5 below.

5. Thus short dockets were written by their owners in Aramaic on

legal documents compiled in Akkadian. A letter in Aramaic written by an Assyrian has come down to us; Lidzbarski (1921), 5-15; Bowman (1936), 275 ff.

6. Apart from the *Qulbā* (Colchi) and the *Halitū* (Chaldeans), other presumably Georgian tribes were the *Wiṭeru*, *Lūšā*, *Kātarzā*, and some others. Probably it was they whom the Greeks united under the name of the Saspiri. See, under the corresponding tribal names, the index in Melikišvili (1960).

7. The Colchi and the Saspiri are mentioned by Herodotus (I, 104; III, 97; IV, 37, 40; VII, 79); on the Chaldeans and the other tribes of Pontus, see above, Chap. 2, n. 115, and n. 11 to this chapter.

8. See the map in the article by Dunajevskaja (1954), 63; see also Meriggi (1967).

9. See the map in Goetze (1957), 204.

10. Strabo, XII, 8, 3. Cf. the publication of a Mysian (?) inscription in Friedrich (1932), 140 ff.

11. Herodotus, III, 94; VII, 78. For an analysis of later information, see Melikišvili (1959), 72 ff., 105 ff. From our point of view it is quite probable that the name of the Tibareni is to be identified with the name of the Kaska tribe mentioned as far back as the 14th century B.C., viz., Tibia, with some sort of local suffix—for example, with the plural suffix *-ar-*, which is widespread in a number of Caucasian languages. It seems to us that the Tibareni have nothing to do with Tabal. For historico-geographical reasons it is also impossible to accept the attempt to identify Tabal with the country of *Halitū* (of the Chaldeans), Meli-

kišvili (1959), 76.

12. Wasu-Sarrumas, Parwatas, Ambaris, and many others. However the proper names from this region should be analyzed in more detail in order to establish whether other languages are also represented. There is certainly one Phrygian name, Gordias (Luw. Hier. *Kurtis*), which supports Forrer's *Gurdi* instead of *Hidi*, the name of an overlord of Melitene mentioned in an Assyrian inscription.

13. For example, Cataonia (Hitt. Kizzuwadna), Comana (Assyr. Qummanu; Hitt. Kummanni), Melitene (Assyr. Melid; Hitt. Maldia), and others.

14. For example, Tabal, Hilakku (Cilicia Trachaea), Gurgum, Qumuh (Urart. Qumahā; Greek Commagene).

15. Let me resume the grounds for this identification: a) the powerful kingdom of Mušku, with its king Mitā, is attested by the Assyrian and Urartian sources in the area to the west of the Cilician Taurus, while according to the Greek sources, in this same territory and at the same time (8th—beginning of the 7th century B.C.) there existed the powerful kingdom of Phrygia, with its king Midas. b) The Hebrew sources, speaking of Asia Minor, mention Jawan, Tubal, and Meshech together, Jawan being Ionia and Tubal—Tabal; it would be natural to think that Meshech is Phrygia, which was located between the two (Genesis 10:2; Ezekiel 27:13). Moreover the Bible speaks of Tubal and Meshech as though of a great kingdom which perished along with Assyria and Elam (Ezekiel 32:26), while Gog (i.e., Guggu, Gyges of the Greeks, the king of Lydia, here 'any king of Lydia') is called their "chief-prince" (Ezekiel 38:2-3; 39:1). Ac-

tually Lydia inherited the might of Phrygia after Phrygia's collapse (in Herodotus, I, 29 — perhaps a later interpolation? — among peoples subject to Lydia are also named the Chalybes, and it may be supposed that some of the Georgian-speaking tribes of Pontus had before that already been subject to Phrygia; may not that be the origin of the name "Moschi"?). c) The Assyrian and Hebrew sources have no other name for Phrygia, which certainly must have been known to them, seeing that they were familiar with Lydia, which was located farther to the west (Hebrew *Lûd*; Assyr. *Luddu*).

16. Herodotus, VII, 73; Eudoxus, in *Commentary of Eustaphius to Dionysius Periegetes*, 694.

17. The doubts of linguists as to Thracian, Armenian, and Phrygian forming together a specific branch of Indo-European, the Thraco-Phrygian, are due to the paucity of the data on the Phrygian and Thracian languages, and in part to the complications in identifying the reflexes of Indo-European *k' in them. In Armenian there are certain archaic features absent from Thracian and Phrygian (as, e.g., cases of retention of the initial laryngeal, etc.) But I think that the common phonological development in Thracian, Armenian, and Phrygian vouches for their belonging to one branch (I.-E. *k' > s [in Phrygian except before sonants], I.-E. *k^w > k, I.-E. *s > b > Ø, I.-E. *e > ie, i, I.-E. o > u, voiced > voiceless, voiceless > aspirated; loss of vowel length). See Dečev (1952); Georgiev (1957); Diakonoff (1961), 333 ff.; Diakonoff (1977), 169-198; Neroznak (1979); cf. also Gusmani (1950). Note that Haas (1966) is out of date.

18. Cf. also, in modern Europe, *Welsh*, which means "Italian" (Germ.

Welsch, Pol. *włoch*), "Rumanian" (Russ. *Valakh*), or "Celtic" (Eng. *Welsh*); other examples: for the Swedes *finne* means "Finn," while for the Norwegians it means "Lapp"; in German *deutsch* means "German," while in English *Dutch* means "Hollander," etc.

19. Sometimes the origin of ethnonyms is quite puzzling and unexpected. Thus *Kedar*, a term occurring in medieval historical works from Transcaucasia as the designation of sundry nomadic tribes, is taken from the Bible (*Qēdār*, Genesis, 25:13, et al.) where it stood for a certain Arabic tribe in Syria-Palestine. Cf. also *Asbkenazi*—the strange self-appellation of the eastern European Jews; originally the meaning of this term was "Scythian" (*škenz* is an old misspelling for *škwz*, read *aškūz*, which transliterates Scythian **Skudha* "Scythian," cp. Greek *Skuthoi*).

20. For example, who would recognize Latin *aqua* "water" in the French word *eau* /o:/, or the ancient *Eburacum* in the modern name of the English city of *York* /yo:k/?

21. A strange assumption exists that along the route of its movement a people will somehow leave everywhere traces of its name in the form of toponyms which sound similar to the ethnonym of this people. Thus, for example, Kapantsjan, in his search for Palaians, has registered a great number of local names containing the element *pal-*, *bal-*, *bol-*, etc. Since this sound combination is so common in most languages, his search has not been crowned with success. Actually ethnic groups usually do not leave their name along their routes of advance except sometimes when the group in question was a minority

among the unbroken mass of population which speaks another language. But even in that case such a toponym of ethnic derivation does not reveal the real area occupied by the mass of the people in question. Cf. chap. 1, n. 13.

More can be revealed on the extent of the areas of ancient languages by registering repeating elements in the toponyms. But also these data require careful checking of their reliability. Thus Kapantsjan (1947), 257, singles out a "Asiano-Subarean" suffix *-ina* on the basis of the existence of the toponyms *Biaina*, *Nabarina*, *Luluina*, *Urraṭina*, *Palaestina*. However *Biaina* is an oblique (locative) case of *Biainele* and means "in Biainele." *Nabarina* is the conventional reading of the name of a country occurring in Egyptian nonvocalized texts; the correct reading is apparently *Nabraini* "two rivers." The toponym *Luluina* does not exist at all; it is a misreading of an Urartian appellative in an oblique case—*lu-luina-we* "of strangers." *Urraṭina* also does not exist; what is meant is the toponym *Urrabinaš*, attested in an Assyrian text. Finally, *Palaestina* is the Graeco-Roman reproduction of the Semitic plural of *Pālīštīn* from *pālīštī* "Philistine." Thus the suffix *-ina* does not reveal any common linguistic substratum.

22. The etymologies of Old Armenian words from "Western Indo-Iranian" which Kapantsjan has proposed ([1947], 136-37) all have another explanation (the majority are from Parthian). The word *arcui* "eagle," possibly came into Old Armenian through Urartian; it is attested also in the Nakh-Daghestan languages.

23. For example, from Parthian: *sepub* "younger member of a

prince's family," *naxarar* "feudal lord," *mšak* "worker, common man," *goyn* "color," *apastan* "refuge," *ardzak* "free," *spitak* "white," *žamanak* "time," *aruest* "handicraft, art," *bazuk* "forearm, arm," *bažak* "goblet," *brabank'* "instruction," *sak* "number; tax," *baž* "tax," *awrènk'* "custom, law," *yawitean* "eternal," *xrat* "instruction" (early Parthian?), *awan* "village" (perhaps Old Persian); from a Middle Median dialect: *ašxarb* "district, county; world," *aroyr* "copper, bronze" and others. There are also examples of borrowing the same Iranian words twice, from Parthian and from Middle Persian of the Sasanian period; thus do *marzpet* "head of the royal court, major-domo" (from Parthian *marzpat*) and *mardpet*, (from Middle Persian *mardpat*), *varžapet* "instructor, teacher" (from Parthian *varžpat*) and *vardapet* "master, teacher" (from Middle Persian *vardpat*). During the reign in Armenia of the Arsacid dynasty, which was of Parthian origin, Parthian played a role similar to that of Old French in England under the Norman dynasty. The upper class seems to have been bilingual.

24. For example, *gzat* "wool, fleece," *breyay* "Jew," *p'rkan* "ransom," *t'angar* "merchant" (this word is traceable, through Aramaic and Akkadian, to Sumerian *dam-gar₃*), *dziwt* "resin."

25. See Sarkisyan (1960), 49 ff.

26. For example, *srikay* "worthless, empty," *begenay* "syllable," *at'ut'ayk'* "letter," *šukay* "market," *šabat'* "Saturday," *šap'iray* "sapphire." The examples of Aramaic, Syriac, and Iranian words in Old Armenian have been pointed out to the author by A. G. Perikhanian.

27. For example, *knik'* "imprint,

sealing" from Akkadian *kaniku* "sealed document," through Hurr. **kanikki*; *agur* "brick" from Akkadian *agurru* (the latter word, in any event, did not come through Urartian or Aramaic; obviously it came through Hurrian).

28. These words mostly denote local social relations and flora. Several words possibly originate from dialects intermediate between Urartian and Hurrian. Thus typical for Hurrian is a reduplication of consonants and a development of *ae* > *e*; in Urartian reduplication is lost and *ae* develops > *ā*. Thus OArm. *ałx* "household, family" is from **allebe* < **allae-be* "that which belongs to the lady" (thus in Hurrian), or "that which belongs to the master of the house" (thus in Urartian, reduplication as in Hurrian, *ae* > *e* as in Hurrian); *caray* "slave" is from **sarrā* (reduplication as in Hurrian, *ae* > *a* as in Urartian), cf. the attested Hurrian *sarre* "living booty" < **sarr-ae*; *ałaxin* "handmaid, female servant" from Hurrian *allaebinne* "servant in charge of the stores" (development as in *caray*); certainly from Urartian are *salor* "plum-tree," from */*salore/* (no reduplication, **š* > */s/* as in Urartian), cf. the attested Hurrian forms *šalluri*, *šennuri* (read */-ore/*); also probably OArm. *cov* "lake" (Urt. *šue* */co(w)e/* "water, sea, lake"), and possibly OArm. *sur* "sword" (Urt. *šuri* */sure?/* "weapon"; but in the last case there is also a plausible Indo-European etymology).

29. Of the Hurrian etymologies for Old Armenian words proposed by Kapantsjan the following deserve attention: *astem* "I marry" from Hurr. *ašte* "wife"; *t'iw* "number" from Hurr. *tiw-* "to speak, name" (the latter word might also

be Urartian). See also n. 28.

30. For example, *atander* "appetizer" from Hittite *alattari* "type of small loaf of bread," *xainamnem* "I disturb" from Hittite *barnamnia-* meaning "to incite revolt," *k'rt'mnjem* "I am angry, I grumble" from Hittite *kartimmiyaz* "rage" (from *kart-* "heart," cf. Old Armenian *sirt*). The long lists of allegedly Hittite (or, rather, Luwian) words in Old Armenian introduced by Kapantsjan in his various works, along with actual borrowings from Hittite, contain many words from the Common Indo-European or Parthian vocabulary.

31. To such words possibly belongs *akn* "eye."

Perhaps certain peculiarities of Old Armenian declension are traceable to Luwian. For further Luwian borrowings in Old Armenian, see Greppin (1978), 121 ff.: *dop'* "beat," *torr* "vine," *vas!* "good, bravo!"

32. A proof that Old Armenian is unrelated to the Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) languages is that the history of the development of the phonetic system from Proto-Indo-European to Old Armenian is completely different from that of Old Anatolian, and this is also (and to an even greater degree) true of the morphology. Anatolian and Old Armenian cannot be traced to any common proto-language, except the ultimate ancestor language which was common to all the Indo-European languages.

33. For example, the Old Armenian nouns: *bayr* "father," *mayr* "mother," *baw* "grandfather, forefather," *get* "river," (literally "water") *metr* "honey," *gari* "barley," *sirt* "heart," *bet* "footprint," *otn* "foot," *bardzr* "high," *kou* "cow," *baw* "bird," *at* "salt," *mis*

"meat" and many others; verbs: *ber-* "bring," *get-* "know," *ag-* "dress," *arb-* "drink," *can-* "know, be acquainted with" and many others; also all the main numerals, pronouns, etc. can be traced to Common-Indo-European, by-passing any Anatolian, Iranian, Greek or other mediation. This is evident from their phonetic form that contradicts the regular reflexes of Indo-European phonemes which have developed in these other branches of the Indo-European language family. The semantic difference between this group of words and the other strata, which include mainly words connected with the later stages of cultural development, strikes the eye.

34. See Asmangulyan (1953), 21.

35. "Slavono-Scythian" languages, as one of the supposed sources of Old Armenian (Kapantsjan [1947], 151 and others), simply do not exist, since Scythian and Slavonic belong to different branches of the Indo-European family.

36. Thus in Old Armenian Common-Indo-European **p*, **t* yield aspirated stops which later developed to *b* and *Ø*; this phenomenon is not observed in either Iranian or Slavonic (the situation in Common Anatolian is not quite clear). In Old Armenian the series of Common-Indo-European phonemes **k^w*, **g^w*, **g^w*, changes to *k'*, *k*, *g* (or *j*); this phenomenon is not found in this form in either Iranian, Slavonic, or Anatolian, etc. Cf. Old Armenian *otn* "foot," *bet* "footprint," *erek'* "three" with Iranian (Avestan *padba-* "foot," *thray-* "three," with Slavonic (Russian) *pod* "under," *tri* "three," with Hittite *petan* "place," *t(a)rai-* "three"; or Old Armenian *k'an* "how," *kin* "wife," *jnem* "I strike" with Iranian (Avestan) *ča* pronomi-

nal stem, *janay-* "wife," *g/jan-* "to strike," with Slavonic (Russian) *čem, žena, gnat* and with Hittite *kw-* pronominal stem, *kwen-, kun-* "beat." The only ancient languages sharing these phenomena with Old Armenian are Thracian and Phrygian. See n. *6.

37. Cf. the Hittite names *attas* "father," *annas* "mother," *watar* "water," *milit* "honey," *balkis* "barley, grain," *kart-* "heart," *parkus* "tall, high," the verbs *arnu-* "to carry, bring" (Old Arm. *arnum* meaning "I obtain, receive"), *akw-* "drink," *sakk-* "know," *was-, wes-* "to get dressed" (Old Arm. *ag-an-*, but cf. *z-ges-t* "clothing") etc., with the Old Armenian words cited above, n. 33. Of the eleven Hittite examples, five words are from a different root (*attas, annas, balkis, akw-, sakk-*), two have a different phonemic form (*kart-, parkus*), and four differ from Old Armenian either in their suffixes or meaning, etc. Such a large percentage of discrepancy in the roots of the basic vocabulary points to the differentiation of Common Anatolian on the one hand, and Common Thracio-Phrygian (or Proto-Armenian) on the other, from Common Indo-European far back in antiquity. According to Kammenhuber, Old Armenian separated from Common Indo-European earlier than all the other Indo-European languages except Greek, and even earlier than Hittite. Cf. Kammenhuber (1961), 31, 71. I should think that the first Indo-European languages to separate from the common stock were the peripheral languages—Hittito-Luwian and Tocharic (they have an archaic verbal system and preserve some very archaic phonological and morphological features). Then there

was formed a big "eastern" group sharing some important early innovations in the verb, including Greek, Thracio-Phrygian with Proto-Armenian, and Indo-Iranian (the so-called sigmatic aorist, the *e*-augment, a rather developed system of tenses and moods, etc.). It was probably Greek which separated first out of this group, because it did not share some important phonetic developments which the other members of the group shared with Balto-Slavonic (**k^w, *k' > *k, *s*), then Indo-Iranian, which developed another typical phonological feature not shared by any other Indo-European languages (**e, *o > a*). Of the remaining languages, Proto-Armenian, still retaining certain archaic features, like the initial laryngeal, was the first to separate, while Thracio-Phrygian continued to develop common features with the Balto-Slavonic. The last to separate was Phrygian, the one language of the group nearest to Greek. See also n. *7 below.

38. Thus, according to Djahukyan, Indo-European **k', *g', *g'b* are supposed to develop in Urartian to *b, q, k*, while Indo-European **k^w, *g^w, *g^wb* develop in Urartian to *ku, gu*. In Old Armenian these phonemes yield *s, c, dz* and *k', k, g/j* respectively. Moreover the grammatical morphs of Urartian have absolutely nothing in common with those in Armenian, whose origin is clearly Indo-European.

39. Ancient Thracian and Phrygian show the same changes of the Common Indo-European phonetic system as Old (actually medieval) Armenian, but we find them, naturally enough, at a much earlier stage of the development. Thus Indo-European **p*, changes in Old Arme-

nian (through a stage of **ph*) to *h* and *Ø*, and **t* to *t'*, *b*; in Thracian and Phrygian they change from **p*, **t* to *p'*, *t'* only; in Old Armenian **g^wb* becomes *g* (and then *j*), in Thracian and Phrygian **g^wb* becomes *g* (while in Hittite **g^wb* changes to *kw*): Thracian *genton* "piece of meat," literally "cut away" (past participle), cf. Old Arm. *jnem* "I strike"; cf. Hitt. *kwen-* "to strike"; Thracian and Phrygian *germ-* in names of places, apparently meaning "warm," cf. Old Arm. *ferm* "hot" (from **germ-*; also frequently used in toponyms). Along with Thraco-Phrygian and other eastern Indo-European languages such as Baltic, Slavic, and Indo-Iranian (but not Greek and the Anatolian languages), Old Armenian shares a change of Common Indo-European **k'* to *s*: Thrac. *esb-* "horse," *satilla* "vehicle, Ursa Major," *-zen* "family (?)" (in proper names), cf. Old Arm. *ēš* (from **esw-*) "donkey," *sayl* "(two-wheeled) cart," *cin* "birth"). Along with Thraco-Phrygian and Greek (but not with Balto-Slavonic, etc.), Old Armenian shares a change from **s* to zero. Characteristic is the verbal prefix (augment) *e-*, common to Old Armenian and Phrygian. (Of the other Indo-European languages it is found in this form only in Greek, the Balkan neighbor of the Thraco-Phrygian languages; Greek stands in many respects near to Phrygian, Thracian, and Armenian, but the phonemic system has experienced a very different development).

Unfortunately it is difficult to compare the vocabularies of Phrygian and Old Armenian. All the linguistic relics of Old Phrygian we have are a few sentences, not always easy to understand, and of Late

Phrygian from the time of the Roman Empire, another very limited set of short sentences, as well as a small number of glosses from Greek and Roman authors. Late Phrygian was already under a very strong impact of Greek, and even Old Phrygian displays a number of borrowings from ancient Achaean Greek (for example, *wanak-* "king," *lawaget-* "military commander," and others). But most devastating is the fact that the material of Phrygian which has come down to us contains almost none of the words of the basic vocabulary which (apart from phonology and morphology) is the most revealing for establishing linguistic kinship. However, cf. Old Arm. *bayr* "father," *mayr* "mother," *ber-* "to carry," *get-* "to know," *s-a* "this" (the dative is *sm-a*) with Phrygian (or Mysian) *pat(e)r* "father," Phrygian *mater* "mother," *ber-* "to carry," *wit-* "to know" (or "to see?") *si* "this" (m., the dative is *semun*) "this (m.)," *sa* "this" (f.), and with Hittite *attas* "father," *annas* "mother," *arnu-* "to bring," *sakk-* "to know," *ka-*, *apa-* "this."

40. We must separate the etiological legends created by the Greeks with the aim of tracing the peoples of the East from the heroes of Greek mythology (as for example, the Armenians from Armenus, son of Jason, the hero of the voyage of the Argonauts, or the Medes from Medea, etc.) and the purely matter-of-fact references of the Greek authors, which are not connected with any pseudo-etiological or etymological constructions. Such are the data of Herodotus and Eudoxus, which are based on travellers' notes. The derivation of the Armenians from the Phrygians could not have

been invented in connection with the colonizing efforts of the dominant class of the Graeco-Roman world as Piotrovsky suggests (1959), 123: for the Greeks and Romans the Phrygians were not colonizers, but objects of colonization. However, the information of Herodotus should not be taken at face value; by "Phrygia" he probably simply means "Asia Minor."

41. At present this does not raise any doubts. See Abaev (1949), 147 ff.

42. See Diakonoff (1956a), 239-42.

43. Such is the opinion of E. Cavaignac, who believed that the Armenian language originated with the Thracian-speaking Treres (a group of the Cimmerians or their allies). The Treres are not known to the ancient Oriental sources, and there is no ground to postulate their settlement in the Armenian Highland. See Cavaignac (1963), 47-54.

44. Great moving human masses could hardly have crossed the range of the Great Caucasus—neither along the Black Sea, nor through the Darial Pass, see chap. 1, n. 35.

45. See Piotrovsky (1959), 239; Melikišvili (1959), 223-24.

46. The deportation of considerable groups of inhabitants within the Assyrian and Urartian Empires took place inside the imperial territory but not, e.g., from the outside into Urartu, if we do not count the campaign of Rusā II in 676 B.C. against Phrygia. This campaign might have been accompanied by the deportation of Phrygians into the Armenian Highland. But, as we shall see below, we cannot simply identify the Proto-Armenians with a group of Phrygians, in spite of the fact that Herodotus informs us that

they were "settlers having moved away from the Phrygians."

47. The alleged difference in the reflexes of the Common Indo-European phonemes in Phrygian on the one hand, and in Old Armenian on the other (I.-E. *g^w > Old Arm. *k*, Phr. allegedly *b*; I.-E. *k̑ > Old Arm. *s*, Phr. allegedly *k*) has turned out to be, in light of the latest research, nonexistent. However a number of phonetic, morphological, and lexical divergences between the two languages are apparent. These divergences are of such a kind that they make it impossible to derive Old Armenian from Phrygian. But the two languages must be derived from two sufficiently close dialects of a single ancestor language. From geographical considerations it follows that the speakers of Proto-Armenian must have been the vanguard of the Thraco-Phrygian movement into Asia Minor, and therefore, their language must have branched off from the ancestor language not later than the moment of the beginning of this movement. This means that Phrygian and Proto-Armenian must have been separate languages (or at least clearly distinguished dialects) already in their Balkan homeland.

48. The Kaska apparently settled farther to the northwest, in the "country" Kasku, somewhere near the upper reaches of the Halys River. They have nothing to do with the question we are discussing; about their probable ethnic affiliation, see above, chap. 1.

49. Kapantsjan (1947). From a general linguistic point of view this work, just as many other works by this deserving scholar, displays substantial drawbacks, such as disregard for the problem of historical

phonetics, and, as a result, an absence of clarity in the definition of borrowings as distinct from facts revealing linguistic kinship. From the point of view of cuneiform philology, we find such drawbacks as the author giving equal weight to ascertained and doubtful facts, checked and unchecked hypotheses, outdated and the newest readings and information. In addition to this, in connecting the people of Haiasa first and foremost with the ancient Palaians, Kapantsjan mistakenly considers the language of the latter (as well as that of the Luwians) as belonging to the most ancient, non-Indo-European stratum of languages, which naturally leads to a substantial distortion of all linguistic perspectives. As a consequence of all this, the unprepared reader will hardly be able to distinguish Kapantsjan's many interesting observations from disputable and fallacious assertions.

50. See *Istoriia armjanskogo naroda* (1951), 25. Djahukyan points out in his works a certain similarity between a few individual toponyms of central Armenia and the toponyms of Haiasa. However this can be explained by a common Kur-Araxes substratum and other factors. Thus, e.g., the language of the people of Haiasa, like that of the inhabitants of the central Highland, may have belonged to the Hurro-Urartian family of languages (actually, it probably did).

51. We know nothing at all about the material culture of Haiasa. The objects from the site of Altintepe in the Erzincan valley, referred to by Kapantsjan ([1947], 105, and tables I and II) as Haiasan are actually Urartian (it is true that on one of the objects a Luwian Hieroglyphic in-

scription was found). The fortress on the hill of Altintepe was built in the Urartian period; prior to that the hill had not been inhabited since the 3d millennium B.C., when a settlement of the Kur-Araxes culture was located on it. See Tahsin Özgüç (1961), 269-90.

52. It is curious that Kapantsjan ([1947], 17), in correctly rejecting the comparison made by J. Markwart of the name of the tribe *Chaoi*, attested by Diodorus, with the self-appellation of the Armenian *bayk'* on the ground that "the Armenian national name *bay-* does not begin with the hard velar spirant *x*," asserts in the same breath the identification of *bay-* with the name of Haiasa, although in cuneiform the latter has also "the hard velar spirant *x*," and not *b*. Although Greek *chi* was pronounced as /k'/ (like Arm. *k'*), not as /x/ (like Arm. *x* and *ch* in Scots *loch* and German *dach*), and thus could not represent the Armenian phoneme /h/, it could and very often did reproduce the foreign /x/ (*loch*, *Dach*) sound. In the same way the foreign /x/ sound, absent in standard English, is reproduced by *kh*, as in "Ahmed Khan." Therefore Greek *Chaoi* may quite regularly represent a reflex of *Hai(a)sa*, with the loss of the intervocal -s- typical of Old Armenian, Phrygian, and Greek. Geographically the *Chaoi* may be placed in the Çoruh valley, which would mean that the people of Haiasa did not budge from their original home, which, of course, is what should have been expected.

53. Hittite *a* can be traced to an Indo-European *o* as its historical reflex, but it is doubtful that it could be used to reproduce an /o/ in foreign languages. For this, in all the

variants of the cuneiform writing system, *u* was invariably used.

54. Kapantsjan (1947), 39. This suffix is attested in Luwian, but in the opinion of Gamkrelidze (1957), 45 ff., it might be traced to a Hattic substratum.

55. Kapantsjan also adds the names of Wannis, Kapiltias (in his transcription Gabildi), and Arihpizzi. The last name is definitely Hurrian and has nothing to do with the present problem. As far as the other two are concerned, the first of them is more likely to be a title, and the second may be the name of a toponym(?).

56. The text (KUB XXVI, 39) does not give complete assurance that these were gods of Haiasa. An Indo-European derivation of their names is most doubtful. The main god of Haiasa was a chthonic god, ^d*U.GUR*, worshipped mainly among the Hurrians.

57. Thus many Hittite toponyms cannot be etymologized from the Hittite language.

58. Djahukyan (1961), 353-405.

59. The division of the Haiasan proper names into stem and suffixes as suggested by Djahukyan seems arbitrary. The absence of prefixes in Haiasan is typical for the Hurro-Urartian languages but not for the Indo-European languages. The majority of morphs singled out by the author need not be etymologized from Indo-European; for example, Hurrian would do for such elements as *anni-*, *mari-*, the suffix of diminutive names *-ia*, the suffixes of adjectives *-zzi*, *-anni*, and many others. The name of the god ^d*U.GUR*, a deity of the earth and death (possibly a heterographic spelling), was used throughout the entire Hurrian and Hittite territory,

in particular among the Hurrians of Arrapkhe. There is no ground to see in it a "Haiasan" word, and then deduce from it the Armenian *ogorim* "I fight." The etymologies of Armenian and Urartian words from the alleged "Haiasan" language suggested by Djahukyan ([1961], 398) are based on arbitrary translations of stems arbitrarily singled out by him from proper names thought to be "Haiasan."

60. Actually the Indo-European Haiasa language reconstructed by Djahukyan is, in his own opinion, Hittite-Luwian, or Anatolian (ibid., 398), and therefore not related to Armenian.

61. Thus according to Moses Xorenac'i, I, 10. Cf. Strabo's story (XI, 14, 12) about the descendants of the mythological Armenus, the ancestor-eponym of the Armenians, settling partially in Akilisene and Sophene (i.e., in the valley of the Upper Euphrates), partially in Syssiritis (whatever that means), and partially in the regions contiguous with the Armenian Highland from the south. Some scholars have suggested the identification of Sy(s)-pirtis with Šubria, others with the Saspis.

62. See pp. 72, 76, 88, 89, 92 above.

63. But in the inscription of Iariris, the king of Carchemish at the beginning of the 8th century B.C., the *Musa-*, the *Muska-*, and the *Sura-* (Aramaeans) are mentioned jointly (Meriggi [1967], 2:1, no. 10, fr. 6). The *Muska-* are likely to be the Eastern Muški. The *Musa-* must be the Phrygians (*Mysia* lay too far off).

64. Goetze (1957), 179.

65. It is sometimes stated that they are mentioned in the Egyptian

texts of Ramesses II. This is an error: the reference is to the area of *Masa*, known from the Hittite texts.

66. *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum I*, fragm. 228.

67. Melikišvili (1959), 72.

68. But, as pointed out above, tribal names seldom occur in Urartian inscriptions.

69. Melikišvili (1959), 105.

70. The Chaldeans subsequently bore the designation of Lazi or Č'ani.

71. The identification is very ancient; already Cicero confused the inhabitants of Tabal with the Tibareni.

72. Melikišvili (1959), 78.

73. The etymology of the name of Tabal from Georgian **tba*- "lake" is hardly acceptable, the more so since there was no lake where ancient Tabal was situated. In addition one cannot at once accept both this etymology and the identification of the term *Tabal* with the term *Iberians* (through *Tibareni*).

74. Melikišvili (1959), 106. The reason why Melikišvili postulates two different invasions is the fact that Tiglath-pileser I declares he has destroyed the Muški. This declaration is worth no more than most official military reports. However even if we trust the statement of the Assyrian annals (which are always arrogantly boastful), Tiglath-pileser I took a mere 6,000 Muški captive, and it is difficult to presume that he killed the remaining 14,000—this is not even asserted in the annals. Moreover the text speaks only about those Muški who raided Kadmuhi, and nothing is said about those who had settled in Alzi and Purulumzi. Undoubtedly the Muški of Tiglath-pileser I (12th century) are the same as the settled Muški of Tukulti-Ninurta II and of Aššurnāširapal (9th

century). Melikišvili himself (*ibid.*) admits that "some of the Muški [of Tiglath-pileser] remained in the territory which was under the control of the Assyrians."

75. The historical phonology of the Georgian language has now been reliably reconstructed, and it is possible to restore the forms of the Common Georgian ancestor language. Therefore no etymologies for such terms as "Carduchi" and "Kartvelians," "Muški," "Colchi" and "glexi" should be accepted unless based on the historical phonetics and phonology of the Georgian languages.

76. There is a considerable amount of information on these tribes in the letters of the Assyrian royal archives. This region (Corduene) was afterwards inhabited by the Kurds, speaking a language traceable to Median, but, from our point of view, ethnically descended from the mountaineer Hurrians, Qutī, etc. In regions protected by mountains languages are often preserved which have disappeared in the center of the area. This was the case of the Hurrians, and also of the Talyši living along the Caspian coast astride of the Soviet-Iranian frontier. They, like the Kurds, have preserved to the present day a language which is a remnant of Median. But the Medians penetrated Talyš at a comparatively late date: in the epoch of the Median Empire pre-Iranian vernaculars were still preserved there. In Media proper Median has long since disappeared.

77. According to the inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, the Muški lived in Alzi, whose territory did not border on Northern Mesopotamia. According to the inscription of Aššurnāširapal, he received tribute

from the Muški when sojourning in Kadmuhi. All we can conclude from this is that they lived not very far from this province, but not necessarily within the country of Kadmuhi itself. See, however, above, chap. 2, n. 186.

78. Melikišvili (1959), 78.

79. Assyrian *Tabalātu* is not the name of a tribe, but means "inhabitant of the country of Tabal," cf. *Šidūnātu* "inhabitant of Sidon," *Bābilātu* "inhabitant of Babylon." The designation *Tabalāiu* is occasionally used in the documents for individual people as the designation of their place of origin, but as far as I know, not in the historical inscriptions.

80. Cavaignac (1953), 139-44; Khazaradze (1962), 45 ff. (in Georgian with Russian and English summaries).

81. Diakonoff (1961a), 355. For the possibility of applying the ethnic name of certain Thraco-Phrygians to a group of Georgian-speaking tribes, cf. for example, the appellation of the Romanized Gauls, *français*, based on the name of the German tribe of Franks which had conquered Gaul, or the appellation of certain Russian and Ukrainian ethnic groups, *Kozak*, *Kazak*, "Cossack," a term of Turkic origin identical to the ethnonym *Kazakh* (properly *Qazaq*), which is explained not by a common ethnic origin, but by a similarity of life-style at a specific stage in history (raiding on horseback, independence from the centralized state power). If we accept the identification of the Moschi with the Chalybes, note that the latter, according to the evidence of Herodotus (or, more probably, interpolated into his text I, 29, but in any event, ancient),

were part of the Lydian Empire, and therefore must probably have been part of the Phrygian Empire before it, since Phrygia is situated closer to the place of their habitation.

82. We must bear in mind that in late Akkadian the phoneme which is transcribed as *u* was, judging by the Greek transliterations of the Hellenistic period, read /o/ (it is not known whether this also applies to the Akkadian dialects of the 8th-7th centuries B.C., but it is probable.) As to the Urartian spelling, *u* was used for two phonemes:—more often for /o/, less often for /u/ (inferred from Greek and Armenian transcriptions). In addition, both in the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian and in Urartian the signs for syllables which we transcribe as *š* were pronounced with /s/; therefore, along with the reading /Muški/, the readings /Moški/, /Muski/, /Moski/ are equally possible, and /s/ is more probable than /š/.

83. In the Masoretic Bible the spelling *mš̄k* was pronounced /mäšäk' (the traditional reading "Meshech" is an attempt to reproduce the aspirated *k*, roughly corresponding to Armenian /k'/). But this was a later, medieval Hebrew pronunciation, dating from a time when the genuine vocalization of this name had already been forgotten by the Jews. The Samaritan Bible pronounces this word as *Mōšāk'*, the Greek and Latin translation (Septuagint and Vulgate) as *Mosoch*, which, according to the rules of Hebrew phonetics, corresponds to an original **Mošk-*; this form, in its turn, can be traced to **Muš̄k*, probably borrowed from Babylonian scribes, who, in contradistinction to the Assyrian ones, read *š* as /š/, not as /s/.

84. A change from *b* to *k'* (approximately from Arm. *x* to Arm. *k'*) was certainly possible in the late languages of the Luwian group, however a change from *k'* to *b* is, to my knowledge, not attested. In Luwian Hieroglyphic the term sounded, as we have seen, *Muska-*. One way or another, the question of the derivation of the term *Mesxi* is in need of further research. We must, however, note that the identification (or confusion) of the *Mesxi* with the *Moschi* belongs, as we have seen, to late antiquity: Strabo (XI, 2, 78) already places the *Moschi* not in Pontus, as Hecateus and Herodotus did, but on the border of Colchis, Iberia, and Armenia: there is no doubt that he is talking about the *Mesxi*.

85. Thus also Melikišvili (1954), 315 ff.

86. Goetze (1957), 202 (quoting P. Kretschmer).

87. The Semitic (also Assyrian) and the Urartian *k* corresponds to the Armenian *k'*. Therefore, the form *Muš-ki* may be interpreted as the Proto-Armenian plural of *Mus-* (or *Muš-*), cf. the Old Armenian morph of the plural *-k'*, whose origin is unknown. As has already been mentioned, in the Luwian Hieroglyphic inscription of Iariris *Musa-* and *Muska-* are mentioned simultaneously. Actually this is one and the same term, but applied to two different ethnic groups within the Thraco-Phrygians—to one which used the plural in *-k'*, and to another which did not use it. In Phrygian there are no traces of a form which could yield the characteristic Old Armenian plural in *-k'*. Alternatively, the two ethnic groups, *Musa-* and *Muska-* might have been the Mysians and the Phrygians;

however it is difficult to imagine an invasion of the Mysians from the shores of the Sea of Marmara to Carchemish in the 8th century B.C., even as allies of the Phrygians. It is more likely that the *Musa-* are the Western *Muški*, or the Phrygians, and the *Muska-* the eastern *Muški*, or Proto-Armenians. In this case we must suppose that the term **Musk'i* (with **-k'*) was first applied only to the Proto-Armenians, as the vanguard group of the Thraco-Phrygians which was the earliest to clash with Assyria and Urartu. Later it was transferred to the Phrygians as well although they, like their neighbors the Mysians, did not use the suffix **-k'*. The cause was that their cultural image, in the minds of the Assyrians, etc. was similar to that of the Eastern *Muški*. Is it possible that the name of the city *Muş*, which is situated in the region where the Proto-Armenians settled, should be connected with the ethnonym of the *Muški*, being another piece of evidence in favor of the suffixal nature of **-k'* in this ethnonym? Hardly, since Arm. *š* (here Turk. *ş*) can be derived from *s* only in certain combinations (e.g., with *w*).

88. See Melikišvili (1959), 112. A short-lived invasion of Georgian-speaking tribes into the valley of the Upper Euphrates is not in itself improbable. We have seen that the Apešlaian *Kaska* appeared in the same region, probably from those regions along the Pontus which were gradually being populated by Georgian-speaking tribes, between the 12th(?) and the 8th centuries B.C.

89. Eremyan (1958), 59-74. Also Bănăţeanu agreed with Eremyan's point of view in his report (1963), 658-67, as well as in his other works.

90. The form *Urmeubi* (better *Urmiube*), cited by Eremyan, is the Hurro-Urartian adjective form from *Urmtu-* or */Urmio-/* (unstressed *Urmie*; cf. *Etiube*, *Diaube*, *Carduchi*, etc.). On *Arme* see chap. 2, p. 76.

91. The tiny "country" of Armatana of the Hittite sources has been referred to as a dwelling place of the Arimi. However Armatana was not located in Haiasa, and its name, in all probability, is connected with the name of the god Armas and has no relation to the Armenians. Further, the question immediately arises, in what manner could a non-Anatolian Indo-European tribe arrive at Armatana at that time?

92. Here are two of the latest English translations of the passage Iliad, II, 780-785: "But the rest went forward, as if all the earth with flame were eaten, and the ground echoed under them, as if Zeus who delights in thunder were angry, as when he batters the earth about Typhoeus, in the land of the Arimoι, where they say Typhoeus lies prostrate. Thus beneath their feet the ground re-echoed loudly to men marching, who made their way through the plain in great speed" (Richard Lattimore, 1951). "So all this host went sweeping over the earth like a conflagration. The ground groaned under their tramp, as when Zeus Thunderer in wrath lashes the ground round about Typhoeus where he lies in Arima. So under their trampling feet the ground loudly groaned, and quickly they passed over the plain" (W.H.D. Rouse, Thomas Nelson, 1938). Typhoeus is a primordial giant.

93. Judging by the preposition used (*ein Arimoιs*), the latter is more likely.

94. See *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Arima. Proposed were

the volcanic Pityusae (Southern Balearic) islands, or the volcano Argaeus (Erciyaş-dağ) in Asia Minor, as well as other locations. As Kapantsjan correctly notes ([1947], 175-77), Mount Argaeus is located a long way from Haiasa—and, we might add, relatively far from Armatana.

95. Or, strictly speaking, an Indo-European, but not Anatolian, Iranian, Indio-Aryan, Greek, Slavonic, etc. By process of elimination we must come to the conclusion that this element belongs to the Thracophrygian branch.

96. Diakonoff (1951a), II, No. 67, e.i.; cf. chap. 2, n. 177.

97. Diakonoff (1951a), No. 23, II, 12-14, AR12, 550 ff. (the inscription of Aššurnāširapal). By Inner Urumu ("the interior of Urumu" in Grayson's translation) are possibly meant the northern slopes of the Sasun Mountains, and under the name of Šubria, the southern slopes.

98. Cf. the names of the members of the royal houses of Kadmuhi and Urrahinaš—Kili-Teššub, the son of Kali-Teššub, and Šadi-Teššub, the son of Hattuhe ("of the Hittite," Diakonoff [1951a], No. 10, II, 25, 40) and of Šubria—Šerpi-Teššub, Ligi-Teššub (Diakonoff [1951a], II, No. 67) and Anhitte(še) (Diakonoff [1951a], the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, repeatedly). In the letters of the Assyrian royal archives is also mentioned one Hu-Teššub (mistaken reading: Bag-Tešsub).

99. Eremyan's identification of Neheria-Nahria with the Nihani mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta I does not seem convincing to me, even though an identification of Nihani itself with Nihan-dağ on the right bank of the Tigris is plausible. The ending *-ria* is attested in the name

of the city from ancient times. It seems to me, the context requires its being located to the south of the Tigris. Another proposed identification of Neheria—with Nep'erkert of the Middle Ages (modern Mayafarkin)—is difficult to justify linguistically. On the location of Qulmeri, see above, chap. 2, n. 151.

100. See above, n. 63.

101. See above, chap. 2, p. 72.

102. This is evident from the numerous names both in Luwian Hieroglyphic and in the Assyrian sources (Hilaruandas, Tarhunasi(s), Tarhulara(s), Ambaris, Parwatas, and others). Several of them imitate the Hittite names of the days of the Hittite Empire (Hattusilis, Mutallu, and others). Not all of the men who bore these names were necessarily Luwian: even the leader of the Cimmerians in the 7th century, Sandakštru, had possibly a half-Luwian name (Iran. "Power of the god Sardon," a Luwian deity, see Diakonoff [1951a], II, no. 78; Winckler (1897), 492 ff.).

103. Melikišvili's suggestion ([1954], 89) that the country of Šupā owes its name to the North-eastern Caucasian (Nakh) tribe of Tsova (or Batsbians) cannot be accepted, since in contradistinction to the Abkhazo-Adyghian and Georgian tribes, the Nakh-Daghestani tribes, whose separate ancestor-language goes back to an even earlier period (see Bokarev [1961], 18), have never been attested in the Armenian Highland. A remote similarity of a solitary name is not enough to suggest an invasion. Note that new toponyms in this region, like Enzite, or such as continued their existence after the arrival of new peoples, like Šupā and Alzi, survived right up to the Middle Ages, while ancient Hurrian toponyms—

Kadmuhi, Išuwa, etc.—have disappeared. In the inscription of Shalmaneser III (Diakonoff [1951a], no. 27, II, 40-44; Schrader [1889], 150) the term "Išuwa" is clearly an archaism, and in the parallel text No. 28, 35 ff.; Schrader (1889), 128, it is replaced by the term Alzi.

104. Nevertheless it is probable that the Muški would hardly have ventured such a risky undertaking as an attack on Assyria with a small detachment which did not constitute the greater part of their armed forces.

105. Melikišvili (1960), 155 G, 2-11; Diakonoff (1963b), 57. The text says: "When the god Haldi gave me the royal dignity, and I sat on the paternal place of royalty, this was the *isiuše* (Melikišvili: superfluous) service (lit. 'giving,' *ar-(e)d-aie*) which I abolished for the (armed) people (*šurele*): 92 chariots, 3000 cavalymen, 352,011 infantrymen from this service as militiamen ($LU_2.A.SI^{MES}$), which were *isiuše*, I deducted (lit. 'cast away'); 121 men, 10,408 horses, 132 mules, 12,321 cows, 9,036 oxen, in all 21,357 cattle and 35,407 sheep, 2,114 battle swords (?) ($BE.LI^{MES}$), 1,332 bows, 47,470 arrows, 1,022,133 *kapi* of barley, 111 *aqarge* of wine, 86 *aqarge* 7 *tiruse* 20 *kale* of oil, 7,079 minas of copper, 336 slaves, I abolished for the men of labor (?) (*ur-ur-(e)d-ele*)." The militia was, of course, replaced by a standing paid royal army, a reform made possible by the huge accumulation of wealth resulting from the military raids and campaigns of the Urartians. A similar reform was introduced a few years later in Assyria, probably under Tiglath-pileser III (745-729 B.C.).

106. This seems strange, since, it would seem, the Muški and the

Urumeans, being conquerors, must have also formed local dynasties. Apparently the elite of the Muški tribal aristocracy initially adopted the Hurro-Luwian culture and took corresponding personal names. There are many analogies to this. The Muški may also have entered the service of the local dynasties as hired warriors, like the Amoreans in early 2d millennium Babylonia.

107. Klimov (1964), 27 ff., does not refer to it when characterizing the historical composition of the Georgian vocabulary.

108. Diakonoff (1958), 51. We are not referring to local Armenian dialects, which, for example in the region of Van, are said to preserve particularly strong traces of a substratum in their phonetics, but to the Armenian language as a whole.

109. For purposes of comparison we note that the inhabitants of the Shetland Islands near the shore of Scotland at one time spoke Old Norse. By the 17th century, however, after a period of bilingualism, they had changed over to English, but until recently they preserved features of Norwegian phonetics in the local English dialect. Speech with a so-called "accent" always bears witness to the bilingualism of the speaker, but in the case of a quick and complete changeover to a new language, the "accent" disappears in the following generation. For the phonetic rules of the older language to take root in the new language, many generations of bilingualism are necessary.

110. In the inscription Meriggi (1967), II, 1, no. 11, Iariris, the king of Carchemish, boasts of having command of no less than twelve languages (thus according to the interpretation of Morpurgo-Davies

and Hawkins (1978), 756). Unfortunately, because of a lacuna in the text, only the names of four writing systems are preserved, viz. . . . *URBS-si-ia-ti SCRIBA-li-ia-ti-i Su₃ra-wa-ni-ti(URBS) SCRIBA-li-ai-ti-i A₂-Su₃ra(REGIO)-wa-na-ti(URBS) SCRIBA-li-ia-ti-i, Ta-i-ma-ni-ti-ba(URBS) SCRIBA-li-ti* "in the writing of the City (of Carchemish?), in the writing of the Aramaeans, in the writing of the Assyrians, and in the writing of the Tai/Taochi (i.e., the Hurrians?)." The writing of the City is most probably Luwian-Hieroglyphic. What the other eight languages might have been must be guessed at. Greek, Phoenician, Proto-Armenian, Phrygian, and Urartian would probably be among them. Anyway the text of Iariris, which was not known to me at the time of the first edition of this book, neatly confirms my thesis that the Upper Euphrates region was an area of multi-lingualism, where a *koinē* simply had to be created.

111. On the role of language and ethnos in Ancient Oriental history, see Diakonoff (1958c), 5 ff.; idem (1958a), 56; idem (1963a), 167-79.

112. In his annals Argišti I says that in the 5th year of his rule he "built the city of Erbune for the might of Biainele and the suppression(?) of the hostile countries; I settled there 6,600 warriors from the countries of Hâte and Šupā" (Melikišvili [1960], no. 127, II, 33-37; no. 128, A2, 15-23). He is referring to the captives taken in the preceding year during the campaign against Meliṭia (Malatya, subsequently the capital of the XIII satrapy "Armenia"). On the meaning of the term "Hâte," see below.

113. Whether the god Iwarša mentioned in inscriptions from Er-

bune and Teišebaine (Melikišvili [1960-71], Supp. 8, Harouthiounyan [1966], 1:8; cf. Melikišvili [1958], no. 2, 40-47) is to be identified with the Luwian god Immarsias is not clear. An originally Luwian deity was the Old Armenian god Tork', who was worshipped in Anget-tun, i.e., in the southern part of the Proto-Armenian area (Luw. *Tarbunts*); in Cilicia, in accordance with the Greek transliteration, he was *Troko*; in Lycia, *Trqq*. See also Kapantsjan (1947), 201. Among the deities worshipped in Teišebaine was also Marduk, the god of Babylon, see Harouthiounyan (1966), 3:8 and 96; cf. here chap. 2, n. 226.

114. As pointed out above, this name is to be traced to Hittite *Zubma*, Assyrian *Submu* (its actual pronunciation was probably /Sox-ma/. Much less probable is the development of the term *somexi* from *Muški*, even apart from the lack of phonetical correspondence. In either of these two etymologies we must suppose a metathesis (rearrangement) of the consonants, but it is much more plausible in the first case.

115. We suggest that Old Pers. **Armina* is formed with the help of the Aramaic ending in long -ā, from the unattested, but grammatically regular Urartian **armine* "inhabitant of Arme," also "Armean (country)." Such a dual meaning of the original **armine* led to the phenomenon of the term **Armina* beginning to be used for the country itself. From **Armina* was derived the Old Persian adjective *Arminiya*, which was borrowed back into later Syro-Aramaic as *Armnāiā* "Armenian."

116. For example, *Aturā* "Assyria" (this is the Aramaic form; the

Assyrian one is *Aššur*).

117. It is commonly known that the scribes and minor officials in the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids were recruited from Aramaeans. Note that *Arminiya* is "inhabitant of Armenia" (not necessarily ethnically an Armenian; the Babylonian version of the Achaemenian inscriptions says "Urartian." *Arminiya* was, by the way, also the ethnonym used in the Bisitun inscription for the pretender to the Babylonian throne, *Ar(a)xā*, who, judging by the name of his father, *Xalditā*, i.e., **Haldi-teae* "Haldi is great," was an Urartian). The terms *Armina* and *Arminiya* appear for the first time in the Bisitun inscription of Darius I, which was carved at the end of the 520s B.C., while the corresponding Greek terms appear in Herodotus, who used official Persian sources (after Hecataeus?). As has already been pointed out, before the Greeks adopted the Aramaic-Persian term *Armenii*, they apparently used the designation "Melittenians," see also below.

118. At any rate the Luwian states were officially called *Hatti*.

119. "The country of the Hittites" is the name used in the Urartian sources for the right bank of the Upper Euphrates valley (Melikišvili [1950], 39), in particular the kingdom of Melid (Melitia); see *ibid.*, no. 39 and cf. *ibid.*, 28: "In the same [ye]ar I (i.e., King Minuā) collected (my) warriors, and they took from the []ian country the town of Šurišile, the town of Tarhigama, (the town of) []tura on the side towards the (dynasty) of Šadawale, (and) from the bank (lit. 'rock') of the river [Me]lle on the side towards the Hittite country, of [] (pl.) from the Alzians 2,113 persons [in a

yea|r(?)—some I killed, others I led away alive; [the me]n that were (there), I gave to the warriors" (*i-ku-u₂-ka-ni* [*ša₂-a-le*]-e^{LU₂}*bu-ra-di-ne-le*^{MES} *ke₂-da-nu-u₂-le ba-a-i-tu₂-u₂* [. . .] . . . *bi-ni-ni KUR-ni-ni* URU^{URU} *Su₂-ri-ši-li-ni* URU^{URU} *Tar-bi-ga-ma-a-ni* [. . .]-*tu-ra-a-ni* [^{ID₂}*Me*(?)]-*le-e-i*^{NA} *qar-bi-e* KUR^{KUR} *Ha-ti-na-aš₂-ta-a-ni ap-ti-ni* [. . .]-*u₂-e* KUR^{KUR} *Al-z[i]-i-ni-ni* II LIM I ME XIII^{LU₂} *tar-šu₂-a-ni* [*ša₂-a-li*]-e *a-le-ke₂ za-aš₂gu-u₂-bi a-le-ke₂ TT*^{MES} *a-gu-u₂-bi* [*wa₂-še*]-e *a-le ma-a-nu a-ru-u₂-bi* LU^{LU₂}*bu-ra-di-na-u₂-e*^{MES}).

Unfortunately the location of Šurišile and Tarhigama is unknown; cf. also the inscription Melikišvili (1950), 127, II, 12-21: "I [i.e., Argišti I] set out for the Hittite country, captured the valley of Niriba; the town [. . .]urma of the country of (Niriba(?)) was fortified, I took it by storm; I captured [. . .]ada, the royal town, I marched into the Hittite country (and) into(?) the country of (the dynasty of) Tuatē, [subjugated it(?) along with the town of Meliṭia, reached the city of Pitei[ra] below [. . .] (and up to) [. . .](??) the river Mele, the mountain of Marmua, the mountain of Qa[. . .]ja; I led away men and women, destroyed the fortresses, burned the villages, I led away alive 2,5[3]0 youths, 8,698 men; (also) 10,847 women, in all [2]9,284 people in a year (this includes former conquests in the same year) some I killed, others I took alive." According to the Assyrian data, the valley (pass) of Niriba, like the city of Pitura (Piteira), was located to the east of the Euphrates, which is what is meant here under the name of the river of Mele or Melia (cf. in Hittite, *Mala*). The mountain of Marmua or Marma are the passes of

the Armenian Taurus, as is evident from the text of Minua (Melikišvili [1960], 28:9), where "on that side of (the mountain) of Marma" (i.e., to the south of them) lay the city of Qerbune (Assyr. Kurbail?) and the provinces of Ulluba (Urat. Uliba) and Dirria (Urat. Dirjo), situated on the southern slopes of the Armenian Taurus, as well as Išalla (Urat. *Išala*) in Northern Mesopotamia, all of which are well known from the Assyrian sources. Judging by the latter inscription, also some areas on the left bank, to the spurs of the Armenian Taurus near the sources of the Tigris, may have been counted as belonging to what the Urartians called "Hittite country." In the inscription of Rusā II (Melikišvili [1960], 278:4) the term "country of *Hâte*" is used in the sense of the areas to the southeast of Phrygia (the Muški), i.e., apparently (just as in the inscriptions of Minua and Argišti I) in the sense of the kingdom of Melid-Kammānu (Meliṭia). As already mentioned, the Assyrians used the name "Hittites" for the entire population west of the Euphrates, including Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

120. This suggestion was made half a century ago by P. Jensen and P. Tashyan. It is historically easy to explain how the name of the "Hittites" was carried over to the Armenians; however here also we run into one of the difficulties we encountered with Haiasa: in the word *Hatti*, *Hâte* the cuneiform sign stands for /x/. Was Hittite *b* /x/ a /h/-sound already in Urartian times? The evidence is ambiguous.

Note, however, that although we transcribe the cuneiform signs in question with *b* (i.e., /x/), there is a possibility that in Hittite (or Lu-

wian) the pronunciation was actually different. Here the *b* of our transliterations usually corresponds to the reconstructed Indo-European laryngeal **H*, whose real pronunciation at the time is unknown, but which actually developed into Armenian *b*, and, according to O. Szemerényi, this was also its original pronunciation in Hittite. Moreover there is reason to believe that what is transliterated as *b* corresponded to more than one Urartian phoneme. Because of the linguistic uncertainty, the derivation of the term *Hayk'* from *Hâte*, although most probable, cannot be considered to be conclusively proven for the time being. We have already pointed out that the Armenian initial *b*- could have developed also from *p*-, *s*-, and other phonemes, and therefore, other etymologies are also possible. At the same time it should be stressed that the etymology *bayo* > *Halasa* is unacceptable not because of the initial phoneme, but on the strength of a whole system of arguments.

121. Perhaps the substitution of the possessive adjective morph **-skē*-, which had developed further to Arm. *-c'*-, for the genitive plural inherited from Indo-European, and certain other peculiarities of Old Armenian grammar may be ascribed to Luwian influence. However the tendency to substitute the possessive adjective for the genitive is characteristic of a wide area, including all of the Anatolian languages, except Hittite-Nesite, as well as several Nakh-Daghestani languages.

122. For a possible participation of the Scythians in the Armenian ethnogenesis, see Piotrovsky (1959), 126-28. He suggests an identifica-

tion of "Paruyr, the son of Ska-yordi" ("the descendant of the Saka," i.e., Scythian) who, according to Moses Xorenac'i (I, 21), was a participant in the capture of Nineveh and the ravaging of the Assyrian Empire, with Partatua, the leader of the Scythians at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. See also, Kapantsjan (1947), 149-51. The difficulty is that Paruyr is a Middle Iranian name; if the tradition were an Armenian one, the Scythian (i.e., Old Iranian) name of *Partatua* would come down in a form reflecting the historical changes occurring after the 7th century B.C. in the Armenian, not in the Iranian language. As to the Iranians, they are known to have lost their own ancient historical traditions in the first centuries A.D. Still less could they have retained a legend which might be of interest to Armenians but had none for themselves. And anyway Partatua, who lived in the early 7th century, could not himself have participated in the war leading to the fall of Nineveh in 612, but, at best, only one of his descendants.

123. Among the Greeks, and particularly by Herodotus, it was applied only to the Armenians proper. In the inscription of Bisitun it is applied, as we have seen, to the Urartians as well. It is also highly improbable that the military commander of Darius I, bearing the Iranian name of Dadršiš and called "Armenian" in the inscription (namesake of the contemporary satrap of Arachosia far in the east), was actually an "Armenian," in the proper sense, and not simply an "inhabitant of Armenia."

124. Actually *Uraštu* (pronunciation /Oralt/) was the Babylonian form of the term translating Old

Persian *Armina* in the Babylonian version of the Bisitun Inscription of Darius I.

125. It is unclear whether the term *Ararat* (or, in a version preserved in the caves of the Dead Sea desert, *Hurrt*) in the text of Jeremiah 51:27, where Media's allies—Ararat, Minni (the kingdom of Mana) and the Scythian kingdom—are called to Media's aid, stands for Urartu or already for the Armenian kingdom. The text dates from 594/3 B.C.

126. It is evident from Herodotus (VII, 61-81) that the Persian military detachments were formed according to tribes, those of each satrapy or of two or three neighboring satrapies being brought together in one detachment. In the Babylonian documents from the time of the Achaemenids there are often references to commanders of detachments. In this way it is possible to establish the Babylonian names of the satrapies, which were sometimes different from the names which designate the more general, more often geographical than administrative areas which are mentioned in the royal Achaemenian inscriptions. Thus only Armenia as a whole is mentioned in the inscriptions; however from Herodotus and the other Greek authors we know that two satrapies existed in the Armenian Highland—the XVIII, populated by the Alarodians, the Matieni, and the Saspri (Urartians, Hurrians, and Eastern Georgians), and the XIII, populated primarily by the Armenians. And, indeed, in the Babylonian documents the commander of the corresponding detachment is called "commander of the men of Uraštu and Melid" (Unger [1928], 32). It is also certain that the people of the satrapies of Phrygia

and Lydia were united into a single detachment and were called *Muškaia* and *Sapardāia* (cf. *Muški* above; and Old Pers. *Sparda*, i.e., Sardis, Lyd. *Spart*; the satrapy was named after the capital of Lydia, just as in the case of Melid); see Dandamaev (1963), 142-43 (instead of "Lydian," read "Lydians").

127. See above, chap. 2, and for more detail, see the section "Armenia" in Diakonoff (1956a), 350 ff.

128. The XVIII satrapy was probably separated from the XIII only under Darius I, cf. Diakonoff (1956a), 346-48, 350 ff.

129. Not later than by the beginning of the Christian era all of Armenia was unilingual, including the former XVIII satrapy (see Strabo, XI, 14, 5).

130. This apparently follows from the findings in the Urartian cremation burial grounds in Transcaucasia (excavations of B. A. Kuftin, A. A. Martirosyan, and A. O. Mnatsakanyan). Note also the presence of Urartian fortified towns in the non-Urartian territories of the empire. Surely such towns had at least a partly Urartian population.

131. Note the distinctive verbal system of the northern Kurds, which has much in common with the Hurrian.

132. Thus, already in Herodotus (I, 104) the Saspri, living "between Colchis and Media," occupy the place of the hypothetical "Etio." They are convincingly enough identified with the Georgians. By "Media" here is probably meant the domains of the Median Empire north of the Araxes in eastern Transcaucasia; also Moses Xorenac'i (I, 20) notes a Median population in this region.

133. A very curious discovery was

made by Svanidze (1937), 37. Entire Hurro-Urartian phrases have been preserved in the refrains of certain Georgian folk-songs: *iuri alale, tari alale, ari alale*, which correspond to Hurro-Urartian *iuri Alala, tare Alala, are Alala!* "lord Alala, great Alala, give, o Alala!" Following Svanidze, Melikišvili (1954), 417; (1959), 117, believes these phrases to be Urartian, but the god Alala was known only to the Hurrians (cf. Güterbock [1946], 6-12), and not to the Urartians (see Melikišvili [1954], chap. VI, sec. I, "Panteon urartskikh bozhestv" [Pantheon of Urartian Deities]). It is true that the word *tare* (from **tarae*) is only attested, as yet, in Urartian, but the change *ae* to *e* is characteristic only of Hurrian; the other words are found both in Hurrian and in Urartian. Apparently this (as we might have expected for the Georgian-speaking areas) is a northern Hurrian dialect, in many ways closer to Urartian than Mitannian was. This is also indicated by the form *iuri*, attested also in another northern Hurrian dialect, known from the texts of Boğazköy (cf. in the south: *ewri, erwi*).

134. The formation of the Georgian people is discussed in detail by Melikišvili (1959), and there is no need to dwell on this problem here. By the 6th century B.C. the southwestern border of the Georgian-speaking tribes probably ran along the ridge of the northern (Pontic)

Taurus and perhaps extended to the upper reaches of the Araxes. We must note that, according to the linguistic data on the substratum vocabulary, the Proto-Georgian element was dominating during the whole period of the creation of the Georgian nation, and tribes speaking Kaska, Hurro-Urartian, and similar languages must have been few in number here.

135. This cannot, of course, be proved, but it is nevertheless wholly probable that they actually were Hurrians and Luwians, or, in some cases, Hurried and Luwianized Muški and Urumeans. The point is that in the pre-Achaemenian period only local community cults were known to the ancient Orient, and not ethical, proselytizing, and dogmatic religions of the type of Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Accordingly, "confessional" names were not in use, and the majority of people had names which had a specific well-wishing meaning in their native language and in connection with their local cult. However the language spoken by the dynasty is not as important for our topic as that spoken by the people. The latter, unfortunately, evades us as often as not.

136. One piece of evidence for this is the already mentioned fact that important Hurro-Urartian social terms are preserved in Old Armenian, see above, nn. 28-30.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

*1. The identification of the Indo-Iranian speakers who contacted the Mitannians is both a linguistic and

a historical problem. For a linguist, a language is Indo-Aryan if it has retained the initial *s-* (*sapta-* "seven")

and the aspirated stops *bh*, *dh*, *gh*. But a language is Iranian if *s-* has passed to *h-*, and if the aspirated stops are not preserved. Also, if the numeral "one" is *aika* or a derived form, the language is Indo-Aryan; if "one" is *atva* or a derived form, the language is Iranian. However the historian would like to know, when did these phonetic and morphological changes occur. From the historical point of view there is a possibility that there might have been ancestor tribes of the Iranians, who had already parted with the Indo-Aryans but still for some time retained the older phonetic system which was later retained only by the Indo-Aryans. There are some facts that point to such a situation having existed (an Assyrian text mentions a god *Assara-Mazaš* who might be a predecessor of the typical Iranian *Abura Mazda*; the Elamite transcriptions of Old Iranian personal names with a *-š* where attested Old Iranian languages have *b* or zero).

Moreover there are actually three, not two, branches of the Indo-Iranian linguistic group. The third is the Kafir (or Kafir-Dardic) branch, now preserved as relic dialects in the mountainous parts of Afghanistan and Kashmir. According to the eminent Iranist G. Morgenstierne, the Kafirs preceded the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans in their movement into Iran and India. The Kafirs have retained the *s-* for Iranian *h-* (*sat* "seven") but, like the Iranians, they have lost the aspirated stops. As to the numeral "one," it occurs both in the form **atva* (> *ev*) and in the form **aika* (> *ač*, *ek* etc.). Thus there is no reason why the very early Indo-Iranians who met with Mitannians somewhere in

northwestern Iran could not have retained the form **sapta-* for "seven" (actually, it is attested as *satta-*) and the form *aika* for "one," and still belong to a tribe which was later to become Iranian and not Indo-Aryan, and then to acquire all the necessary linguistic attributes of an Iranian language.

*2. See n. *14 to chap. 2.

*3. According to Mnatsakanyan (see n. *14 to chap. 2), the Armenian-speakers were, on the contrary, vastly more numerous than the Hurrians and Urartians. He does not in any way substantiate his statement.

*4. Actually "Aramaeans" was probably never an autonym of the settled Aramaeans but always referred to the nomadic tribes or, in the Christian period, to the non-Christian tribes. Similarly the Bible uses *arammī* for "nomad," not necessarily of Aramaic descent (Deuteronomy 26:5). From the Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions (Meriggi [1967], II, 1, no. 10, fr. 6; no. 11, fr. 18) we know that the Aramaeans were actually called "Syrians" (Luw. *Surawannas*) as early as the 8th century B.C. (Later, it is true, the Greeks, beginning with Herodotus, thought that "Syrian" is synonymous with "Assyrian," Luw. *Asurawannas*). Thus the settled Aramaic (i.e., Syrian) population of Amed and other regions near the sources of the Tigris could have extended the term "Aramaean" also to the recent invaders of a neighboring country speaking in a foreign tongue, just as the Hittites called the Kaska invaders *Sutī*, which was originally the designation of Western Semitic shepherd tribes. In this way the term *aramī*, *Areme*, **Armi-* (Arme) could be applied to the country of the

Eastern Muški by their southern neighbors, just as the term *Submi*, *Somexi* was used in the same sense by the northern neighbors.

*5. (to n. 4). On the arrival of the Indo-Iranians in Iran, cf. the revolutionary hypothesis of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, n. *7 below and n. *9 to chap. 1.

*6. (to n. 36). The vocabulary of Thracian and Phrygian is too little known to judge whether they showed close relationship with Old Armenian. However it is certain that the relationship of Old Armenian to Greek is closer than to any other Indo-European language (the very numerous borrowings from Parthian, Middle Median and Middle Persian are, of course, not taken into account). There is certainly little similarity between the Old Armenian vocabulary and Hittite-Luwian (again excluding the borrowings from Luwian).

On the language of the Phrygians, see Diakonoff/Neroznak (1977) (Russian version, 169, Eng-

lish version, in print).

*7. (to n. 37). See now also Gamkrelidze/Ivanov (1981). This paper, written by two very eminent linguists, raises grave doubts. Unfortunately it is based on inconclusive data from various languages with a disregard of historical and geographical conditions. There is no explanation of the reason for the migrations. It is not explained whether the tribes migrated *in corpore*, or whether there was only a spread of languages to alien indigenous populations. Also the fate of the latter is not explained, the supposed picture of the migrations is obscure and contradictory, and their routes verge on the fantastic. Thus the Celtic and the Germanic tribes are thought to have migrated from the Armenian Highland to the east via Iran, then to the north via Central Asia, and from there finally to Western Europe. The data of archaeology and physical anthropology are virtually ignored. See also n. *9 to chap. 1.

The Ancient Civilization of Urartu*

by Boris Piotrovsky

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Chapter I. The Rediscovery of Urartu

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From Moses Khorenatsi to Friedrich Schulz

For three centuries Urartu was a formidable rival to Assyria. Though twice defeated by the Assyrians, the Urartians several times prevailed in this contest, and indeed—though only by a few decades—outlasted their rivals. But posterity dealt harshly with the memory of Urartu. The name was preserved in the Old Testament in the corrupt form "Ararat", which in the Latin version became "Armenia". When the Massoretic writers were vocalising the text of the Bible they inserted the vowel *a* into words which were unknown to them, so that "Urartu" became "Ararat"; and it is only within very recent years that the Qumran scrolls have yielded a form of the name with the semi-vowel *w* in the first syllable.

By an irony of fate, oral tradition and the writings of mediaeval historians ascribed the surviving works of the Urartians to their rivals the Assyrians. Thus Moses Khorenatsi, an Armenian historian of the 5th century, attributed the building of the large city of which remains still survived on a crag on the shores of Lake Van to the Assyrian Queen Shamiram (Semiramis). He relates how she brought together twelve thousand labourers and six thousand skilled craftsmen from Assyria and its tributary countries, and

"...within a few years had completed this most wondrous work, with mighty walls and gates of brass. In the town itself she built a great number of splendid buildings, showing much variety in the use of stone and in colouring, of two and three stories, some of them with balconies. Most skilfully she planned the town, with handsome wide streets... On its outskirts to the east, the north and the south she laid out farmsteads and shady groves of fruit-trees and other leafy trees, and planted many flourishing gardens and vineyards. Many other fine things she brought to pass in the city, and settled in it great numbers of citizens. But all the splendours which she created in the upper part of the city were inaccessible to the general body of the citizens and are not to be described. Having girdled the summit with walls, so that none could reach the top nor enter therein, she erected a royal palace, a building of [14] mystery and awe... On the part of the mountain to the east, the surface of which is so hard that even iron can make no mark on it, she caused divers palaces to be hewn from the rock, containing sleeping apartments, treasuries, and long chambers hollowed out of the rock... Over the whole surface of the cliff, as if with a stylus on wax, she carved great numbers of characters. The mere sight of this cliff brings any who behold it into amazement. But this is not the whole tale; for in many places throughout the land of Armenia Queen Shamiram erected pillars with similar characters to these, causing various inscriptions to be carved on them."

This account, linked with the name of the Assyrian Queen Samsuramat (812-803 B.C.), attracted particular attention from orientalist when the young archaeologist Friedrich Eduard Schulz, who had been sent to Turkey in 1827 by the French Asiatic Society, reported on the ancient remains he had discovered near the town of Van, on the eastern shores of Lake Van. There was a striking correspondence between Moses Khorenatsi's tale and

<i>Assyria</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Urartu</i>
Shalmaneser III (860-825)	860 858 846 834	Aramu Sarduri I
Shamshi-Adad (825-812)	824	Ishpuini, son of Sarduri
Queen Sammuamat (812-803)		
Adad-nirari III (812-783)		Menua, son of Ishpuini
Shalmaneser IV (783-773)		
Ashur-dan III (773-754)		Argishti, son of Menua
Ashur-nirari IV (754-745)		Sarduri, son of Argishti
Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727)	743 735	
Shalmaneser V (727-722)		Rusa, son of Sarduri (714+)
Sargon (722-705)	714	
Sennacherib (705-681)		Argishti, son of Rusa
Esarhaddon (681-668)		Rusa, son of Argishti
Ashurbanipal (668-624)	654 639	Sarduri, son of Rusa (Sarduri, son of Sarduri?)
Fall of Nineveh (612)		Erimena Rusa, son of Erimena (Rusa, son of Rusa?) (Fall of Urartu, c. 585)

Note: The dates in the middle column are the dates of references in the Assyrian annals to kings of Urartu.

what Schulz saw at Van. On the high crag which was so circumstantially described by the mediaeval historian were the remains of ancient walls built of huge blocks of stone, with the walls of a later Turkish fortress built on top. Schulz gave a detailed description of the rock-hewn chambers which he found within the fortress, and copied the cuneiform inscriptions which were carved on the cliff, sometimes at the entrances to artificial caves hewn from the rock. He also found large stones from ancient walls with similar inscriptions, and saw a large channel, also ascribed to Queen Shamiram, which had brought in water for drinking and irrigation. Near the channel were found other cuneiform inscriptions; and it was only when these were read, half a century later, that the name of the actual constructor of the water channel was revealed. It was the Urartian King Menua (810-781 B.C.), who had been victorious over Queen Sammuamat in real life but had been outshone by her in legend and story.

Schulz's promising work at Van was brought to an untimely end when he was murdered in the mountains near Culamerk. The material which he had [15] sent to Paris in 1828 was not published until 1840. This included accurate copies of 42 cuneiform inscriptions, together with descriptions of the rock-hewn structures of Van and of a number of fortresses.

After Schulz's death no further archaeological work was done at Van for many years. The splendid archaeological discoveries of the 1840s in central Assyria—the excavation of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad and Ashurnasir-pal's at Nimrud—diverted attention to Mesopotamia. A beginning was made with the decipherment of the Assyrian cuneiform, including the inscriptions from Van; but this work was carried on in isolation, with no associated archaeological investigation. And when archaeologists showed no interest in Van their place was soon taken by treasure-hunters.

The Museums make their First Acquisitions

Some of the antiquities recovered by clandestine diggers at Van now began to find their way by obscure and devious routes into museums and private collections. Thus the Istanbul Museum acquired two bronze cauldron handles representing winged female figures, which were entered in the catalogue as having been found at Van. A few years earlier, in 1859, the Hermitage in St Petersburg had received a similar cauldron handle (Plates 103-105), together with a small representation of a bull's head (Plate 108) and some bronze horse trappings (plaques from bridles and bells) (Plate 76). These objects had been recovered from some Kurds, who had found them in an ancient rock-cut tomb on the Russo-Persian frontier, near the frontier post of Alisar. The Keeper of the Hermitage collections, in recording these acquisitions, ascribed them to the culture of Sassanian Iran, since of course he knew nothing of the ancient kingdom of Urartu. He could not foresee that, 95 years later, a cuneiform inscription was to be discovered under the patina on one of the bells, giving the name of the Urartian King Arishti, son of Menua: though even if he had seen the inscription he would have been [16] unable to read it. The Kingdom of Van had sunk into total oblivion, in spite of the references in the Assyrian annals to expeditions into the mountainous areas to the north against various named enemies, including the kings of the land of Urartu.

It was with this forgotten and mysterious country that the inscriptions copied by Schulz, and so made available to scholars, now began to be associated.

In 1871, in Tbilisi (Tiflis), the orientalist M. Brosset published an article on the two winged female figurines from Van in the Istanbul Museum, disagreeing with their attribution to Byzantium and referring them to the culture of Assyria. At the same time he published two letters, one from the great Russian art scholar V.V. Stasov and the other from the eminent French orientalist Prevost de Longperier. Stasov realised the importance of the figurines, which he believed were to be ascribed neither to the Aryan nor the Semitic culture but reflected a third element in the culture of western Asia—thus foreshadowing the significance of the still unknown Hurrian and Hittite cultures. Longperier, noting that the closest analogies to the figurines were to be found in Babylonian art, suggested that they might be the work of the Urartians who were mentioned in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions and were listed by Herodotus, under the name of the Alarodians, among the nations in Xerxes' army.

Thus in the year 1871, with the first correct identification of Urartian works of art, the kingdom of Urartu, which had for so long been utterly forgotten, began at last to emerge from oblivion. In spite of this, however, Urartian

objects continued for many years to be regarded as Assyrian and to be displayed in museums along with the rest of the Assyrian material.

Treasure-Hunters and Clandestine Diggers

From the mid-seventies of the 19th century, and still more in the eighties, the quantity of material from Van coming on to the market increased [17] substantially, and the treasure-hunters drove a thriving trade, particularly on the mound of Toprakkale (which was also known to the local inhabitants as Zimzim-Magara).

The work done by R.D. Barnett and myself on the records in London and Leningrad has yielded much interesting information about the channels by which material from Van reached the museums of Europe. One interesting item, for example, is a letter from one of the local inhabitants to Professor Patkanov of St Petersburg University offering to sell certain antiquities which were later acquired by the British Museum. The letter says: "The antiquities in my possession were found near Aygestan in the ruins of the fortress of Zimzim-Magara... In these ruins a great quantity of beautiful things have been found in the past, as for example a large throne, entirely covered with cuneiform inscriptions and gilded; but I am sorry to say that on my return from Europe I learned that it had been broken up and destroyed." Although the signature is indecipherable, Barnett has established beyond any doubt that the writer of the letter must have been Sedrak Devgants, who in the following year offered the objects listed in the letter for sale in Austria. It is a reasonable supposition also that Sedrak Devgants was the "Armenian" in Constantinople who in 1877 sold Henry Layard certain "Assyrian antiquities from Van" for the British Museum, including two figurines from a throne, one of a couchant winged bull, the other of a standing winged bull with forequarters in human form.

Between 1877 and 1885 a number of museums (the British Museum, the Louvre, the Berlin Museum, the Hermitage) and private collections acquired a dozen or so bronze figurines of fantastic animals, covered with gold leaf, decorated with stone inlays, and sometimes with inserted stone heads. Of particular interest is a bronze figurine of a winged lion with forequarters in human form, still retaining traces of its gold coating, and with a face carved from white stone and inlaid eyes of coloured stone, still in an excellent state of preservation (Plate 101). This was bought by the Hermitage in 1882, [18] but letters preserved in the records in London show that it had previously been offered to the British Museum.

These figurines of winged lions and bulls, sometimes with forequarters in human form, and sometimes with gods in human form standing on them, once formed part of the throne referred to in Devgants' letter. The gold and the many-coloured stones with which the throne was decorated must have created an effect of barbaric splendour, and the expressive and terrifying figures of fantastic animals were calculated to inspire superstitious awe in the beholder, as well as to ward off evil influences from the king who occupied the throne. Unfortunately the surviving figurines do not enable us to build up a convincing restoration of the complete throne: it may be, indeed, that they belong not to one throne but to two.

The Beginnings of Archaeology in Central Urartu

The material found by the treasure-hunters gave the stimulus for the first proper archaeological work at Van. In 1877, after his first purchase of Urartian antiquities in Constantinople, Henry Layard sent his assistant Hormuzd Rassam to Van. Rassam had worked closely with Layard in the excavation of the Assyrian palaces, and his name had been associated with many sensational discoveries. At Nineveh he had carried out piratical excavations in the area allotted to the French, had discovered a magnificent room in Ashur-banipal's palace with a representation of a lion hunt, and had located the second part of the famous royal library of clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions. Later, in the ruins of the palace of Shalmaneser III on the mound of Balawat, he had unearthed the magnificent bronze palace doors, decorated with scenes from Shalmaneser's campaigns, in particular his campaigns against Urartu, with representations of Urartian fortresses, warlike operations, and sacrifices on the shores of Lake Van.

[19] In 1879-80 an expedition from the British Museum worked at Toprakkale under the direction of the British vice-consul in Van, Captain Clayton. Among those who took part in the excavations were Hormuzd Rassam and

an American missionary, Dr Reynolds. The site of Toprakkale did not, however, come up to expectations. Although the excavators found the remains of a temple built of carefully dressed blocks of light and dark-coloured stone, fragments of ornamental bronze shields with cuneiform inscriptions and figures of bulls and lions, and a number of smaller pieces, they had looked for more than this. They had hoped to discover monumental buildings like the Assyrian palaces, and were disappointed when these did not appear. Toprakkale seemed to them to be a site of little interest lying on the periphery of Assyrian culture.

Some of the material recovered was displayed in the Assyrian room of the British Museum, but the rest was stored away in crates, and it was not until 80 years later that all this material was examined by R.D. Barnett and properly published. It might seem facetious to say that the material from Toprakkale which the British Museum acquired in 1879-80 only became accessible to scholars when Barnett carried out his further excavations in the storerooms and cellars of the Museum; but perhaps the comment would not be very far from the truth.

In 1898 a German expedition led by C.F. Lehmann-Haupt and W. Belck started work at Toprakkale. By this time the mound had suffered considerably from the attentions of treasure-hunters and the local inhabitants. The whole surface was pitted with trenches, and the stones of the temple discovered by the British expedition had been removed. Lehmann-Haupt cleared the foundations of the temple and drove trenches through different parts of the mound. The excavations brought to light many objects of everyday use, weapons of iron and bronze, implements, pottery and ornaments, and revealed dwelling-houses and store-rooms which had been destroyed by fire; but of Urartian art practically nothing was found. The only items of [20] interest were a bronze candelabrum, the feet of which were decorated with figurines of winged bulls with human heads, a massive foot from a throne, and a thin gold medallion showing a goddess seated on a throne with a woman standing in front of her.

The material obtained by the German expedition also lay in the Berlin Museum for many years, unheeded and unused. It had to wait half a century before it was examined and studied by G.R. Meyer, who discovered many items of great interest, including ornaments which matched those found by the British excavators and a crescent-shaped pendant of electrum representing a goddess seated on a throne. Another item was a bronze candelabrum which was restored in the Hamburg Museum in 1960, when a cuneiform inscription mentioning the name of the Urartian King Rusa was found on the stem.

After the German excavations the Van area was neglected by archaeologists for some years. It was not until the winter of 1911-12 that further exploratory work was carried out on Toprakkale by I. A. Orbeli; then in 1916 the Russian Archaeological Society sent an expedition to Van under the leadership of N.Y. Marr. Marr continued the investigation of Toprakkale, while Orbeli discovered in a niche on the northern face of the crag of Van a large stone stele with a lengthy inscription recording events in the reign of the Urartian King Sarduri II.

Finally, 22 years after the Russian expedition, in the summer of 1938, an American expedition led by K. Lake carried out further work on the crag of Van and on Toprakkale, with the object of checking the dating of the material found by the earlier expeditions. The results achieved by the Americans were of very limited significance, and archaeological work in central Urartu gradually came to a halt, the interest of archaeologists concerned with the ancient East being now concentrated on southern Mesopotamia.

[21]

The Exploration of Soviet Armenia

At the same time as interest in the antiquities of central Urartu was dying down, archaeologists were beginning to extend their investigations on the northern borders of the Urartian kingdom, in southern Transcaucasia (now part of the Armenian SSR). For long the only indication that the Ararat valley, the mountainous region round Aragats and the territory round Lake Sevan had belonged to Urartu had been provided by cuneiform inscriptions on rock faces and on stones from ancient buildings. These had been known since 1862, but had been copied and published in an inaccurate form, and had not been associated with any archaeological material. Many stones with cuneiform inscriptions had been found near the mound of Armavir, the site of the ancient capital of

Armenia. In 1880 some small-scale excavations were carried out on the mound, but these produced only insignificant results, and the excavators were unable to identify the archaeological level associated with the Urartian cuneiform inscriptions.

In 1893 M. Nikolsky travelled through all the areas in Transcaucasia where cuneiform inscriptions had been found, accompanied by the archaeologist A. Ivanovsky, who made it his business to examine the remains of fortresses in the neighbourhood of the inscriptions. Excavations were carried out at only one place, at the village of Tashburun, on a site which according to the inscriptions had been occupied by the ancient Urartian city of Menuahinili and later became the Armenian town of Tsolakert. The material discovered was mainly mediaeval, which again prevented the excavators from identifying the archaeological level belonging to the Urartian period.

The study of the ancient fortresses situated near the find-spots of Urartian cuneiform inscriptions was resumed in 1930, when there was an upsurge of interest in the remains of antiquity within the territory of the Armenian Soviet Republic. The work then undertaken was in the nature of a reconnaissance, with the object of finding sites justifying more extended excavations.

[22] After a detailed examination of the area which had formed part of the kingdom of Urartu, systematic excavations were begun in 1939 on the mound of Karmir-Blur, on the outskirts of Erevan, where three years before a fragment of stone had been found with the remains of a cuneiform inscription mentioning the name of the Urartian King Rusa, son of Argishti, who reigned in the 7th century B.C.

The excavations at Karmir-Blur, which turned out to be the important Urartian city of Teishebaini, have been carried on for the last 26 years by an expedition under my leadership sponsored jointly by the Armenian Academy of Science and the Hermitage Museum. The citadel, which has been completely excavated, and the districts of the ancient city so far examined have given us a comprehensive picture of the culture and economy of Urartu and of Urartian crafts and building techniques. In the citadel were found a whole series of workshops, store-rooms, wine-cellars and well stocked granaries. In addition to a large quantity of domestic utensils, ornaments, weapons, implements and cloth, stores of grain and the remains of fruit, the excavators found numbers of clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions—orders from the Urartian king to the governor of this Transcaucasian city and accounting documents dating from the reigns of the last Urartian kings.

The excavations have revealed that Teishebaini superseded earlier Urartian centres in Transcaucasia and that the contents of the store-rooms of these older towns were transferred to the new city. This is shown not only by the occurrence of the names of kings of the 8th century B.C. but also by the place of manufacture of some of the objects found, in particular the bronze shields.

One of these earlier Urartian centres was the city of Erebuni, the name of which is preserved in Erevan, the present capital of Soviet Armenia. The remains of Erebuni were discovered on the mound of Arin-Berd, which lies on the outskirts of Erevan on the opposite side from Karmir-Blur. Excavations were begun here in 1950, at first by a team from the Karmir-Blur [23] expedition and later by an independent expedition organised by the Armenian Academy of Science and the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and led by the architect K. Oganessian.

The excavations revealed the remains of a palace, two temples, and various store-rooms and domestic offices (Plates 1-7). Some of the rooms had sumptuous painted decorations, including representational pictures as well as purely ornamental patterns (Plates 8-13). Built into the walls of the fortress were twelve foundation inscriptions by two Urartian kings of the 8th century B.C.—Argishti, son of Menua, and Sarduri, son of Argishti—referring to the building of the fortress, the palace, a temple and granaries. The excavations also revealed store-rooms for wine and a hall with many columns which had been reconstructed either during the Urartian period or later. In spite of the excellent state of preservation of the buildings, only a small quantity of material was found in Erebuni. This is understandable, for the town was abandoned during the Urartian period, in the 7th century B.C., and most of the works of art found at Teishebaini seem to have been transferred from Erebuni.

Teishebaini itself was destroyed in the early 6th century B.C. The storming of the fortress was accompanied by a devastating fire, and life never revived in the burnt-out remains. The abandoned fortress of Erebuni was not

destroyed but continued to exist into the Achaemenid period; and so the name of the ancient fortress was transferred to the Armenian settlement which grew into a town and is now the capital of Armenia.

Erebuni was mainly an administrative centre, the residence of the Urartian king in Transcaucasia: the centre of the economic life of the area in this period (8th century B.C.) was in the Ararat depression, at Armavir, where the first excavations had produced little result.

In 1964 the Armenian Academy of Science resumed excavation work at Armavir, on the two mounds of Armavir-Blur and David. The directors [24] of excavations were B. Arakelyan and A. Martirosyan. The excavations revealed defensive walls built of large blocks of stone, with the buttresses characteristic of Urartian architecture. On the David mound were discovered the remains of houses belonging to a large town—identified as the Urartian city of Argishtihinili—with cellars containing many implements and utensils of the Urartian period. The mediaeval occupation of the site had played havoc with the Urartian remains, and it is now difficult to determine whether Argishtihinili, like Erebuni, was in a state of decline in the 7th century B.C. The occurrence of similar stamps on jugs found here and at Teishebaini suggests that goods from Argishtihinili as well as from Erebuni were transferred to the store-rooms of the new centre established in the 7th century. Further excavation may be expected to throw more light on this.

Recent Research in Turkey

Recent years have also seen a gradual development of interest in Urartian sites in Turkey. In 1938 the Ankara Museum acquired a collection of material found at Altintepe, near Erzincan, during the construction of a new railway line. Of particular interest to archaeologists were a bronze tripod cauldron decorated with four bulls' heads, a number of other bronze vessels, a shield, fragments of furniture and other objects; but no further excavation was done on the site for another 21 years—a further example of the slow pace at which the study of Urartian culture has developed.

In 1956-57 the British archaeologist C.A. Burney undertook a survey of the ancient fortresses in the Lake Van area, on the lines of the survey carried out in Armenia between 1930 and 1938. In the course of this he drew plans of many Urartian fortresses associated with previously discovered cuneiform inscriptions. Further inscriptions were published by P. Hulin in *Anatolian Studies*. This work was the prelude to a considerable development of archaeological work in central Urartu. The most extensive excavations in Turkey

[pp. 25-36 are plates]

[37] were those carried out at Altintepe by T. Ozguc, which revealed stone-built tombs belonging to persons of high rank, similar in plan to the rock-cut tombs at Van. In these tombs many bronze objects were found—a shield, fittings from furniture, pieces of harness, belts and jewellery. Features of particular interest were a temple similar to the one excavated at Erebuni and a hall with eighteen columns resembling the pillared hall at Erebuni. In the hall were found remains of paintings in many colours and in geometric patterns. The excavations at Altintepe also yielded pieces of bone carving similar to those found at Toprakkale, decorated with figures of winged demons, palmettes and architectural devices; and they produced a wealth of evidence on Urartian architecture of the 7th century B.C. The tombs were dated by inscriptions of King Rusa and King Argishti.

Between 1959 and 1963 Turkish archaeologists carried out excavations on many different sites. The investigation of the town site of Toprakkale was completed by Afif Erzen, and further work was done on the temple discovered in the earlier excavations by the British Museum. Another bronze shield was found, decorated with figures of lions and bulls and with an inscription in the name of Rusa, son of Erimena. In spite of the disturbed condition of the site the excavators found some still surviving remains of buildings, in particular a wine-cellar containing large storage jars of the type known as *karasy* (the equivalent of the Greek *pithoi*).

Particularly interesting results were obtained at Adilcevaz, on the northern shores of Lake Van, where a large relief of the god Teisheba standing on a bull was found carved on several blocks of stone.

During excavations by E. Bilgic and B. Ogun in 1964 on the mound of Kefkalesi near Adilcevaz another wine-cellar of the type usual in Urartian fortresses was found, also containing large storage jars marked in cuneiform with an indication of their capacity. In it were found a number of square pillars decorated with carving of remarkable quality—a background of battlemented walls and towers, in front of which were winged demons [38] standing on lions, with sacred trees in front of the towers—together with a badly damaged cuneiform inscription. The archaeologists working here believe that they have located a shrine in the palace of Rusa II, son of Argishti. A cemetery of the Urartian period has also been excavated at Adilcevaz.

An Urartian fortress of the second period (the reign of Sarduri III) was excavated by Erzen on Cavustepe. The excavations brought to light walls and towers, a temple, domestic buildings of various kinds, and a pottery store. Items of interest found here were fragments of wall paintings and a bronze plaque with representations of chariots and horsemen.

At Patnos Kemal Balkan investigated a number of mounds. On Anzavur-tepe he discovered remains of a temple with inscriptions in the name of Menua and his son Argishti I; and our knowledge of Urartian art was extended by the finding of a figurine of a lion, a gold necklace with small pendants, bracelets and seals.

In 1955 excavations were begun on the mound of Kayalidere in the vilayet of Mush by the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London (Seton Lloyd, C.A. Burney). The first excavation season was successful, with the discovery of remains of a fortress, a wine-store and a temple. The small finds included a bronze figurine of a lion which had decorated one of the feet of a candelabrum, fragments of a belt decorated with a scene representing a lion-hunt from a chariot, ornamental elements from furniture, and iron weapons.

Progress and Prospects

Thus we see that the archaeological study of Urartian culture has travelled a long and arduous road; a road full of difficulties and disappointments, with many periods of delay and stagnation. The archaeologists working in the area round Lake Van in the 19th century were for the most part merely following in the footsteps of the treasure-hunters: the only proper [38] excavations were those on Toprakkale, and even here there were long intervals when no progress was made.

The investigation of Urartian sites in Transcaucasia which began 35 years ago has substantially enlarged our knowledge of Urartu; much evidence has been accumulated on the economy, the culture, and the art of the Urartians; and their cultural links with other countries of the ancient East have been established. As a result it has become possible to produce general studies of Urartian history and culture. Collections of Urartian cuneiform inscriptions have been compiled (G. Melikishvili, F.W. Konig), the evidence from Assyrian and Babylonian sources has been brought together (I. Dyakonov/Diakonoff), the study of the language of the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions has made substantial progress (J. Friedrich, A. Goetze, I. Meshchaninov, G. Melikishvili, I. Dyakonov, N. Arutyunyan), the Urartian material from the older excavations has been reviewed (R. D. Barnett, G.R. Meyer), and the first study of Urartian art has been produced (E. Akurgal).

The last ten years have seen a remarkable development of interest in the ancient kingdom of Urartu. Excavations in the Armenian SSR are continuing with considerable success, and archaeological investigations in Turkey, in the central part of the Urartian kingdom, are in process of intensive development, striving to make up for the neglect of earlier years. At international congresses of orientalist interest is being shown in the culture of the Kingdom of Van, and a number of studies have been produced dealing with its relationships with the Scythian world, the Caucasus, Asia Minor and the Mediterranean. Particular attention is being paid to the links between Urartian art and the art of archaic Greece and the Etruscans (Massimo Pallottino). The cultural heritage of Urartu is now seen to be considerably more extensive than had been supposed.

There can be no doubt that archaeologists are standing on the threshold of important new discoveries which will give still further impetus to the study of this ancient kingdom after so many centuries of neglect.

The Ancient Civilization of Urartu*

by Boris Piotrovsky

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Chapter II. The Problem of Origins

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Early Cultures in Armenia

Although the written sources and the archaeological evidence available to us are still insufficient to give a clear picture of the formation of the Urartian kingdom and its early history, we do know that the kingdom of Urartu grew out of the fusion of related Hurrian tribes living in the Armenian highlands, particularly in the region round Lake Van, where conditions were especially favourable for the development of the two associated activities of stock-rearing and agriculture.

The mountains of Kurdistan, lying to the south of the Armenian highlands, are one of the most considerable ranges in western Asia, constituting a formidable barrier to human movement with their forbidding crags and their densely wooded slopes. In the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. these mountains separated two regions of western Asia with quite distinct cultures—the mountain area and the lowland area. To the south of the mountains was the advanced agricultural culture of Mesopotamia and the plain areas, known from many archaeological sites and producing a characteristic type of painted pottery decorated with designs reflecting the symbolism of agricultural and stock-rearing cults.

To the north of the mountains of Kurdistan, however, was a very different culture which produced no painted pottery, but used instead a highly polished black ware decorated with moulded or incised ornament. The development of productive forces proceeded less vigorously in the mountain regions and the Armenian upland plateau than in the south: a fact which explains the slower pace of social and political development among the highland tribes.

The most recent archaeological investigations show that in the 3rd millennium B.C. a uniform pattern of culture extended over the southern Caucasus area north of the River Araxes, the area round Lake Van, eastern Anatolia [42] and the region round Lake Urmia. The basis of the economy of this culture was a combination of primitive forms of agriculture and stock-rearing, particular stress being laid on stock-rearing, which more readily yielded a surplus product at a relatively rudimentary stage of development of productive forces. As a result the culture which had originally developed in the river valleys and at the outfalls of mountain streams began in the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C. to spread to the foothill areas, thus creating a cultural unity over a considerable territory. This had connections with the Hurrian civilisation, the western part of the Armenian highlands, the basin of the River Habur, and northern Syria; and links can also be traced with the southern Caucasus. Thus in the kurgans (burial mounds) of the 17th and 16th centuries B.C. excavation has revealed fine chased gold and silver cups and bronze weapons (Trialeti, Kirovakan), providing evidence of connections with Asia Minor and Syria.

In kurgans of the following period which were excavated at the village of Lchashen, on the western shore of Lake Sevan, and in a cemetery at the village of Artik on the slopes of Mount Aragats were found Mitannian

cylinder seals dating from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 14th century B.C.—i.e., from the final phase of the Mitannian kingdom. These finds are clear evidence of ancient cultural links.

After the destruction of Mitanni by the Hittites at the turn of the 15th and 14th centuries B.C. the Armenian highland areas maintained their links with the Hittites, which had now begun to expand into northern Syria. These relationships with other nations played an important part in the development of the culture of the highland areas; and by the time the Hittite kingdom fell, about the year 1200 B.C., the tribes of the Armenian highlands had achieved a relatively high level of cultural and social development. They were now able to form powerful alliances of tribes and challenge the northward advance of the Assyrians, who after the fall of Mitanni had entered on a period of political expansion.

[43]

Uruatri and Nairi in the Second Millennium B.C.

And it is in fact from Assyrian documents of the 13th century B.C. that we gain our first definite information about the peoples of the Armenian highlands. In inscriptions of the Assyrian King Shalmaneser I (1280-1261 B.C.) we find the first occurrence of the term Uruatri, applied to a group of countries against which the Assyrian king mounted a campaign in the early years of his reign. The inscriptions record the conquest of eight countries, collectively referred to as Uruatri, situated in a mountainous region to the southeast of Lake Van—perhaps in the upper valley of the Greater Zab. It must be borne in mind that the Assyrians' quarrel was with the peoples on their frontiers, and we do not know how far the territory occupied by the Uruatri tribes actually extended. It is very likely that the tribes living in the area round Lake Van were also included in the alliance; for the Assyrian name of Uruatri had no ethnic significance but was most probably a descriptive term (perhaps meaning "the mountainous country").

In texts written in the name of the Assyrian King Tukulti-Ninurta I, son of Shalmaneser I, we find another collective designation for the alliance of the tribes of the Armenian highlands. They are now known as "the lands of Nairi": a term which for almost a century replaced the name of Uruatri (Urartu). Inscriptions found in the palace and temple of Tukulti-Ninurta in Assur tell how 43 kings of the lands of Nairi rose up against Assyria, how they were defeated, and how the kings of Nairi were brought in chains to Assur. Then the lands of Nairi offered valuable gifts to the king of Assyria, tribute was exacted from them, and a new honour was added to the official style of the Assyrian king—"king of all the lands of Nairi".

A detailed account of the Assyrian expedition to the north, into the lands of Nairi, from the sources of the Tigris to the land of Daiani, in the basin of the River Chorokh (Łoruh), is preserved in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I (1116-1090 B.C.). The campaign was directed not against the region to the south-east of Lake Van, as Shalmaneser I's expedition had been, but against [44] the whole of the western part of the Armenian highland area, from north to south. In the course of the campaign the Assyrians penetrated into enemy territory to a depth of more than 300 miles.

The Assyrian annals describe the campaign in the following words: "The god Ashur, my lord and master, sent me against the lands of the distant kings who dwell on the shore of the Upper Sea (i.e., the Black Sea), owning no master; and thither I went. By toilsome paths and arduous passes, through which no king before me had gone, by hidden tracks and unmade roads I led my armies... Where the going was easy I travelled in my chariot; where it was difficult I advanced with the help of brazen axes (i.e., clearing a path)... Twenty-three kings of the lands of Nairi gathered together chariots and warriors in their countries and rose up against me in war and strife. I advanced against them with all the fury of my dread armament and, like Adad's flood, annihilated their great army... Sixty kings of the lands of Nairi, together with those who came to their aid, did I drive with my spear as far as the Upper Sea. I captured their great cities, I carried off their riches and their spoils, I gave their dwellings to the flames... All the kings of the lands of Nairi did I capture alive. But to all these kings I showed mercy, granting them their lives in the sight of Shamash, my lord and master, and freeing them from the bonds of captivity. Then I caused them to swear on oath to my great gods that they would serve me and obey me in all time to come; and their sons, the heirs to their royal houses, I took as hostages to their word. Then I exacted

tribute from them, twelve hundred horses and two thousand head of cattle, and let them return to their own countries...".

The inscriptions thus give us a brief but vivid account of the Assyrian expedition into the western Armenian highlands at the end of the 12th century B.C. The Assyrian king's aim was not merely to defeat and plunder these wealthy countries: by his merciful treatment of the captured kings he sought to strengthen his authority in the Lands of Nairi. It is also to be noted that in the account of the campaign there is no mention of the area round Lake [45] Van (the "Sea of Nairi"). It may be that the Assyrians deliberately avoided the central part of the area occupied by the powerful league of enemy tribes, where they might have encountered stronger resistance.

In Assyrian inscriptions of the 11th century B.C. we again find the term Uruatri, and from the second quarter of the 9th century, in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), it is of common occurrence, in the form Urartu, being used concurrently with the name of Nairi—and at first without any clear demarcation between the two.

The Campaigns of Shalmaneser III and the Balawat Gates

In the history of western Asia the middle of the 9th century is marked by an intensification of warlike activity by Assyria, which had now re-established its military strength. Assyrian control of the territories it conquered was achieved by fire and sword, and the war against its enemies who remained unsubdued was waged with extraordinary ruthlessness. Nevertheless resistance increased in the countries against which the Assyrian campaigns were directed; the smaller tribes came together in larger alliances, and new states gradually developed out of these groupings. In this way the state of Urartu came into being in the first half of the 9th century B.C.; and by this time the name had already begun to take on an ethnic connotation.

From the beginning of his reign, therefore, the Assyrian King Shalmaneser III (860-825 B.C.) found himself at war with this new enemy—which, however, had not yet developed into a centralised state. We are well informed about Shalmaneser's campaigns against Urartu not only from the annals, which give detailed accounts of the route followed by the Assyrian army and of its victories, but also from the representations of episodes from the expedition on the bronze gates which were found in 1878 in the ruins of the ancient city of Imgur-Enlil on the mound of Balawat, south-east of Nineveh.

[46] On one of the gates, which are outstanding examples of Assyrian art, are represented episodes from a campaign in the first year of Shalmaneser's reign (860 B.C.) which is very briefly described in his annals in these words: "I drew near to Sugunia, the stronghold of Aramu the Urartian; I invested the town and captured it; I killed many of their warriors and carried off plunder; I made a pile of heads over against their city; fourteen settlements in its territory I gave to the flames. Then I departed from Sugunia and went down to the Sea of Nairi, where I washed my weapons in the sea and offered a sacrifice to my gods."

The gates give a pictorial narrative of a connected series of events which took place at different times and places. The scenes are contained in two bands or registers, telling a consecutive story which begins in the bottom left-hand corner with a picture of the Assyrian army's camp. The army, consisting of chariots and infantry, is shown marching out of the camp against Sugunia, the Urartian fortress mentioned in the annals. There is also a representation of the capture of Sugunia, showing a fortress situated on a hill, in flames, which is being stormed on both sides with the aid of ladders laid up against the walls. Inside the fortress can be seen the defenders—Urartian warriors, both spearmen and archers. Above the whole scene is the explanatory legend: "I vanquished Sugunia, the city of Aramu the Urartian." To the right of this scene is a group of Urartian prisoners. The upper band shows the march of the Assyrian army over three passes to Lake Van, and in the top left-hand corner is a representation of Shalmaneser's sacrifice on the shores of the lake and the setting up of a stele with a figure of the Assyrian king. The sacrifice is offered by the king in person; beside him stand two priests, and in the background are musicians and sacrificial animals. Above this scene is the legend: "This statue, my own image, I set up by the sea of the Land of Nairi; I offered a sacrifice to my gods."

In other scenes are represented episodes from Shalmaneser's later campaigns, in particular the capture of Arzashku, the royal city—though not the [47] capital—of "Aramu the Urartian", which was achieved during an

expedition in the third year of Shalmaneser's reign. This was a lengthy expedition following a very similar route to that of Tiglath-Pileser I. The Assyrians approached Arzashku through the land of Daiani, and their annals tell the story in these words: "Aramu the Urartian, being struck with fear by the terror of my mighty army and my mighty battle, withdrew from his city"—and the gates give us a picture of the burning fortress, abandoned by its defenders—"and went up into the mountains of Adduri. Then I went up after him and fought a mighty battle in the mountains. With my arms I overthrew 3,400 warriors; like Adad, I brought a great rain-cloud down upon them; with the blood of the enemy I dyed the mountain as if it had been wool; and I captured their camp... Then Aramu, to save his life, fled to an inaccessible mountain. In my mighty strength I trampled on his land like a wild bull; and his cities I reduced to ruins and consumed with fire." In a later passage the annals record the ascent of Mount Eritna, where a large stele was erected with a figure of the Assyrian king, and an expedition to the land of Armali and from there to Lake Van, where the Assyrians washed their weapons in the lake, offered sacrifices and again set up a stele with a likeness of the king.

The Balawat gates depict the burning fortress of Arzashku, with a double line of walls. Outside the fortress we see a battle between Assyrians and Urartians, with the latter withdrawing to the mountains. An episode from the same campaign may be represented in a scene on the gates which bears the brief legend "A battle against Urartu". This again shows a fight between Assyrians and Urartians and a large burning fortress, with Assyrians felling trees and laying waste the countryside. A later scene shows a small fortress with the defeated enemy impaled on stakes and a pile of heads under the walls. A four-wheeled vehicle drawn by men is shown leaving the fortress laden with booty contained in a large karas. Vessels of this kind, which have been found in the excavations of Urartian fortresses, were primarily intended for the storage of wine, but were [48] also used for the safe keeping of valuables and foodstuffs during a siege.

The Urartian Kingdom in the 9th Century B.C.

The bronze gates of Balawat are of great interest for the light they throw on the culture of Urartu, since they give the earliest known representations of the Urartians, with exact delineations of their clothing and weapons. They are shown wearing short-sleeved tunics reaching to their knees, gathered at the waist by a broad belt, probably of bronze. On their heads are helmets of characteristic type with low crests. They are armed with bows, spears and small round shields with a central boss.

In clothing and equipment the Urartians differed from the Assyrians and showed closer affinities with the Hurrians and Hittites. An example of this is the crested helmet, which came into use in Assyria only in the mid-8th century B.C., having been taken over from the Urartians.

On the evidence of Shalmaneser III's annals the Urartian kingdom already occupied a considerable territory, for the Assyrian king is recorded as waging war against the Urartians and destroying the fortresses of Aramu the Urartian in a number of different areas in the Armenian highlands. The events of the campaigns of the first and third years of Shalmaneser's reign are described in detail, but the events of later years, and in particular of the fifteenth year of his reign, are only very briefly recorded. The annals give a laconic account of the Assyrians' arduous march through the mountains, but there is no mention of any expeditions into central Urartu, the region round Lake Van. This can be seen as an indication of the growing power of Urartu: no doubt Shalmaneser was well aware of the danger looming up in the north, but had inadequate resources to avert it.

[49] At the end of Shalmaneser's reign the Assyrians had once again to send a force against Urartu; but in the 27th year of his reign the aged king was no longer able to take command himself, and the army which he sent "against the land of Urartu" was led by his general Daian-Ashur. When the Assyrians crossed the River Arzani (Aratsani), "Siduri (Sarduri), ruler of Urartu, heard of this and, being confident in the strength of his great army, pressed forward to join battle." Thus twelve years after the last mention of the Urartian ruler Aramu in the annals of the year 834 B.C. we encounter a new ruler bearing the name of Siduri (Sarduri), which henceforth is of frequent occurrence in the dynasty of the kings of Urartu.

From the third quarter of the 9th century, too, date the oldest known Urartian sites, in the area of Lake Van.

At the foot of the western side of the crag of Van, the citadel of the Urartian capital of Tushpa, are the remains of a massive cyclopean wall built of colossal blocks of stone 2 1/2 feet thick and up to 20 feet long, which may have been a pier or breakwater stretching out into the lake. On the wall are three inscriptions in Assyrian, all with the same purport, in the name of Sarduri, the king mentioned in the Assyrian annals of the year 834 B.C. The text of the inscriptions is as follows: "An inscription of Sarduri, son of Lutipri, the magnificent king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of the land of Nairi, a king having none equal to him, a shepherd to be wondered at, fearing no battle, a king who humbled those who would not submit to his authority. I, Sarduri, son of Lutipri, king of kings, received tribute from all the kings. Sarduri, son of Lutipri, says: 'I procured this limestone from the city of Alniunu, I erected this wall.'"

Historians have been unable to determine whether the "Sarduri, son of Lutipri" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of Aramu or whether he belonged to another dynasty. The available evidence does not enable us to answer this question, nor to suggest any other site as the original capital [50] of Urartu; but in the twelve years between the occurrence of the name of Aramu and the later reference to Sarduri there is clearly room for another intervening king.

The region round Lake Van enjoyed a favourable geographical and strategic situation, and it was quite natural that it should be chosen as the centre of a politically unified state from the earliest times. It is more difficult to suppose that such a centre would be situated in an inaccessible mountain area with limited scope for the development of agriculture and communications with other parts of the Armenian highlands.

The Rise of Urartu

The inscription by Sarduri I is written in Assyrian—indicating that the nascent Urartian state had already assimilated certain elements of the culture of its enemy, Assyria, including in particular the art of writing. The less advanced hieroglyphic script remained in use only for administrative and accounting purposes. It is noteworthy also that the Urartian king refers to himself in the inscription as "king of the land of Nairi", using the old Assyrian style.

We have also an inscription by King Ishpuini, son of Sarduri I—the Kelishin Stele—which is written in both languages, Assyrian and Urartian. The title "king of the land of Nairi" in the Assyrian text is matched by the title "king of the land of Biaini" in the Urartian one. The latter term, "land of Biaini", was the one usually applied by the Urartians to their country in the following period, from the end of the 9th century onwards. The term, a collective plural form, later came to be used in two different senses—as the name of the central part of the kingdom (i.e., the area round Lake Van), and as a general term for the country as a whole, as distinct from the hostile territory which surrounded it. But since the term Urartu was widely used in the ancient [51] East as a name for the Kingdom of Van, it tended to displace the phonetically accurate term Biaini(li) which the Urartians applied to themselves.

The evidence reviewed in this chapter shows that the Urartians first appear in history in the 13th century B.C. as a league of tribes or countries which did not yet constitute a unitary state. In the Assyrian annals the term Uruatri (Urartu) as a name for this league was superseded during a considerable period of years by the term "land of Nairi"—a designation which also comprehended the region round Lake Van, the lake itself being known as the "Sea of Nairi". In the 9th century B.C. the Assyrians advancing northward already encountered strong resistance from the Urartians, led by their rulers Aramu and Siduri. The "land of Urartu" had now developed into a kingdom which continued—with varying fortunes—to wage a stubborn fight against its enemy. By the end of the 9th century the power of Urartu had increased to such an extent that Assyria was compelled to recognise its dominance in western Asia. From this period began the political and cultural rise of Urartu, which made it for two centuries the largest state in western Asia, occupying the whole of the Armenian highland area.

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Chapter III. History and Archaeology

[Urtian King List](#)

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The First Great Reigns

The earliest surviving inscriptions in the Urtian language date from the reign of King Ishpuini, son of Sarduri, who is mentioned in the Assyrian annals of the year 824 B.C. The primitive hieroglyphic script proved inadequate to the needs of the rapidly rising Urtian kingdom, and accordingly the Urtians took over the Assyrian cuneiform script at the end of the 9th century B.C., altering and simplifying the form of the characters in some respects and adapting the script to their own language. The local hieroglyphic script retained a restricted role for accounting and cult purposes.

On the evidence of the inscriptions the reign of Ishpuini, son of Sarduri, was marked by the erection of many temples, fortresses and other buildings both in the capital city of Tushpa and in the surrounding area. Of all these buildings, however, only fragmentary remains have survived: in many cases nothing is left but a few stones with cuneiform inscriptions.

The reign of King Menua (Minua), son of Ishpuini, saw the beginning of the ascendancy of Urartu. In the wars with Assyria the advantage now began to pass to Urartu; but in spite of their contiguity there were no direct clashes between the two countries, separated as they were by an almost impenetrable range of high, densely forested mountains.

In many parts of his kingdom Menua constructed towns, fortresses, palaces and temples, laid out water channels, and planted gardens and vineyards. All these activities, along with the victories won by his armies, are recorded in numerous cuneiform inscriptions.

Menua pursued a vigorous programme of building in the capital, Tushpa, erecting massive walls round the citadel on the crag, extending the town [66] which lay on the shores of the salt lake, bringing in drinking water by means of an aqueduct driven through more than 50 miles of rugged country. At certain points the channel was carried on walls built of huge blocks of stone, and at such places there were always memorial inscriptions recording the name of the builder and cursing any who should destroy the structure or claim the credit for building it.

The extension of Urtian territory was accompanied by a strengthening of central authority, the emergence of a ruling class, the creation of a system of administration of the various regions, and the establishment of a pantheon of gods which accommodated a large number of minor divinities previously worshipped by the various separate tribes. The pantheon was headed by the triad of gods worshipped in central Urartu—Haldi, Teisheba and Shivini.

In a niche in the mountains near Van, now known as Mheri-Dur ("the Gate of Mhera"), there has been preserved a long text of the end of the 9th century B.C., inscribed in duplicate, listing a total of 79 gods and prescribing the sacrifices (of bulls, cows and sheep) which were due to them.

The most important Urartian god, and the one to whom most inscriptions are dedicated, was Haldi. This supreme god of the Urartian pantheon was represented in the form of a man (sometimes bearded, sometimes beardless, like all the other gods) standing on a lion (Plate 13). He had as his wife the goddess Arubani. Haldi was a warrior god who blessed the king when he set out on a campaign, to whom the king prayed for victory, to whom an account was given of all military successes. In the temples dedicated to Haldi there is clear evidence of a cult of weapons: swords, spears, bows and arrows were laid up in the temples, their walls were hung with shields, and the temple itself was sometimes known as the "house of weapons".

The second place in the Urartian pantheon was occupied by Teisheba, the god of storms and thunder, who was designated by the Assyrian ideogram [67] for the god Adad. He was homonymous with the Hurrian god Teshub, who was widely worshipped in Asia Minor, and was represented in the form of a man standing on a bull, often holding a handful of thunderbolts. His wife was Huba, corresponding to the Hurrian goddess Hebat.

The third god in the pantheon was the sun god Shivini, whose name was often written with the Assyrian ideogram for Shamash. He was represented in the form of a kneeling man holding up the winged solar disc which was his symbol. Shivini's wife was probably the goddess Tushpuea, who occupies third place in the list of goddesses in the Mheri-Dur inscription. The winged female figures often found as ornaments on the cauldrons used for cult purposes may represent this goddess.

The Urartian pantheon also included the gods of the conquered cities and territories, and gods associated with totemistic and animistic beliefs. Thus, for example, the list includes "the god of the town of Arda (i.e., Musasir)", "the god of the town of Kumanu", "the god of the town of Tushpa (the capital of the kingdom)", and "the god of the town of Haldi". These were the gods of the various cities, each an important religious centre, which formed part of the Urartian kingdom.

Among the divinities reflecting totemistic conceptions we find gods of the earth, the sea, water, mountains, caves, and so on.

We can see, therefore, that the religion of Urartu reflected cultural and political elements which bound together large territories in western Asia, combining them with ancient local beliefs.

Of particular interest in this connection is one of the oldest Urartian temples, which according to the written sources was built by the Urartians in the city of Musasir at the end of the 9th century B.C., and is depicted in a relief in the palace of the Assyrian King Sargon showing the sacking of Musasir in [68] the year 714 B.C. The temple, built on a high platform, has a pitched roof with a high pediment, on top of which is a device in the form of a spear. The facade has six columns, with a low door in the centre. The walls and columns are decorated with metal (gold and silver) shields, and at the entrance are two bronze statues in an attitude of prayer and two large spears.

It is clear at the first glance that the Urartian temple depicted in Sargon's relief is quite different from the temples of Mesopotamia, being more akin to the temples of Asia Minor which became the prototypes for the classical Greek temples. A similar link can be seen in the winged female figures, similar to those on the Urartian cauldrons, which are found in archaic Greek temples and in Etruscan tombs. Many of these are Urartian; others have been copied from Urartian models but show distinctive stylistic features of their own.

Unfortunately, although we have a large number of inscriptions in the name of King Menua, the architecture and art of his reign are much more poorly represented—a deficiency which is likely to be made good by further archaeological work in the territory of Urartu.

The expansion of Urartu continued in the reign of Argishti, son of Menua, who succeeded to the throne in the first quarter of the 8th century B.C.

In the citadel of Van, beside a large chamber hewn from the rock which may have been the king's tomb, is a long cuneiform inscription known as the "Chronicle of Horhor". It tells of numerous campaigns which extended the frontiers of Urartu, of the annexation of new territories, and of the king's building operations. At the very outset of his reign Argishti embarked on expeditions to the west, seeking to achieve an outlet to the Mediterranean and to capture the main trade routes controlled by the Assyrians. Argishti's war with Assyria is also described in inscriptions by the Assyrian governor Shamshi-ilu, who kept open the route to the sea, in his palace at Til-Barsip on the Euphrates.

[69] At the same time as he undertook these campaigns in the west Argishti conquered and annexed territory in Transcaucasia north of the Araxes valley.

Erebuni and Argishtihinili

In the fourth year of the "Chronicle of Horhor" there are references to expeditions into northern Syria against the countries of Hatti and Melita, and in the following year there is an account of further conquests in the north and of the building of the city of Erebuni "to declare the might of the land of Biaini and hold her enemies in awe". It is particularly recorded that 6,600 prisoners captured in the lands of Hatti and Tsupani (i.e., in the campaigns of the previous year) were settled in the new town. The transfer of prisoners over considerable distances was a regular practice of rulers in the ancient East, serving the double purpose of weakening the enemy and providing a large labour force. In this case the prisoners had to traverse something like 450 miles of difficult country, and were thus completely cut off from their homeland.

The city of Erebuni was established in the foothill area on the edge of the Araxes valley and served as a base for the Urartian advance into the area round Lake Sevan, a mountainous region, rich in cattle, occupied by tribes with a culture of Hurrian pattern. The citadel of Erebuni, containing a royal palace, a temple and store-rooms, was built on the elongated hill of Arin-Berd and was approximately triangular in plan (Plates 1-7). Systematic excavations began in 1959, and fifteen years' work by the archaeologists has made it possible to build up a complete picture of the citadel. Coming through the entrance gates, the visitor would find himself in a wide courtyard (later built up), with the temple complex on the left, store-rooms on the right, and the facade of the temple in front of him. Into the walls were built inscriptions indicating the function of the buildings and the names of the builders (Argishti I and his son Sarduri II). The main temple was a long building [70] decorated with wall paintings, of which some decorative friezes and a figure of the god Haldi on a lion have survived (Plate 13). Along the front was a colonnade with two rows of columns, and to the left was a tower. The palace was a complex of buildings serving a variety of different purposes. A flight of steps led up into an open peristyle courtyard (i.e., with columns round the perimeter), on the west side of which was a small "susi" temple (Plate 6), consisting of a single rectangular chamber with inscriptions on either side of the entrance indicating that it was built by Argishti I and dedicated to the god Iubsha (Iuarsha). On the east side were various state apartments, including a room richly decorated with paintings of Assyrian type consisting of bands of ornament in geometric patterns and representations of a sacred tree with genii standing on either side of it and large figures of bulls and lions (Plates 8-12). The main colours used are white (for the background), black (for outlining the drawing), red and blue (for filling in the pattern). The closest analogies to these paintings are found in the Assyrian palaces, particularly Ashurnasirpals palace in Kalhu (Nimrud).

To the north of the courtyard were various buildings, including rooms with central columns and store-rooms for wine and other produce. In the wine-cellars were large earthenware jars, some of them with a capacity of more than 200 gallons, sunk into the earth floor. On the north side of the palace was another open courtyard surrounded by a number of small rooms.

The eastern part of the citadel was occupied by a large building with a pillared central chamber for the storage of wine. This was surrounded by small store-rooms, some of them used as granaries. The central chamber was richly decorated with paintings, sometimes representational (hunting scenes, the driving of cattle, sacrifices), sometimes purely ornamental. The excavation of this room is still in progress, and is yielding some outstanding examples of Urartian decorative art.

At some time in the life of Erebuni—perhaps in the Urartian period, perhaps later—the buildings in the citadel were reconstructed, and the colonnade in [71] front of the main temple was extended and enclosed by a wall, producing a square hall with thirty columns like an Achaemenid apadana screening the entrance to the palace. The central chamber of the store-room block was also altered: in this building column bases with inscriptions by Argishti I and broken wine-jars (pithoi) were found under the new floor.

The excavators of Erebuni also discovered a large complex of well-preserved buildings constructed of adobe brick on a stone plinth. These contained fragments of wall paintings, which give some idea of the sumptuous decoration of the rooms and constitute a small museum of Urartian decorative art, but only a negligible quantity of the artefacts usually found in excavations. This suggests that in the 8th century B.C. the fortress of Erebuni was a place of bustling activity, the residence of the Urartian king who was in personal command of the campaigns which added new territories to his kingdom, with ambassadors constantly arriving at the fortress and tribute being delivered to the store-rooms, but that later the fortress was abandoned, the treasures heaped up in its store-rooms were transferred elsewhere, and only the merest flicker of life was left in Erebuni. This no doubt explains why the excavators found only a few small objects preserved by chance—seals, ornaments, and articles of bronze and iron—and fragments of pottery which made it possible to establish the types of vessels produced by Urartian potters.

Erebuni was an important military and administrative centre, maintaining the Urartian king's authority over the newly conquered territories and providing a base for further military operations. But in order to develop the resources of the rich Ararat depression in the valley of the River Araxes—considered one of the most fertile regions in the whole of western Asia—it was essential to establish a new centre of economic life in the area. The metal in the conquered regions had been carried off, and the slaves and cattle driven to other areas; and it was therefore necessary to develop farming and horticulture in place of metalworking and stock-rearing. We know from numerous inscriptions that the Urartians carried out large-scale works for [72] the improvement of the Araxes valley: channels were constructed to draw water from the river, gardens and vineyards were planted on the irrigated land, and large areas were laid out in fields.

Six years after the foundation of Erebuni, therefore, Argishti established a new city as a centre of economic life in the valley of the Araxes, calling it Argishtihinili ("built by Argishti"). The town itself occupied a large area on a long ridge of hills, and round it, in the level country below, was a great belt of fields, gardens and vineyards. The city was encircled by strong defensive works—massive stone walls reinforced by towers—within which were farmsteads, temples and store-rooms. Inside the citadel was a palace.

Large numbers of inscriptions, mainly foundation and cult inscriptions, bear witness to the importance of Argishtihinili; and the excavations in progress here have confirmed the evidence of the inscriptions. Some well-preserved houses have been excavated, with various domestic utensils and equipment in the cellars, sections of the walls have been cleared, a new foundation inscription has been found, a temple which continued in use into the mediaeval period has been discovered, and many characteristic Urartian objects have been recovered. The subsequent destiny of Argishtihinili has not yet, however, been established: we do not know whether it continued in full activity after the fall of Erebuni, or whether this centre of 8th century economic life was superseded by new centres elsewhere.

Urartu and Assyria in the 8th Century B.C.

By the end of Argishti I's reign, in the middle of the 8th century B.C., Urartu was at the zenith of its power. Its authority was firmly established in the north, in Transcaucasia, and in the region round Lake Urmia. It had successfully advanced into Hittite territory in the west. Northern Syria was [Pages 73-80 are plates] dependent on Urartu, which now controlled the main trade routes of western Asia. The Urartian kingdom barred the way to the conquest of Asia Minor by the Assyrians, and Urartian culture had begun to penetrate into the Mediterranean area and the interior of Asia Minor. Urartian objects—small jars in the form of animals' heads and large bronze cauldrons decorated with bulls' heads and winged figures—have been found in the tomb of a Phrygian king at Gordion (middle of 8th century B.C.); and, as we have already noted, similar examples of Urartian work penetrated not only into insular and mainland Greece but as far afield as Italy.

The rise of Urartu and its seizure of the route to the Mediterranean vitally affected the interests of Assyria and relegated it to a secondary position; but Assyria was in a temporary economic and political retrogression and unable to resist the advance of Urartu, and one area after another fell away from its allegiance.

The Urartian army had now developed into a formidable striking force. In this as in other fields, however, the Urartians owed a great deal to their enemies the Assyrians. In the 9th century B.C. Urartian military equipment had been similar to that of the Hittite tribes and quite different from that of the Assyrians; but by the reign of Argishti, as we know both from representations of arms and armour in works of art and from actual examples found by excavation, Assyrian equipment (helmets, shields, clothing and weapons) had become the regular wear of the Urartian army. Similarly the culture and the way of life of the ruling class of the Kingdom of Van were deeply imbued with Assyrian influence. This is clearly evident in the surviving examples of court art.

On succeeding to the throne in the middle of the 8th century B.C. Sarduri, son of Argishti, inherited a prosperous and flourishing kingdom. He maintained his father's external policy, pursued a vigorous building programme in the central part of the kingdom, and continued to strengthen and develop [82] the existing administrative and economic centres—as is shown by the fact that inscriptions by Argishti I and Sarduri II are usually found in close proximity to one another.

The crag of Van still remained the citadel of the capital, Tushpa, and in two large niches on its southern slope Sarduri set up two stelae recording the annals of his reign. Unfortunately only one of these, with the lower part damaged, has survived, recounting the events of nine years of the king's reign. Of the second stele, which recorded Sarduri's successful wars against Assyria, only fragments remain. This second stele contained information about the land of Arme, in the upper Tigris valley, which after the collapse of Urartu became the nucleus of a new tribal association of Armenians, the ancestors of the present-day Armenian people. The complete annals seem to have covered a period of 22 years. They make it evident that in the reign of Sarduri II the territory of Urartu continued to extend and its power to grow. The Euphrates became the strongly defended western frontier of the kingdom, and Urartian authority was still powerfully asserted in the regions to the north of the Araxes and round Lake Urmia.

Inscriptions by Sarduri II referring to his new building operations have been found in Erebuni. The tribes living on the shores of Lake Sevan were being finally subdued, and new fortresses were being built in this area. Argishti-hinili continued to prosper, and Sarduri devoted much attention to its development.

The tranquillity of Sarduri's reign, however, was interrupted by the revival of Assyria. In the year 745 B.C., after a rising in Kalhu and the accession to the Assyrian throne of Tiglath-Pileser III, the situation in western Asia underwent a radical change. The new Assyrian king carried out a reorganisation of the army which considerably increased its effectiveness, and was then able to set about re-establishing the former frontiers of his kingdom and recovering the territories it had lost. [83] Assyria was of course particularly disturbed by the establishment of Urartian authority in northern Syria, and as early as the third year of his reign (743 B.C.) Tiglath-Pileser moved westward and in a battle at Arpad defeated the army of the Urartians, who were allied with four Syrian countries (Agusi, Melita, Gurgum and Kummuh). The Assyrians took many prisoners, and the Assyrian annals record that Sarduri himself fled under cover of night and was pursued by Tiglath-Pileser as far as the Euphrates crossing—that is, to the frontiers of his kingdom. The annals also record the rich booty captured in the Urartian camp, including a chariot, a bed, various valuables and a signet ring.

On this occasion the Assyrians contented themselves with the re-establishment of their authority in northern Syria and did not carry the war into Urartian territory. It was not until 735 that Tiglath-Pileser made up his mind to advance into Urartu. He met with no resistance on his way through the country, and came to Tushpa, where he laid siege to the fortress on the crag of Van, in which Sarduri had taken refuge. The annals written in the name of the Assyrian king record the event as follows: "I shut up Sarduri the Urartian in Turushpa (Tushpa), his principal city, and wrought great slaughter in front of the city gates. Then I set up the image of my majesty over against the city." The impregnable fortress on the rock withstood the siege, and the Assyrians, after destroying the town in the level country below, moved away. Tiglath-Pileser's victory was a blow to the power of Urartu, though not an irremediable one. With this weakening of Urartian authority, however, one region after another fell away, and

Sarduri had to set about reconquering the territories which had been incorporated in the Urartian kingdom during the reign of his father Argishti.

The Reign of Rusa I

Our knowledge of the history of Urartu is still fragmentary, and for many periods we have no information from written sources. This is the case, for [84] example, with the closing years of Sarduri's reign and the beginning of his son Rusa's.

Rusa became king at a time of great difficulty for the Kingdom of Van. He had not only to recover the territories which had been lost after the year 735, but found himself engaged in a stubborn struggle with the governors of the various regions, who sought from the very start of his reign to achieve independence; and at the same time he was compelled to provide for the defence of his country against Assyria.

We learn about this situation from a bilingual inscription set up on the pass between the Lake Urmia region and the country of Musasir. "Rusa, son of Sarduri, says: 'Urzana, king of the city of Ardini (Musasir), appeared before me. I took thought for the sustenance of all his army... Urzana I made governor of the region, establishing him in the city of Ardini. In the same year I, Rusa, son of Sarduri, came to the city of Ardini, and Urzana set me on the tall throne of the kings his ancestors... In the presence of the gods in the temple and in my presence he offered sacrifices... He put at my disposal auxiliary forces... and war chariots, as many as he had available. I took the auxiliary forces and in obedience to Haldi I, Rusa, went up into the mountains of Assyria and there did great slaughter. After this I took Urzana by the hand and concerned myself about him... I set him in the place of the sovereign so that he might rule.'" This extract makes it clear that for the Urartians Musasir was not merely a defensive position but a base from which to attack Assyria.

On succeeding to the throne Rusa, son of Sarduri, was compelled to concern himself not only with the defence of his frontiers but with the consolidation of his authority within Urartu itself, particularly in the peripheral areas. He reformed the regional administration, replacing the local governors by viceroys responsible to himself, and continued with the building of fortresses and towns; for many of the older centres had been destroyed during the Assyrian advance.

[85] Only a few inscriptions by Rusa I have survived, and we cannot, therefore, conclude from the absence of any inscriptions bearing his name in the fortress on the crag of Van that the citadel of the capital had already been transferred to the hill of Toprakkale. The older centres in Transcaucasia also remained active. Objects of similar type (bronze shields, cups) with cuneiform inscriptions in the names of Argishti I, Sarduri II and Rusa I were found in the store-rooms of Erebuni, and also in the fortress of Teishe-baini (Karmir-Blur) to which they had been transferred. In view of the growing threat from nomadic tribes, in particular the Cimmerians, who had already made their way through the Caucasian mountains into western Asia in the reign of Sarduri, Rusa devoted much attention to the Urartian centres in the north.

In the area round Lake Sevan he built two fortresses, one on the west of the lake ("the fortress of the god Haldi"), the other on the south ("the fortress of the god Teisheba"). The former was built on a high crag in the present-day town of Kamo (formerly Nor-Bayazed). A cuneiform inscription on a cornerstone recording its construction has survived: "Rusa, son of Sarduri, says: 'I conquered the king of the land of Uelikuhi, making him a slave, and drove him out of his country. Then I put a viceroy in his place, and I constructed the gates of the god Haldi and a mighty fortress, giving it the name of the fortress of the god Haldi.'" The land of Uelikuhi had been conquered in the reign of Sarduri II, but the governor had probably wavered in his loyalty during Urartu's time of trial and repressive action had therefore been necessary.

An inscription in a fortress near the present-day town of Tsovinar, which commanded the road round the south of the lake, records the defeat of 23 enemy countries in a single year and the building of the mighty fortress town of the god Teisheba "to declare the might of the land of Biaini and hold her enemies in awe."

[86] In these difficult conditions of both internal and external strife Rusa I sought to maintain the power of his kingdom. He pursued an adroit foreign policy, avoiding any open clash with Assyria, now restored to its former strength, and seeking to preserve the security of his frontiers by treaties with the rulers of the neighbouring countries. Fortunately the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser V, was occupied with internal troubles and could spare little thought for Urartu. In the year 722 B.C., however, there was a sudden change in the situation, when Sargon, son of Tiglath-Pileser III, overthrew his brother and seized the Assyrian throne. From the very beginning of his reign Sargon showed a close interest in the course of events in neighbouring countries. In Syria and Palestine he was concerned by the activities of the petty princedoms which were supported by Egypt; in the south his objective was to bring Babylon into submission; and in the north he set out to destroy his ever-mighty foe, the kingdom of Urartu. Sargon began by dealing with Syria and Palestine, defeating the forces of the Egyptian Pharaoh Shabaka, and then turned his attention to the northern front.

The Archives of the Assyrian Secret Service

We are well informed about the preparations for Sargon's campaign against Urartu by a remarkable collection of documents from the royal archives of Nineveh and Kalhu. These consist of reports from the Assyrian intelligence agents who were sent into enemy countries—small clay tablets covered with cuneiform, which a spy could readily conceal about his person, and summaries of these reports on larger tablets drawn up by the heir to the throne, Sennacherib, who acted as head of the intelligence service.

One of these agents, Uppahir-Bel, reports that he has "sent a special messenger to gather tidings from the land of Urartu" and has "kept watch from [87] city to city, as far as Tushpa". Another, Gabbuana-Ashur, reports from a frontier fortress: "My messengers will go to Nabu-li, Ashur-bel-dan and Ashur-risua, who must perform their part. We have written down the names of all the men. Each one is carrying out his task; nothing has been neglected. We have heard many times that the Urartian king has not left Tushpa." It is interesting that the officers whose names appear in these reports conveyed the information they obtained direct to the Assyrian king. Thus among the tablets in the archives of Kuyunjik (Nineveh) there are eleven letters from Ashur-risua, and information communicated by him is quoted in eight letters from other correspondents.

From the reports of the Assyrian intelligence agents we learn of an unsuccessful campaign by the Urartians against the Cimmerians, in the course of which the leaders of the expedition, including the ruler of the district of Uasi (south-west of Lake Van), were killed, and of the disarray caused in Urartu by the defeat of their army. Ashur-risua devotes four letters to the revolt by the governors of Uasi and to the quelling of the rising by the Urartian king. But while Rusa was in Uasi another rising took place in his capital of Tushpa, led by his general Naragu. The letters tell how Rusa returned to Tushpa, captured the mutinous general and twenty officers who had joined the rising, and executed a hundred soldiers from the units which had come out in their support.

Having restored order in the country, Rusa turned to the strengthening of the Urartian frontiers and, having established a strong defensive line in the north, began a campaign of covert activity against Assyria. In the west he made a treaty with the ruler of the country of Tabal, Ambaris. Sargon reacted to this in 713 by sending his army against Tabal and bringing Ambaris back to Assyria as a prisoner. In the south Rusa increased his influence in Musasir by putting Urzana on the throne. Thereupon Sargon sent a threatening letter to Musasir, and Urzana had to make excuses for himself. In his reply he talks of neutrality and claims that the Assyrian demands are [88] unjustified. There was also a determined struggle for influence in the country of Mannai, to the south of Lake Urmia. Sargon put his protege Aza on the Mannaeen throne; whereupon Rusa engineered a rebellion in the country and gave the throne to Ullusun. In 716 Sargon sent an army into Mannai, easily defeated the new ruler, who had been left to his fate, pardoned him, and set up a figure of himself as a symbol of submission. In the following year Rusa organised another rebellion, and Sargon again marched against Mannai, carrying off the new king, Daiukku, to Hamath. In these various activities both parties were clearly playing with fire.

In the year 714 B.C. Sargon took decisive action against Urartu, sending his armies into the countries east of Lake Urmia in an operation which had long been contemplated. We are well informed about this campaign from a large clay tablet, now in the Louvre, containing a report to the god Ashur written in literary form. The concluding lines of the text name not only the author—Tabshar-Ashur, the writer of a number of intelligence

reports—but also the scribe, "Nabu-Shalimshunu, the great royal scribe, principal sage and vizier of Sargon king of Assyria, eldest son of Harmakku, a royal scribe from Assur".

The information given by this text is supplemented by some reliefs found in a room in Sargon's palace at Dur-Sharrukin. Unfortunately only the reliefs in the south-western part of the room have survived. These relate to the end of the campaign, the capture of the town of Musasir, and very usefully complement and illustrate the corresponding part of the Louvre text.

Sargon's Campaign against Urartu

The Louvre text tells us that in the early summer of 714 the Assyrian army marched out of Kalhu with a great caravan of camels and asses, crossed the Upper and Lower Zab during the spate, and climbed into a range of almost impassable mountains. There is a vivid description of the densely forested

[Pages 89-108 are plates]

mountains with their deep gorges into which the rays of the sun did not penetrate, and of the many rivers which had to be crossed, when the men of the army had to "fly over the water like eagles" and the camels and asses of the baggage train to "leap like mountain goats". After forcing six mountain passes and being ferried across two rivers, Sargon's army descended into the country of Mannai, where the Assyrian king received gifts from the rulers of the various districts. Sargon undertook that he would defeat the Urartians, free Mannai from their yoke and restore the former frontiers; but instead of moving to the north-west he turned east towards the countries of Zikirtu and Andi. Then, having stocked up the frontier fortresses with supplies, he advanced into Zikirtu; but the ruler of this country, Me-tatti, refused combat, abandoned his city of Parda and the treasures in his palace, and fled to the mountains.

Discontinuing the pursuit of the enemy, Sargon suddenly altered the direction of his advance. He had learned from an intelligence agent that Rusa and his allies, the leaders of the mountain tribes, had made their way round to his rear and had drawn up their battle array in the gorges of Mount Uaush (the present-day Mount Sahand). "My messenger made known to me the approach and the increase in number of their forces," records Sargon's account.

The correspondence in the Nineveh archives includes one letter in which it is tempting to see the messenger's report referred to in the Louvre text. In this document Bel-Iddin—evidently ruler of the country of Allabii which is mentioned in the Louvre text—has this to say about the Urartian king: "The messenger of the ruler of Andi and the messenger of the ruler of Zikirtu came to Uasi and said to him, 'The king of Assyria has come against us.' As soon as he had seen the messengers he set out for the land of Zikirtu. With his armies and the ruler of Hubha he continued for five days' march and then returned. To the magnates of his kingdom he said, 'Collect your warlike strength so that we may destroy the king of Assyria by taking him [110] from the rear.'" It is an interesting point that this letter is written in bad Assyrian with grammatical and spelling mistakes.

Having received information about the position of the Urartian army, Sargon hastened into the country of Uishdish. He travelled in his war chariot, accompanied by a squadron of cavalry led by his intimate friend Sin-ahi-usur, whose palace stood next to the royal palace in Dur-Sharrukin. Then, without warning, he burst on the Urartian camp and utterly crushed them. The Urartian forces, archers and spearmen, were unable to withstand the attack, and "the mountain gorges were rilled with their bodies and blood flowed like a river." Many of the cavalry, Urartian nobles, were taken prisoner. "On Mount Uaush I inflicted a defeat on the army of Urartu, my bitter enemy, and their allies, and put them to flight. With their horses I filled the mountain ravines and gorges, and they themselves, like ants in distress, departed by toilsome roads." Rusa himself, we are told, abandoned his war chariot and his charger and fled, mounted on a mare.

After inflicting this defeat on the Urartians in the land of Uishdish, Sargon's army advanced along the eastern shore of Lake Urmia in pursuit of the enemy, destroying fortresses, laying the whole area waste, and taking possession of the rich stores of grain in the granaries. Sargon then marched through the province of Subi, where

riding horses were reared for the Urartian cavalry, and destroyed the city of Ulhu, described as an important centre of fanning and horticulture.

The stone walls of the city were destroyed "like an earthen pot" and razed to the ground "with iron axes and swords". The palace suffered the same fate. The "brimming corn-bins of the city" and the wine-cellars were given over to the troops to plunder. The Assyrians "drew fragrant wine through clay pipes like river water." The outlet of the channel which brought drinking water to the city was blocked up and the area turned into a swamp. In all the surrounding countryside "the clangour of iron axes was heard", gardens were [111] destroyed, and the felled trees were piled up and burned on the spot. The crops were destroyed to the last ear of grain, and the pasture land was trampled by the cavalry and the foot-soldiers.

Passing round Lake Urmia, Sargon's army now made for the north-eastern corner of Lake Van. They then seem to have marched past the capital city of Tushpa and continued round the northern and western shores of the lake: the exact route has not, however, been determined. Entering the land of Nairi, which lay to the south of Lake Van, on his return journey, Sargon decided to make a surprise attack on Musasir, the ruler of which, Urzana, was—as we have seen—an ally of the Urartian king.

Musasir was situated deep in the mountains. After a gruelling march the Assyrian army suddenly appeared outside the city and, "like locusts", spread over the whole countryside. The Louvre text gives a vivid description of the panic and confusion in the city, the sacrifices offered to Haldi to avert the calamity, and the assault, during which Sargon "caused the war-cry of his army to resound over the city like thunder." Urzana fled into the mountains, leaving his whole household behind him. Musasir was taken, and the Assyrians captured 6,110 prisoners, 380 asses, 525 cattle and 1,235 sheep. Sargon made a victorious entry into Urzana's palace and "seated himself on the throne like a sovereign."

The palace store-rooms were piled high with treasure. "The seals put on the doors for safe keeping were struck off", and their whole contents fell into Sargon's hands as booty. The text gives a long description of the captured wealth. Of gold alone there was rather more than a ton (34 talents and 18 minas), and of silver nearly five tons (167 talents and half a mina). In addition more than four hundred precious objects were taken from the palace; and the text enumerates 44 different types of object, including gold swords and daggers, Rusa's silver cups, cups from the land of Tabal with gold handles, and many other things.

[112] Having taken possession of the treasure in the palace store-rooms, Sargon sent his retinue and the leaders of his army into the temple of Haldi, where there was still richer booty to be had. Here, in addition to a large quantity of gold (the exact amount is missing), the Assyrians captured another five tons of silver (162 talents and 20 minas, less a sixth of a mina) and more than 109 tons (3,600 talents) of bronze ingots.

The Ancient Civilization of Urartu*

by Boris Piotrovsky

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Chapter III. History and Archaeology

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Urtian Works of Art in Sargon's Booty

The text gives a detailed list of the valuables captured in the temple, mentioning 61 different items and a total of 333,500 objects in all. This catalogue is a document of exceptional importance for the study of the art and culture of Urartu. It notes, for example, the following items: "6 gold shields, flame-red in colour, which hung in his chamber on the right and left sides and shone with dazzling brightness; in the middle of them are the heads of dogs with bared teeth; they weighed 5 talents and 12 minas (about 14 lb)... 1 gold door-bolt in the form of a man's hand; the fastening of the door, on which is a winged monster; 1 gold peg for closing the bolt, to strengthen the lock of the temple and protect the riches amassed therein; 2 gold keys or bolts in the form of lamassus (winged demons) wearing tiaras, holding a curved sword and a hoop, and trampling on dogs with bared teeth. These four parts of the door-bolt, which were an ornament to the shrine and served to lock the doors, weighed 2 talents and 12 minas (about 145 lb) of gold."

On one of the reliefs from Sargon's palace—known only from a drawing by Flandin, since the original was lost in the Tigris while being shipped to France—was a scene showing the plundering of the temple at Musasir. This showed shields hanging on the pillars of the facade and in the spaces between them; and "in the middle of them are the heads of dogs with bared teeth." The Assyrians are shown carrying them off as booty, while a record is kept by an official sitting on a folding chair. In front of him stand two scribes, [113] noting down the captured treasures—one of them in cuneiform on a clay tablet, the other in Aramaic script on a papyrus. The next scene shows the booty being weighed and taken away. It is difficult to reconstruct the complicated lock of the temple door as described in the Louvre text, but the excavators of a fortress at Hasanlu, to the south of Lake Urmia, found bronze pins from a lock, decorated with small figures of lions and attached to the door by a chain.

The custom of depositing weapons dedicated to the gods in their temples was widely practised in the ancient East. Since the principal Urtian gods were warrior gods, very large quantities of sacred and precious weapons were accumulated in their temples. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the temple at Musasir Sargon should have captured "25,212 brazen (or rather bronze) shields both heavy and light...; 1,514 brazen javelins both heavy and light; heavy brass spear-heads...; brass lances with brass supports; 305,412 swords..."

In addition to ordinary weapons the temple contained arms and equipment made of precious metal: "1 large sword, a weapon worn at his waist, to the making of which went 26 minas and 3 su (about 30 lb) of gold; 96 silver javelins; ...silver bows and silver spears, inlaid with gold and mounted; 12 heavy silver shields, the bosses of which are made in the form of the heads of monsters, lions and wild bulls...; 33 silver chariots."

The store-rooms also contained much valuable furniture, furnishings and jewellery, and this is again detailed in the list of booty: "393 silver cups, both heavy and light, made in Assyria, Urartu and Habhu; 2 horns of the great aurochs in a setting of gold circles; 1 gold signet ring with a seal for certifying the decrees of Bagmashtu, wife

of Haldi, inlaid with precious stones; 9 fabrics for the clothing of his godhead, embroidered with golden discs; ... 1 bed of ivory; 1 silver couch for the repose of his godhead, framed in gold and decorated with stones; 139 batons of ivory; ... 10 tables of [114] box-wood, and chairs of ebony and boxwood set with gold and silver; 2 altars; 14 various stones for the ornament of the divinity, precious stones belonging to Haldi and Bagmashtu his spouse..."

I have quoted only extracts from the inventory of the valuables captured by Sargon in Musasir, omitting many items which cannot yet be translated; but even this abbreviated list is enough to take our breath away. We should hardly have expected to find such an accumulation of treasures in the temple in Musasir, even allowing for the fact that Musasir was an ancient religious centre; and we find ourselves wondering whether the information given in the Louvre text is entirely trustworthy. It is fair to say, however, that we should have found it difficult to believe in the quantity of precious things in the tomb of the Pharaoh Tutankhamen if our only evidence had been an inventory recorded on a papyrus. It has also been suggested that Rusa might have sent the valuables stored in his treasury and his temples to Musasir in order to save them from the Assyrians. This, however, seems unlikely, since the journey to Musasir was long and hazardous and the area was always insecure in view of its nearness to Assyria. Moreover some details in the text indicate that the treasure belonged to Musasir. Thus there are two references to "Bagmashtu, wife of Haldi", and it is well established that the wife assigned to Haldi in central Urartu was Arubani. Evidently the goddess Bagmashtu, with her Iranian name, was an ancient divinity of Musasir, and when a new pantheon was established under Urartian influence she had perforce to become the wife of the supreme god.

The Louvre text also mentions a number of large bronze objects, some of which appear as decorations on the facade of the temple represented in the relief in Sargon's palace. These include "3 heavy brazen cauldrons, each with a capacity of 50 measures of water, and 1 large cauldron of a capacity of 80 measures, with a large brazen ladle, which the kings of Urartu filled with sacrificial wine when sacrifices were made to Haldi."

[115] In a later passage the Louvre text enumerates some large pieces of brass (or rather bronze) sculpture which stood in the temple—examples of Urartian monumental art, about which otherwise we know nothing: "4 brazen statues of tall door-keepers, guardians of the temple door, and 4 supports which, together with the seat (pedestal), are of cast brass; 1 statue in an attitude of prayer, a representation of Sarduri, son of Ishpuini, king of Urartu, and his seat, of cast brass; 1 bull and 1 cow with its calf, cast by Sarduri, son of Ishpuini, who caused to be melted down (?) the brass of the temple of Haldi; 1 figure of Argishti, king of Urartu, crowned with the stellate tiara of divinity, with his right hand raised in blessing, together with its receptacle, of a weight of 60 talents (about 1 ton 16 cwt) of brass; 1 figure of Ursa (Rusa) with his two horses and his driver's horse, with their seat (pedestal), cast in brass, on which can be read the king's boast, 'With my two horses and my driver's horse my hand conquered the kingdom of Urartu.'"

Some of these pieces of sculpture can be seen in the relief from Sargon's palace. On each side of the entrance to the temple stand two of the four statues of "tall door-keepers", and to the right of the entrance is the cow with its calf "cast by Sarduri, son of Ishpuini"; there is no sign of the bull mentioned in the Louvre text. At the base of the platform, apparently on either side of the steps, are two huge cauldrons supported on tripods. Two similar cauldrons were found in the excavations of the fortress of Teishebaini (Karmir-Blur), the cauldrons themselves being wrought from brass sheet and the rims cast in bronze (Plate 70).

The inscription on the pedestal of the statue of Rusa referring to his conquest of the kingdom of Urartu has inevitably attracted the interest of historians. It has been suggested, for example, that Rusa was not the son of his predecessor Sarduri but a usurper, the founder of a new dynasty. But this is in contradiction with the reference to "Rusa, son of Sarduri" in the king's inscriptions; and in any case if Rusa had really not been the legitimate heir to the throne the Assyrian annals would certainly have mentioned this, as [116] they always did when referring to usurpers. A more likely explanation is that the inscription on Rusa's statue referred to the restoration of the earlier frontiers of the Urartian kingdom and the reconquest of the countries which had taken advantage of the weakening of central authority after Tiglath-Pileser's campaigns against Urartu to assert their independence.

The Louvre text also gives us some conception of Urartian monumental sculpture, of which hardly any actual examples have survived. Of smaller work we have only three bronze statuettes of divinities—the only specimens

which chance has preserved. These are a figurine of a bearded god wearing a tiara decorated with horns, now in the British Museum; a figurine of a seated goddess, probably Arubani, in the National Historical Museum of Armenia; and a statuette of the god Teisheba (?) found in the excavations at Karmir-Blur (Plate 106). The only piece of large sculpture in stone which has survived is a badly damaged basalt statue (height of the surviving part 4 feet 2 inches), now in the Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi. Its upper part was known as early as 1898, and the remainder came to light later, following an explosion in the fortress on the crag of Van. Originally the statue was roughly life size. The headdress and the face are missing, but it is just possible to distinguish the wavy hair, falling down the back and shoulders, and the beard. The absence of the headdress makes it impossible to determine whether the figure represents a king or a god. He holds a club or whip and a bow and arrows, and a sword hangs at his side; but these weapons could be carried either by a king or by a god.

But let us return to the bronze statues in the temple at Musasir. We do not know what happened to them after the capture of the town. It is highly unlikely that they could be transported to Assyria through almost impassable mountain country. On the relief from Sargon's palace, next to the scene showing the looting of the temple, we see the booty being weighed and the various objects being carried away; and nearby are three Assyrian soldiers breaking up a statue with axes — one of the pieces of bronze sculpture described in Sargon's report to the god Ashur.

[Pages 117-124 are plates]

Thus thanks to the remarkable literary text recovered from the ruins of Assur, the Assyrian capital, and to the narrative reliefs from Sargon's palace at Dur-Sharrukin, we are well informed about this episode in the military history of Assyria and are able to glean much information about the culture of Urartu.

The campaign for which Sargon had made such meticulous preparations was thus crowned with success; and the Assyrian annals record laconically that "when Ursa (Rusa), king of Urartu, heard that Musasir had been destroyed and his god Haldi carried away, then with his own hand, with the iron dagger which hung at his side, he put an end to his life."

Argishti II and the Recovery of Urartu: the Finds at Altmtepe

The utter defeat which Urartu suffered at the hands of Sargon in 714 B.C. did not destroy the Kingdom of Van. After the death of Rusa I his son Argishti II succeeded to the throne and at once bent his energies to making good the devastations of the war. Once again Sargon was compelled to keep a watchful eye on developments in Urartu. Among the letters from intelligence agents in this period is a report on the arrival in Harda, a frontier town in the upper Tigris Valley (near the modern town of Diyarbakir), of a messenger from Argishti countermanding a previous order from the king and giving instructions to look after his horses until the arrival of a second messenger. There is also an account of a dispute in the forest over some logs which the Urartians would not allow the Assyrians to take away; and a third letter reports that Urartian forces have already advanced to the town of Harda.

[126] Thus the young Urartian king was clearly not of a mind to lay down his arms, but was continually seeking to consolidate his authority, not least on his western frontier. It took Sargon until 708 B.C., six years after his campaign against Urartu, to deal with the king of Kummuh, who paid an annual tribute to Argishti II as the price of his support.

In the last years of Sargon's reign his attention was diverted from the north, and after his death a confused political situation developed in Assyria. There may even have been attempts at a coup d'etat, as we learn from letters in the Nineveh archives — documents of exceptional interest, since they furnish us with information from a non-official source to supplement the meagre evidence available in the Assyrian annals.

The Urartian kingdom was thus granted a breathing space and was able to rally after its defeat. From the cuneiform inscriptions we learn of intense building activity by Argishti in the central part of the kingdom, particularly in the areas through which Sargon's army had passed. On a site near the modern town of Erzurum, on

the northern shores of Lake Van, he built the town of Titumnia, laying out an artificial lake and digging a canal. In this area there are a number of ancient fortresses, and some outstanding works of art have been found here. It is possible also that a large relief carved on several blocks of stone representing the god Teisheba standing on a bull — apparently a figure from a procession — dates from this period and comes from some monumental structure which has not survived. At the same time as he was building these new towns and fortresses Argishti also began the construction of another new town at Tushpa, on the hill of Toprakkale — an enterprise which was to be completed by his son.

Argishti, son of Rusa, seems to have been king of Urartu throughout the reign of Sennacherib, Sargon's son (704-681), but the Assyrian annals of this period are silent about events in Urartu. Sennacherib was preoccupied with wars against Babylon, Syria and Palestine, and also with preparations [127] for a campaign against Egypt: he therefore avoided open war with his northern neighbour, although at this period the Urartian frontier was not far removed from the centre of Assyria. On the evidence of Sennacherib's inscriptions, Mount Tas (the present-day Mount Bavian), where the Assyrian king had a hunting park, lay "on the frontier of Urartu". Near the frontier, too, was a large aqueduct, carried on high walls and arches, which brought water from the mountains into Nineveh. As we have already noted, however, the mountains of Kurdistan, which separated the Lake Van basin from central Assyria, were almost impassable and constituted a secure natural barrier.

Argishti II was particularly concerned to strengthen his distant frontiers. A powerful frontier fortress was established on the banks of the upper Euphrates, near Erzincan. Here, on the mound of Altintepe, systematic excavations by Turkish archaeologists have revealed the remains of a large fortress defended by massive walls, the name of which is still unknown. Within the fortress a number of buildings have been excavated, including a small "susi" temple similar in plan to the one on Arin-Berd, but differing from it in being situated in the centre and not on one side of a colonnaded courtyard. The foundations of the temple are built of carefully dressed basalt blocks; the walls, constructed of adobe brick, have not survived, but remains of wall painting were found in the rubble. On a dais inside the temple was a sacrificial altar, and another altar was found standing in the open in front of four tall round-topped stelae. An Urartian seal impression which came to light many years ago shows a sacrifice being performed in front of three similar stelae and a sacred tree.

This fortress was the residence of the Urartian viceroy, who occupied a position of great dignity and importance, and under the walls of the fortress were the tombs of persons of high rank, similar in form to the royal tombs hewn in the crag of Van. Two of these, built in large blocks of stone, contained three chambers, and in their walls were niches of the same type as in [128] the Horhor Cave with the inscription by Argishti I. The entrances to the tombs were closed by large stone slabs. In one of the chambers were two sarcophagi with lids of semicircular section carved from single blocks of stone. Excavation of the tombs yielded much interesting material, including elements from furniture, made of bronze and wood and inlaid with discs of horn, which have made it possible to reconstruct couches with feet in the form of bulls' hooves, decorated with wreaths formed of petals.

Other items which have attracted much attention are a bronze cauldron decorated with bulls' heads, supported on a tripod, other bronze vessels including one with a Hittite inscription, and a shield.

The tombs also contained many bronze and iron weapons, a bronze shield, harness fittings and a bit decorated with horses' heads, and bronze belts with figures of horsemen and winged bulls. There were also some interesting pieces of jewellery, consisting of gold buttons and a plaque with granulated decoration. Many of the objects found — characteristic examples of Urartian art in the first half of the 8th century B.C. — belong to the reign of Argishti II, as is indicated by inscriptions bearing his name on some of the items. It is to be hoped that further excavation on Altintepe (the "golden mound") will bring to light further cuneiform inscriptions to supplement our meagre information about the course of events in this period.

Assyria in Difficulties: the Reign of Rusa II

The Assyrian King Sennacherib was killed in 681 B.C. in a palace revolution, and after the accession of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) his murderers fled to the north-west, to the land of Shupria, which bordered on

Urartu. The Old Testament preserves a recollection of this, recording that Sennacherib's sons, having killed their father, fled to Urartu (the "land of Ararat" or "land of Armenia").

[129] The Assyrian written sources do not enable us to put a date on the end of Argishti's reign, though in texts belonging to the time of Esarhaddon — unfortunately undated — we find references to a new Urartian king called Rusa, son of Argishti.

At this period the Assyrians were threatened by a new danger which was now looming up. This was the advance of the nomadic tribes — the Cimmerians (Gimirraya) and the Scythians (Ashguzaya) — who were penetrating into western Asia through the Caucasus. Although the annals record victories over the nomads — in particular over "Teushpa the Cimmerian from a distant land" and the army of the Scythian Ishpaka, who was allied with the country of Mannai — the Assyrians nevertheless sought to enlist these formidable enemies on their side. Among the oracles of Esarhaddon — questions addressed to the god Shamash and recorded on clay tablets — is one in which he asks whether the king of the Scythians, Partatua, will remain loyal to his alliance if, as he asks, he is given an Assyrian princess in marriage. The answer to the questions have not been preserved, and we do not know whether proposed marriage ever took place. In a legal document of 679 B.C., however, there is a reference to a certain Ishdi-Harran, "commander of the Scythian regiment" — evidently a regiment of mercenaries.

The situation of Assyria took a turn for the worse when the northern nomads began to enter into alliances with other countries — including, for example, Urartu. Assyrian apprehensions at these developments were well founded. Esarhaddon asked Shamash whether the plans of Rusa, king of the Urartians, and of the Cimmerians would be realised: would they move into the land of Shupria? This was the turbulent country to which Sennacherib's murderers had fled and which had also provided asylum for "Urartian refugees".

The Cimmerians' advance brought them to the region round Lake Van, where they settled for a considerable period. A letter in the Nineveh archives [130] tells of operations against the Cimmerians in the country of Maki, and of the preparation of ambushes in the mountain passes; another gives instructions about the surveillance of the frontiers of Urartu, Mannai, Media and Hubushkia and about the treatment of deserters, who are to be sent immediately to the crown prince's palace. Rusa II maintained friendly relations with the nomads, and the excavations of the fortress of Teishebaini, the Urartian military and administrative centre in Transcaucasia, have produced evidence of close links between the Urartians and the Scythians which would ensure the security of the northern frontiers. The excavators of Teishebaini discovered a number of Scythian objects (weapons, pieces of harness, ornaments) not only from the northern Caucasus but from the more distant Dnieper area.

On the evidence of the written sources and the surviving archaeological remains the reign of Rusa II seems to have been a period of intense building activity, a time when Urartu reasserted its position among the nations of western Asia. In the west Rusa directed his efforts towards the re-establishment of Urartian control over the routes to the Mediterranean, and one of his inscriptions refers to the capture of prisoners in the countries of Mush-kini, Hatti and Halittu, which lay on and beyond the Euphrates. Unfortunately an inscription by Rusa in the western territories, in the fortress of Mazgerd, is badly damaged and cannot be read.

In central Urartu, at Tushpa, Rusa completed the construction of the town on the hill of Toprakkale, giving it the name of Rusahinili. He built up his capital into a flourishing area extending from the crag of Van to the mountain ridge on which he had constructed his new royal residence, providing water channels, creating an artificial lake, planting gardens and vineyards, and laying out fields for cultivation. An inscription recording the development of the capital notes particularly that the water channels were intended to serve the needs both of the new city of Rusahinili and of Tushpa. Much archaeological work has been done on the citadel of Toprakkale, beginning [131] in 1879 and continuing to the present day, and most of the best known examples of Urartian art which have found their way into museums through commercial channels come from here.

The excavations on Toprakkale have revealed the remains of a palace decorated with a polychrome stone mosaic formed of large pieces of stone of diamond, rectangular or swallowtail shape. The basalt slabs of the floor and the wall surfaces were also decorated with large concentric pieces of white, red and black stone (Plate 16) inserted in cavities cut in the stone or the bronze sheets on the walls. In spite of the destruction caused by the

trenching of the treasure-hunters, the excavations of recent years have brought to light various domestic offices, including wine-cellars containing large jars (pithoi) sunk into the earth floor.

Archaeologists have also long been interested in the "susi" temple, of a type frequently found in Urartu, consisting of a single chamber with a paved area in front of the entrance. Recently, while investigating the corners of the temple, the archaeologists found under them four square cavities, in two of which were bronze plaques, unfortunately without inscriptions. On each plaque was a small diamond-shaped piece of gold leaf and a rectangle of silver leaf, the symbolism of which is unexplained. It may be that other Urartian buildings will be found to contain tablets with foundation inscriptions similar to those discovered in buildings in Assyria and Achaemenid Iran. Near the temple were found a number of large ornamental bronze shields with figures of bulls and lions. Most of the shields had inscriptions in the name of one of the last Urartian kings, Rusa, son of Erimena, but one of them bore the name of Rusa, son of Argishti — suggesting that Rusa II was the builder of the temple but that Rusa III restored it and deposited in it pieces of sacred armour dedicated to Haldi.

Rusahinili remained the residence of the Urartian kings for something like a hundred years. It was destroyed at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. by the Medes, who dealt the final blow to the Kingdom of Van.

[131]

Building Activity in Urartu in the 7th Century B. C.

In all the large centres founded by Argishti II, his son Rusa II left foundation inscriptions and continued the building operations which his father had begun. At Adilcevaz some large foundation and sacrificial inscriptions by Rusa II were found, and the fortress on the hill of Kefkalesi must also be dated to his reign. Here the excavators cleared various structures forming part of a large building with pylons constructed of large blocks of dressed basalt, and also a number of separate rectangular blocks — the bases of columns, which themselves would be built of adobe brick. The column bases were decorated with carvings representing two winged bulls standing on lions against the background of a building with battlements and towers similar to the tall building on the bronze plaque found at Toprakkale. The composition of the carvings is a rather clumsy combination of different elements. Instead of the usual stylised tree, as on the carving of Teisheba from Adilcevaz, there are three small trees in front of the towers, and in consequence the attitude of the god fertilising the sacred tree seems a little unnatural. Above, on the merlons of the battlements, is a palmette between two birds holding a rabbit in their beaks.

The peripheral fortress at Altintepe also continued to exist in Rusa II's reign. Objects found here had inscriptions in his name, and many pieces of applied art showed affinities with material found at Toprakkale. Of particular interest are some ivory plaques showing winged genii with eagles' heads which recall the bone carvings found in great quantity and variety at Kalhu.

On the north-eastern frontier, near the modern town of Manu in Iran, was built a fortress named "King Rusa's small city", as we know from the chance finding of an inscription on a stone from its walls.

[133] Of Rusa's large-scale building operations in the territory north of the Araxes eloquent evidence is provided by the citadel of the city of Teishebaini, the remains of which have been found on the mound of Karmir-Blur (Erevan). The story of the excavation of this fortress is told in the next chapter: here it is necessary to note only a few general points. The citadel of Teishebaini occupied a total area of some 10 acres and contained some 150 separate apartments together with a spacious courtyard. The whole structure is remarkable for its massive strength, with walls ranging between 7 and 12 feet in thickness, and its considerable height of up to 24 feet. Most of the buildings were roofed with a barrel vault of adobe brick; some had roofs formed of large beams of pine, poplar, beech and other types of timber. The building of the citadel required some 2 million large adobe bricks (20 inches long by 14 inches thick); the total quantity of timber required — most of it brought from other areas — cannot be estimated. Thus the construction of the citadel involved a vast expenditure of labour on the making and laying of the bricks, the transport of the timber, the quarrying and dressing of the stone used in the foundations and the basalt blocks employed in the architectural decoration of the upper storey. It is clear that a

colossal building effort of this kind demanded a very large labour force, most probably provided by prisoners taken in war.

The citadel of Teishebaini contained eight wine-stores with a total capacity of some 9,000 gallons, small store-rooms for grain arranged along both sides of a corridor, with a total capacity of some 750 tons — and at least as much again was stored in granaries elsewhere in the citadel. Figures of this kind give some idea of the power of the Urartian kingdom in the 7th century B.C. Only a high productive capacity and a securely established political position could have enabled the Urartians to build such a mighty fortress as this in Transcaucasia. And we know that in fact the political position of Urartu in this period was secure. The Assyrians were careful to avoid any [134] clash with the Urartians, and the Urartians sought likewise to give no occasion for conflict.

In the year 654 B.C., after Ashurbanipal's victory over King Teuman o Elam and capture of Susa, Rusa II sent emissaries to the Assyrian king. "At this time," record the Assyrian annals, "Rusa, king of Urartu, heard of the mightiness of my gods and was overcome by terror at my majesty. Then he sent his princes to Arbela to bring me greetings." And in the reliefs from the palace in Nineveh we can see the Urartian envoys among those present at the savage torturing and execution of the Elamites.

There was a second Urartian mission to Ashurbanipal in the year 639 B.C., after his war against the Arabs, but this time it was sent by a different king — Sarduri, son of Rusa.

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by Boris Piotrovsky

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Chapter V. Epilogue

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The Last Kings of Urartu

When Teishebaini fell the whole Urartian kingdom was in process of collapse. The same fate befell Rusahinili (Toprakkale), the residence of the Urartian kings in their capital of Tushpa. The Toprakkale excavations have shown that this town also was destroyed and given over to the flames, and in addition have yielded many bronze shields from the walls of the temple with inscriptions in the name of one of the last Urartian kings—Rusa, son of Erimena, whose name also appears in a brief inscription recording the construction of a granary found at Argishtihinili in Transcaucasia.

The Teishebaini excavations brought to light many inscriptions mentioning the names of Urartian kings. The life of this city coincides exactly with the second period in the history of the Kingdom of Van: the fortress was built in the reign of Rusa II, during the resurgence of Urartu, and its massive strength bears witness to the might of the Urartian kingdom.

When he built this new fortress Rusa II recorded his achievements on the walls of the main temple, deposited in it treasure brought from other Urartian fortresses, and adorned the temples with ornamental shields bearing inscriptions in the name of his predecessors. The inscriptions of Rusa II are the last Urartian lapidary inscriptions known to us: for the later period we have only cuneiform documents on clay tablets and brief texts inscribed on bronze objects. This period, however, was of considerable length. The last occurrence of Rusa II's name in the Assyrian annals of Ashurbanipal's reign is in connection with events in the year 654 B.C., and his son Sarduri III is recorded as coming to Assyria in the year 639: we may conclude, therefore, that between Rusa II's death and the fall of Urartu in 590-585 B.C. there elapsed a period of some sixty years. During this period the Urartian throne was occupied by five kings, of whom nothing is known beyond their names.

[196] Although Sarduri III, son of Rusa II, sent greetings and gifts to the Assyrian King Ashurbanipal he evidently also maintained good relations with the Scythians. It is he who is referred to in the following words from a hymn to the god Ashur written by Ashurbanipal himself: "The Urartians also, that proud mountain people, carry on intrigues with the Umman-Manda (the nomads), the perfidious foe, and are constantly committing great abominations against thee." Two tablets found in Teishebaini contained orders from Sarduri III about the redistribution of land and the delivery of animals.

After the time of Sarduri III the Assyrian written sources contain no references to any Urartian king, and the Urartian inscriptions mention the names of kings only on votive objects and in brief texts on seals. Even these laconic references, however, reveal one or two unexpected facts. A seal impression on one of the Karmir-Blur tablets mentions the name of "Sarduri, son of Sarduri", who might have been supposed to be a prince of the royal house, since on succeeding to the throne a king never bore the same name as his father, and since a tablet containing an intelligence report found at Teishebaini is sealed with "the prince's seal". Then the excavators

discovered a bronze shield with an inscription on the rim which departed from the usual stereotype and referred to Sarduri, son of Sarduri, as king. No doubt at this period it had become necessary to replace some of the shields which hung on the walls of the temple, or to add new ones, and Rusa IFs grandson had inscribed his name on the new shields.

A similar renewal of the temple ornaments in the city of Rusahinili (Toprak-kale) was carried out by Rusa III, son of Erimena, whose father's name is preserved only in a seal impression on a document found at Teishebaini (Plate 35). The shields found at Toprakkale with inscriptions in the name of Rusa III are of high artistic quality, and the inscriptions repeat the dedicatory formulae used on the shields presented by his predecessors. It is usually thought that Rusa, son of Erimena, was the last Urartian king, whose reign — hitherto prosperous — was interrupted by a Median invasion about [197] the year 585 B.C., when the Median forces passed through the Urartian capital on their way to meet the army of the Lydian King Alyattes on the River Halys. Here again, however, the epigraphical material from Karmir-Blur yields fresh evidence. On two different seal impressions, one on a clay tablet and the other on a bulla sealing the door of a granary, the name "Rusa, son of Rusa" can be read. In brief inscriptions of this kind the royal title is omitted, and we cannot, therefore, be sure that Rusa IV was king and not merely a prince — though the former possibility is entirely plausible. It would thus appear that the ruthless destruction of Rusahinili in central Urartu and of Teishebaini on the periphery of the kingdom took place in the reign of Rusa IV, and the sequence of kings in the second period of Urartian history would then be: Rusa II—Sarduri III—Sarduri IV—Erimena—Rusa III—Rusa IV.

The Decline of Assyria and the Rise of the Scythians

After Rusa II the kingdom of Urartu ceased to be of any importance in the history of western Asia, though it still contrived to outlast its great enemy Assyria. In the second half of the 7th century B.C. Assyria began to lose its power and its possessions, being involved in bitter conflict with Babylonia, which had rebelled against its authority, and with the rising power of Media. An alliance with Egypt did not avail to save Assyria, and in 614 B.C. the Medes captured and destroyed Assur, and Cyaxares the Mede and King Nabupalasar of Babylonia concluded an alliance amid the ruins. In 612 B.C., after a long siege by the Babylonians and Medes, Nineveh fell. In the final attack, as Herodotus tells us, a decisive part was played by the arrival of a large Scythian army led by Madyes, son of Protothyas (the Partatua of the Assyrian sources). The last Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit, was compelled to withdraw to Harran, where he managed to hold out until 610 B.C.; then in the year 605, after the fall of Carchemish, the Assyrian kingdom ceased to exist.

[198] The part played by the Scythians and other nomadic tribes in the destruction of Assyria and other ancient Oriental kingdoms is again documented by archaeological material. In many parts of western Asia tanged arrowheads have been found, bilobate or trilobate in shape, distinct from the normal western Asian type and similar to the Scythian type. These arrowheads may also have belonged to the Medes, since the Median army had equipment similar to that of the Scythians and the Medes, like the Scythians, were famed for their skill in archery. Many arrows of Scythian type have also been picked up on the sites of ancient battles in which the Medes took part. Arrows of this kind were found, for example, at Assur, Nineveh and Kalhu, sometimes in circumstances which made it quite clear that they had been fired by enemy hands.

A Babylonian chronicle which gives us a detailed account, month by month, of events between 616 and 609 B.C., mainly connected with the defeat of Assyria, refers to an expedition against Urartu (and specifically against the town of Urashtu) in the year 609; but the outcome of the campaign is not known, since the text breaks off at this point.

In a continuation of this text, written on another tablet and giving an account of events from 608 to 605 B.C., there is a further reference to an expedition by Nabupalasar into the mountainous area of Bit-Hanunia, "a district in the land of Urartu". It is possible that these expeditions by the Babylonians against Urartu were confined to the frontier areas. At any rate the kingdom of Urartu was still in existence at the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and a passage in the Book of Jeremiah dated to the fourth year of the reign of King Zedekiah (i.e., 594 B.C.) talks of calling together against Babylon the Medes, the Urartians ("Ararat"), the Mannaeans ("Minni") and the Scythians ("Ashchenaz"). It is noteworthy that the Scythians are now referred to in association with

other nations of western Asia. Excavations in Iran have revealed, in the Ziwiye treasure, an important collection of material belonging to the Scythians of western Asia, reflecting a syncretic art style [199] in which both ancient Oriental and Scythian elements are clearly evident. In the same burials were found Assyrian articles of the mid-8th century B.C., captured by the Scythians when they destroyed the Assyrian cities.

The Urartian kingdom ceased to exist at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. The arrowheads found in the adobe walls of Teishebaini indicate that the Scythians — the Urartians' erstwhile allies — took part in the destruction of the northern Urartian centres and helped the Transcaucasian tribes to throw off the heavy Urartian yoke.

The Urartian objects found in burials in the mountainous areas of the Caucasus evidently come from the plundered Urartian settlements of the southern Caucasus, in particular from Teishebaini. Thus an Urartian belt with representations of war chariots, lions and bulls was found in a cemetery at the village of Tli in southern Osetia, and a similar belt was found in a burial excavated at Zeyva in Armenia. Many years ago a bronze helmet, now in the Berlin Museum, was found in an ancient cemetery at Verkhnyaya Rutkha in northern Osetia, but only within the last few years has it been noticed that on the front of the helmet is a symbolic device of the same type as on the helmets found at Karmir-Blur; and subsequent restoration work has revealed an inscription in the name of Argishti I. The helmet may have been a trophy taken at the destruction of Teishebaini.

After the fall of Urartu its place was taken by new kingdoms and new groupings of the countries which had formed part of the Urartian kingdom. Thus on the western periphery of Urartian territory there grew up an alliance of tribes headed by the Armenians. (We have already noted that a country known as Arme, lying to the south-west of Lake Van, is referred to in the annals as early as the reign of Sarduri II.)

The region round Lake Van, the ancient nucleus of Urartu, became at first a Median possession and later, for many years, formed part of Achaemenid Persia. The city of Rusahinili (Toprakkale) was now a burnt-out ruin, and [200] the old fortress on the crag of Van therefore took on a fresh lease of life, as is shown by a foundation inscription recording building work carried out by Xerxes.

In the southern Caucasus the ruins of Teishebaini remained abandoned and desolate, but life continued in the old settlement of Erebuni, where excavation has revealed buildings of the Achaemenid period.

We know from Achaemenid cuneiform inscriptions that in the middle of the 6th century B.C. a considerable area of Urartian territory was occupied by the Armenians. In the list of countries conquered by Darius (c. 520 B.C.), as recorded in the Babylonian texts of the Naqsh-e Rostam and Behistun inscriptions, we still find the ancient designation of Urartu, in the Babylonian form Urashtu; but in the Old Persian and Elamite texts this is replaced by the term Armina. Thus the area which had been the Kingdom of Van was beginning to be called by the name of the new political grouping which had taken over a large part of its territory.

The name of Urartu is mentioned for the last time in a document of the time of Darius II (c. 415 B.C.), but by this time it undoubtedly meant the land of Armina.

Historians have been much exercised by the fate of the Urartians after the fall of the kingdom of Urartu. It was long thought that, under pressure from the Armenians, they had abandoned their country and withdrawn northward. The view now generally accepted, however, is that they remained where they were and mingled with the Armenians. The resemblance between the dress of the Armenians, as shown in the reliefs from Xerxes' palace in Persepolis, and that of the Urartian emissaries in a relief from Ashurbanipal's palace in Nineveh has long been recognised. The reason is not far to seek; for the Armenians who took over the territory of the ancient kingdom of Urartu likewise assimilated its culture.

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by Boris Piotrovskii

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Chapter 2. The Characteristics of Urartian Art

Our survey will show that the majority of the examples Urartian art which are known today can be classified as palace-art, and their purpose was to convey a strong impression of wealth, magnificence and power. This is clearly seen, for example, in the state throne, whose sculptured parts, now scattered to various museums all over the world, will be described in detail in the succeeding chapter. The gold and the many-coloured stones which decorated it gave an impression of barbaric splendour and luxury, and the expressive figures of terrifying mythical creatures served both to strike superstitious fear into those standing in front of the throne and to shield the king, when he sat on it, from evil powers.

The relief decoration on the shields, helmets and quivers which bear dedicatory inscriptions of Urartian kings may also be classified as palace-art. Their decoration frequently consists of repeated figures of lions, bulls and other creatures, which were embodiments of power. It is no accident that on the Assyrian palace reliefs, whose purpose was to display the king's exploits, he is shown hunting lions and wild bulls. Accounts of these hunts occur in the royal annals, and in poetic imagery the king himself appears as the wild ox, the lion or the eagle. Sometimes the animals are replaced on war-gear by rhythmical processions of alternate chariots and mounted warriors, and sometimes also by sacred trees with divinities standing on either side of them. On the fronts of the helmets there are gods arranged in two rows and framed by mythical snakes with lions' heads. The purpose of the latter must have been to strengthen the protective power of the other figures on the warrior's helmet.

[16] As we shall show, all the examples of Urartian palace-art are very close in style to Assyrian work, and as a result they were for a long time taken to be Assyrian; and Urartian art was regarded as a provincial version of Assyrian. In general works on the art of the ancient East, and in the displays of the greatest museums of Western Europe, Urartian work for a long time was not distinguished from Assyrian.

It is quite understandable that Urartian and Assyrian art should be connected, for in the ninth century B.C. the influence of Assyria, one of the most powerful states at that time in Western Asia, affected very strongly the nascent state of Urartu. The earliest inscriptions of Urartian kings were written in Assyrian, and they not only used the cuneiform script which they took over at first hand from the Assyrians, but they also borrowed the form of Assyrian historical texts. The art of painting reached the Urartian palaces from the palaces of Assyria, and brought with it ready-made decorative schemes and ornamental motives. The names of many of the Urartian gods began to be written in the inscriptions by means of Assyrian ideograms, and they were represented in an Assyrian guise. A little later the Urartians adopted Assyrian military equipment, as well as many other elements of Assyrian culture.

Yet in spite of the important part which borrowing played in the formation of Urartian palace-art, its individual traits and peculiarities stand out very definitely. This has already been pointed out by the Turkish archaeologist E. Akurgal, who was the first to study Urartian art. In practice, in spite of their superficial resemblance, it is always possible to distinguish Urartian work from Assyrian. Stocky human figures, with a characteristic facial

<i>Assyria</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Urartu</i>
Shalmaneser III (860-825)	860 858 846 834	Aramu Sarduri I
Shamshi-Adad (825-812)	824	Ishpuini, son of Sarduri
Queen Sammuamat (812-803)		
Adad-nirari III (812-783)		Menua, son of Ishpuini
Shalmaneser IV (783-773)		
Ashur-dan III (773-754)		Argishti, son of Menua
Ashur-nirari IV (754-745)		Sarduri, son of Argishti
Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727)	743 735	
Shalmaneser V (727-722)		Rusa, son of Sarduri (714+)
Sargon (722-705)	714	
Sennacherib (705-681)		Argishti, son of Rusa
Esarhaddon (681-668)		Rusa, son of Argishti
Ashurbanipal (668-624)	654 639	Sarduri, son of Rusa (Sarduri, son of Sarduri?)
Fall of Nineveh (612)		Erimena Rusa, son of Erimena (Rusa, son of Rusa?) (Fall of Urartu, c. 585)

Note: The dates in the middle column are the dates of references in the Assyrian annals to kings of Urartu.

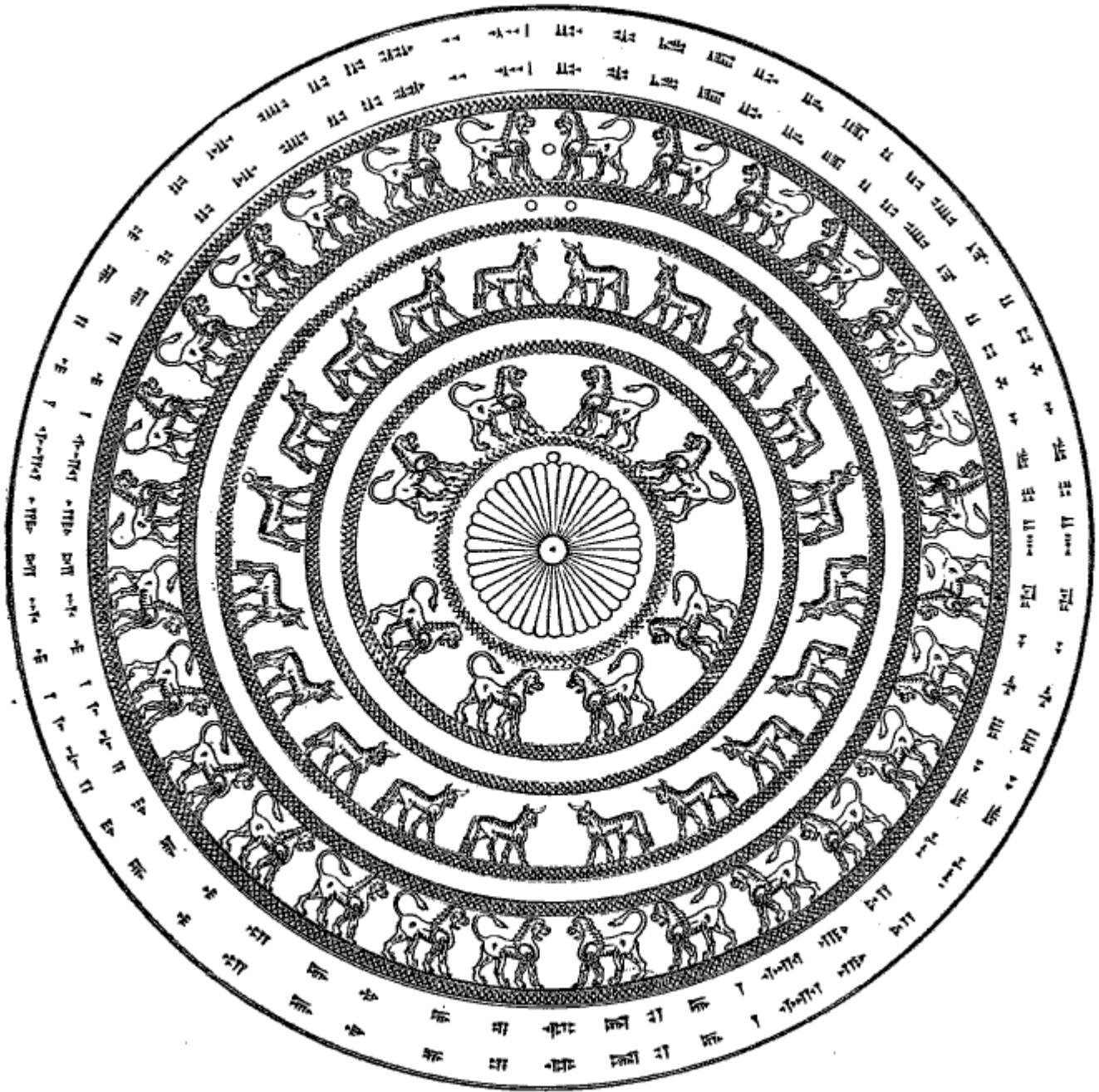
profile, and executed comparatively clumsily, are very typical of Urartian art, which at the same time showed incomparable skill in representing animals, with their bodies treated in a richly ornamental fashion. It is clear that these stylized animals have developed a long way from realistic representations. Their bodies look as if they were covered with richly decorated horse-cloths or rugs. Fine engraving is used for decoration, consisting of straight, oblique and wavy lines and of curls and circles. All the animals in Urartian art are represented in a state of repose. As Akurgal aptly remarks, the lions on the shields are 'out for a stroll', and only the snarling jaws express the fury of a wild beast.

Before considering the distinctive features of Urartian art we must dwell for a moment on its general characteristics. "Urartian art is fundamentally decorative, and ornament, often employing motives drawn from the vegetable kingdom (gurlands of buds, palmettes, rosettes, stylized trees) plays an important part in it. Representations of animals and human beings are also usually subordinate to a decorative purpose, and they are arranged in bands to form rows of single or alternating figures, some facing one way and some another. Particularly clear examples of the decorative layout can be seen on the circular bronze shields, on which, in spite of the fact that the figures are arranged in concentric bands, not one of them appears upside-down (figs. 4, 5, 6). In these cases composition is often replaced by a grouping of the elements of the design according to their kind.

In the destroyed cemetery near Arin-berd there were found fragments of bronze

[17]

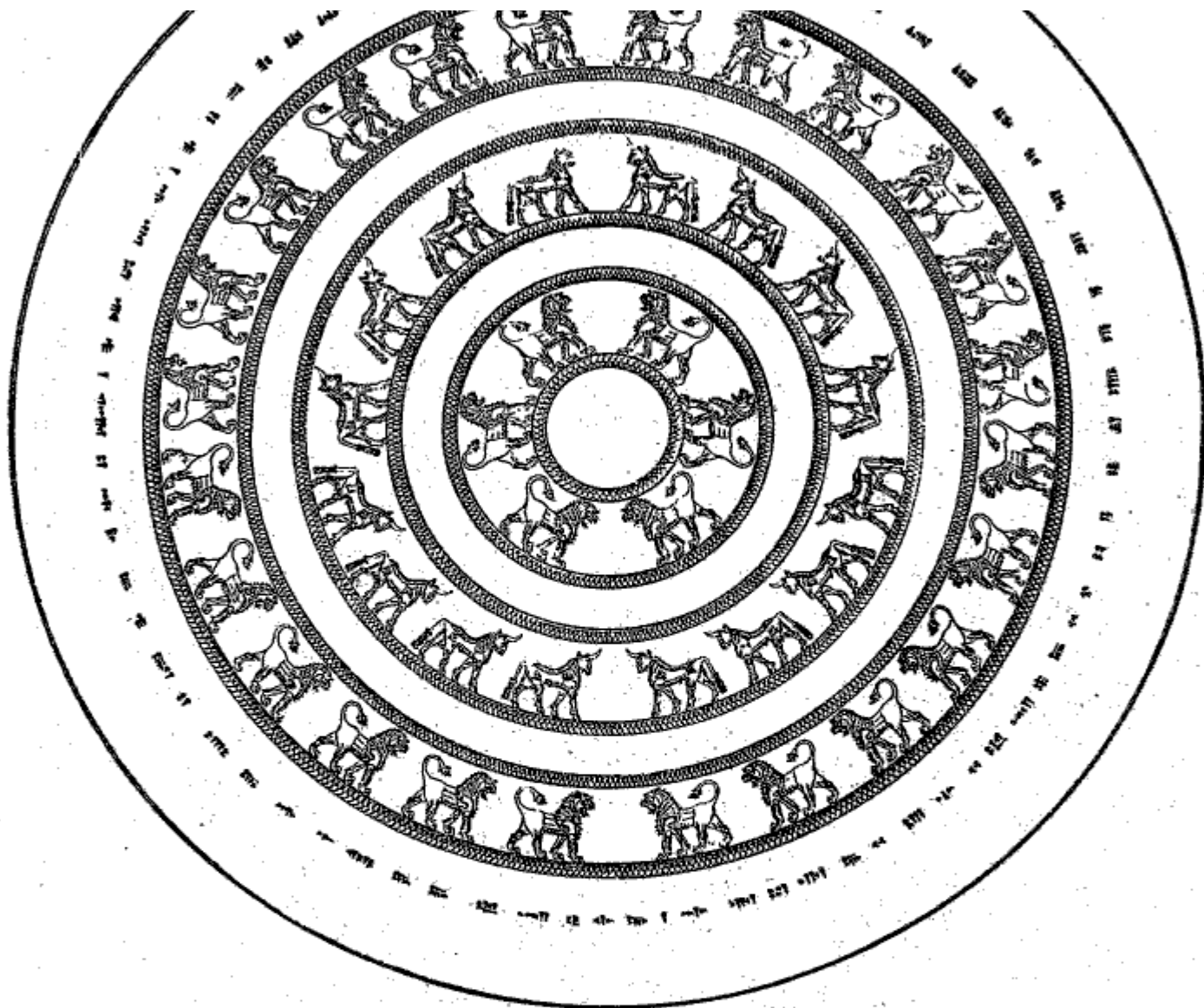
[Figure 4: Bronze shield of Argishti I. Karmir Blur. (Armenian Historical Museum)]



[18]

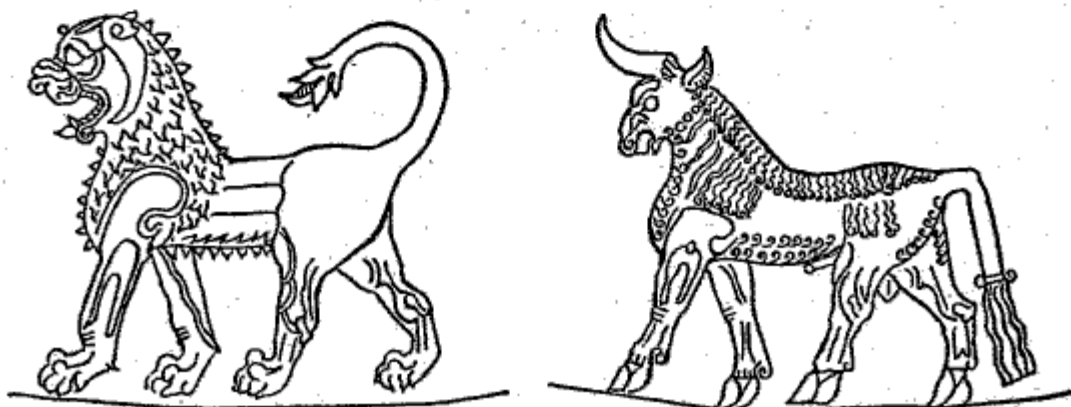
[Figure 5: Bronze shield of Sarduri II. Karmir Blur. (Armenian Historical Museum) and Figure 6: A lion and a bull from the shield of Sarduri II]





Bronze shield of Sarduri II. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)

A lion and a bull from the shield of Sarduri II



[19] belts on which, arranged in horizontal bands, there were representations of chariots with warriors in them shooting at running lions and bulls (fig. 7). Here we have unmistakable elements of a hunting-scene, but in the

interests of decorative effect the individual figure are arranged alternately, and all of them—chariots, bulls, lions—are represented in an absolutely identical fashion.

In the cemetery at the village of Tli, in southern Ossetia, B. V. Tekhov found an interesting bronze belt decorated with various figures arranged in bands, among which there were chariots exactly like those on the belts from Arin-berd. The composition on the belt from Tli has broken up, however, for the chariots and the running bulls and lions are placed side by side with no connection between them, and ornamental motives have been added to separate them. This disintegration of the composition and the transformation of its parts into pure ornament can be clearly seen on other Urartian bronze belts, both from the Urartian fortress of Teishebaini (Karmir Blur) and from cemeteries in Transcaucasia (fig. 8. p. 23).

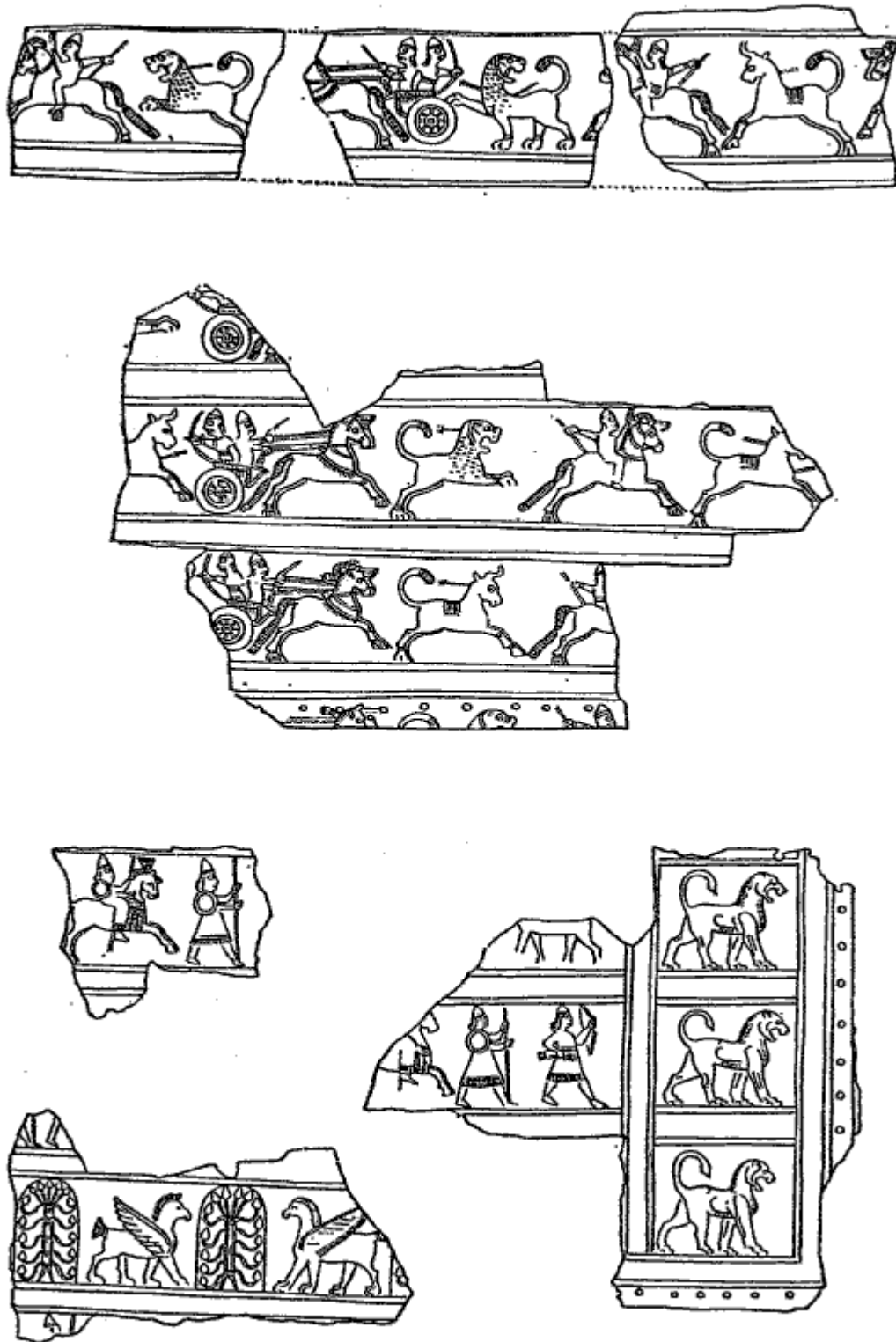
We do not know anything about composition in Urartian monumental art. It is likely that it consisted of processions of gods standing on animals and of scenes of sacrifice, all of an artificial and conventional kind.

There is greater variety in the smaller products of Urartian art, especially on the seals. These show scenes of sacrifice before stelae, of prayer and sacrifice before gods, a royal procession and a chariot (probably the royal chariot) being escorted by musicians and others. But even on the seals we can observe the tendency towards artificial treatment. In particular, the figure of Teisheba standing on a bull on a miniature seal from Karmir Blur differs only in scale and in details of ornament from the figure of the same god on the great relief from Adilcev . Both representations are based on an artificial scheme which had to be followed. A small figure engraved on a seal, a shield or a quiver can be greatly enlarged without distorting its nature as a work of art. The custom of working to a single scheme led to an economical and monumental as well as slightly heraldic, artistic style. Adherence to prescribed forms, particularly pottery-forms, led to artistic perfection in pot-making. A great store of over a thousand red polished wine-jugs was found in one of the store-rooms at Teishebaini. They were all very similar to each other in shape, having the same slightly egg-shaped bodies, and the same elegant curve of the handle. Jugs of a different shape turned up in another store-room; they had a more rounded body, and a rounded handle, and there can be no doubt that they came if not from a different work-shop at least from the hands of a different craftsman. In both cases we see remarkable perfection of form which was attained because the potter did not endeavour to make jugs of different sorts, but confined himself to a single shape.

In this way there occurred in Urartian art a constant copying of artistic forms, governed by a firm tradition, and this explains why bronze shields of one of the last Urartian kings, Rusa son of Erimena, who lived at the beginning of the sixth century B. C., were decorated with the same motives as those of his distant predecessor, king Argishti son of Menua (first quarter of the eighth century B.C.).

[20]

[Figure 7: Fragments of bronze belts from a cemetery near Arin-berd. (Armenian Historical Museum)]



[21] The constant copying of a single figure leads to its simplification and stylization. Art-historians have often pointed out that continuous copying leads to simplification and stylization of the original, and sometimes to distortion to the point of being unrecognizable. Once, when I was still a student, I made the following test: I took

a drawing of a running horse from A. E. Brem's *The Life of Animals* and gave it to various people in succession to copy. Already by the tenth copy the horse had become schematized, and was going at a walk.

The strong tendency to schematize the shapes of animals, and the decoration of their homes with delicate and elaborate geometric ornament, both of which are characteristic of Urartian art, are undoubtedly connected with continuous copying of a single conventionalized animal shape. The artist did not attempt to depart from the pattern which had been elaborated through the ages, and adopted it equally for work on a monumental or a miniature scale. In spite of the fact that the Urartian method of representing animals and of rendering details is in the last resort based on Assyrian models, Urartian art carries ornamentation to a much greater richness, and does so in an individual fashion which can always be unerringly recognized.

In this connection the Scythian sword-scabbards from the Kelermes and Melgunov burial mounds are of particular interest. The scabbard from the latter mound shows clearly the difference in treatment between those animals which are done in the Scythian style and those which are borrowed from Urartian art. The stag on the side-projection of the scabbard is completely free from any decorative treatment of its surface, while the mythical creatures on the scabbard itself bear perfectly typical Urartian decoration. A gold bowl from the Kelermes mounds is decorated with animals done in an absolutely simple style. The way they are treated recalls most of all the animals on the reliefs from the palace of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh. This resemblance is confirmed by the figures of running birds (ostriches) which are placed around the edge of the bowl, and which have close parallels in Assyrian glyptic, as well as in the birds on the seal of Urzana, king of Musasir, which is itself executed in an Assyrian style.

The animals on the Kelermes cup differ from the mythical creatures on the scabbard in that the rendering of their muscles and hair has not yet been changed into a dry linear decorative scheme. (See Appendix B, p. 97.)

A fixed canon played an important part in the art of the whole ancient East; there were definite rules for representing the human figure (head and body in profile, shoulders frontal) and for representing animals and trees. When building up a composition the artist constantly made use of models and conventional forms, observing strictly the established proportions. Even on monuments of Assyrian art which are well known from general handbooks, such as the hunting-scenes on the reliefs from the palaces of Ashur-nasir-pal II (Kalhu) and Ashur-bani-pal (Nineveh), we see clearly the use of various models, not only for whole figures, but for parts of them as well. Thus, on the relief of Ashur-nasir-pal showing a lion-hunt, the incongruity between the rushing chariot and the calm figure of the lion which rests its front paws [22] on the back of it leaps to the eye. So does the figure of the king, who is shooting with a bow, and is so placed that the arrow will inevitably miss the lion. If we look carefully at the representations of lions and lionesses on the famous lion-hunting reliefs of Ashur-bani-pal it becomes clear that the various animals are made up by combining models of heads, bodies and paws.

There can be no doubt that Urartian artists made constant use of models and stereotyped patterns, and were obliged to follow rules of proportion. This explains the monumental quality of Urartian art. The figures on the state throne, and the representations of animals and horsemen on the shields and helmets, have, in spite of their small dimensions, a strict monumental form, and will stand any amount of enlargement.

In spite of the apparent monotony of Urartian art, E. Akurgal has endeavoured to pick out different styles. He pointed out that a 'ringlet-style' (Ringelstil) is particularly characteristic of objects belonging to the eighth century B.C., and that later, from the seventh century, an 'embossed style' (Buckelstil) develops alongside it. These two styles do exist in Urartian art, but without causing any alteration in the general shape of the figures.

The study of different styles in Urartian art is made very much more difficult by the limited quantity of the available material. Apart from this, it is very clear that Urartian art received influences not only from Assyrian culture but also from Hittite (Hurrian). E. Akurgal is fully justified in underlining the late Hittite (Aramean) influence which can be seen in many examples of Urartian art, particularly in the cauldron-mounts.

Urartian art exercised a distinct influence on the art of Urartu's western neighbours, particularly in the period when the Urartians seized control of the trade-routes to the Mediterranean. It is likely that many items of Urartian art were exported to the west from the centre of the kingdom, and it has been suggested that separate

cauldron-handles were carried to the west to be attached to locally-made cauldrons. At the same time, undoubtedly, Urartian art influenced its neighbours, who themselves began to make things in the Urartian style; and this explains the great artistic variety which can be seen in widely-scattered handle-mounts in the form of winged figures with human bodies and of bulls' heads.

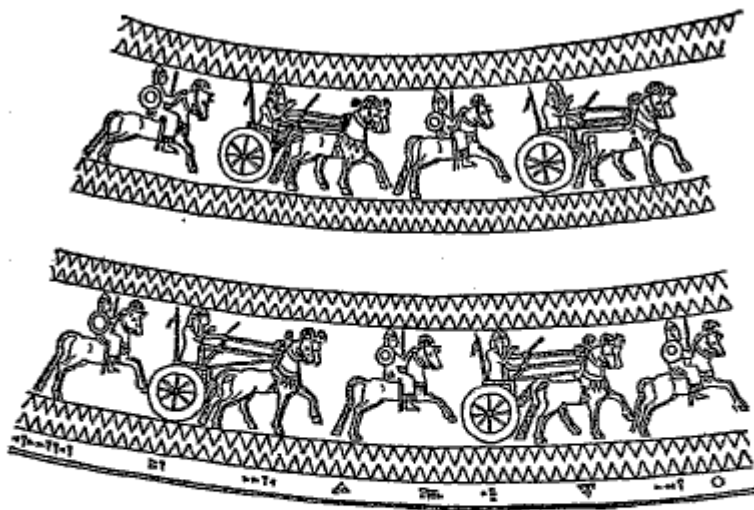
The connections between Urartian culture and the Mediterranean, which became established in the eighth century B.C., were not one-sided, and one of the most important problems in the history of Western Asia is to clarify the interrelation of the Mediterranean, Syrian and Urartian cultures in the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. In Greek sanctuaries and in Etruscan tombs there have been found not only the handle-mounts of bronze cauldrons, proving connections with Western Asia, but other objects as well. For example, an ivory figurine of a naked goddess was found at Delphi which bears a great resemblance to a figurine of a goddess from Van, also of ivory. The connection of many ornamental elements in archaic Greek art with Western Asia and with Asia Minor has been pointed out long ago; and the [23] striking similarity between the Urartian temple at Musasir, of the ninth century B.C., and early Greek temples, emphasizes the important part which the cultures of Western Asia played in the formation of classical civilization.

Recently R. Ghirshman has raised the question of the influence of Urartian culture on that of Achaemenid Iran, and has given us a valuable discussion of the problem. The Sakkiz treasure and the material from the excavation at Karmir Blur show clearly the connections of Scythian art, by way of Urartu, with the ancient East; and M. I. Artamonov has brought to our notice the possibility that the ancient East may have contributed to the formation of Scythian art.

The study of the influence of Urartu on the civilization of ancient Transcaucasia is a large and separate subject in itself.

The first-known Urartian antiquities have been in the Hermitage for more than a hundred years, but only in the last thirty years has the study of Urartian civilization reached a stage of intensive development which has enabled us to establish clearly the importance of Urartu in the history of the ancient East, especially in the period of transition to classical antiquity.

[Figure 8: Figures on a bronze helmet of Sarduri II. (Armenian Historical Museum)]



Figures on a bronze helmet of Sarduri II. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)

Urartu: The Kingdom of Van and Its Art

by Boris Piotrovskii

* This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

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Chapter 3. A Survey of Urartian Art

Urartian art is represented today by a comparatively small number of examples, and anyone who studies it is able to take into account all the known material, both that which is published and that which is housed in various museums. The surviving examples give only a faint reflection of the former richness which we can deduce from the list given by the Assyrian king Sargon of the treasure which he captured in 714 B.C. in the palace, and particularly the temple, at Musasir.

We recall that the list includes five gold shields with bosses shaped like the heads of dogs with bared fangs, weighing about 6.5 kilograms; two figures of door-guardians of pure gold, weighing about 60 kilograms; two gold bolts in the form of divinities standing on animals, weighing about 66 kilograms; and an enormous quantity of other objects of gold and silver.

Sargon's text mentions individually the large bronze (the text says 'copper') statues in temple at Musasir, including one of the Uraatim king Argishti which weighed about 60 talents (about 1.8 tons). One can imagine that these were objects of great artistic importance, quite apart from their value as metal, and reflected the high standard of Urartian metallurgy. Things of this kind had no chance of surviving to the present day, for anything made of gold or silver passed from one conqueror to another and was melted down for recasting in other forms. Large bronze statues were broken up on the spot with axes, as we see illustrated on a relief from Sargon's palace:

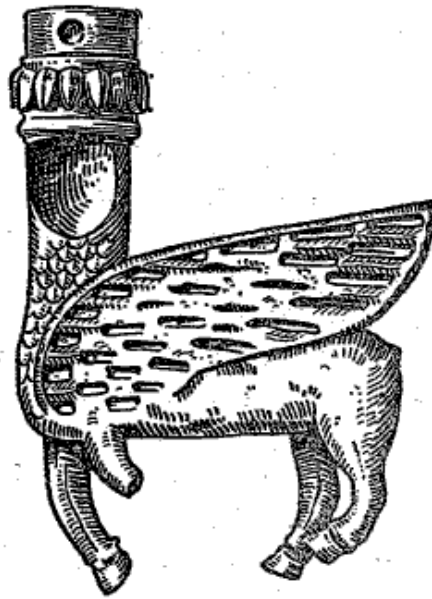
The only surviving examples of Urartian monumental art are a single badly [25] damaged stone statue which was thrown up out of the ground when a powder magazine exploded in the Turkish fortress on the Rock of Van; remains of a large relief, found by chance on six building stones at Adilcevaz; and wall-paintings which were discovered in the palace and temple at Arin-berd, near Yerevan. The majority of the surviving examples of Urartian art belong to the applied arts, and the best known are the small bronze figures of mythical creatures which formed part of the decoration on splendid royal or sacred thrones. These objects have undoubtedly the highest artistic quality of all Urartian antiquities, but unfortunately nearly all of them have passed from treasure hunters and antique dealers to museums and private collections.

The second group, which is well known to archaeologists, consists of decorations from bronze cauldrons in the form of birds with human bodies or of bull* heads. Cauldrons of this kind turn up over a wide area, not only in Urartian territory but also in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, and it was precisely with these that the study of Urartian antiquities began a hundred years ago.

The third large group consists of bronze armour and weapons (shields, helmets, quivers) which are richly decorated in various ways and bear dedicatory cuneiform inscriptions which include the names of Urartian kings, and thereby provide reliable evidence for dating. Particularly rich finds of decorated Urartian war-gear come from the excavations at Karmir Blur.

Small pieces of sculpture representing Urartian gods, and decorative objects other than war-gear, have not survived in any quantity nor has gold and silver jewellery. Embossed bronze belts decorated with figures of divinities and mythical animals may be regarded as a special group.

[Figure 9: Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (Hermitage Museum)]



Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (*Hermitage Museum*)

[26] In our survey of Urartian art we shall consider objects of stone (including glyptic), carved ivory, fine pottery and wall-paintings, excellent examples of which have been found in the excavations of recent years.

In spite of the small number of surviving examples it is possible to identify the stylistic peculiarities of Urartian art, and to show how it combines original traits with influences from the art of the neighbouring principal states of Western Asia, Assyria in particular. Without doubt some of the works by Urartian masters which are presented in this book deserve to be reckoned among the most outstanding examples of the art of the ancient East.

A Group of Bronze Statuettes

We shall begin our survey with some bronze statuettes which originally formed the decoration on a splendid piece of furniture. These figures, which are made with great artistic skill, represent mythical creatures which combined parts of birds (wings, head), of bulls (body, feet, horns), of lions (body, paws, muzzle) and also of human beings (head, face, body). The bronze statuettes were covered, with gold leaf and embellished with colored stones and enamel (1), and the throne to which they belonged must have been extremely sumptuous.

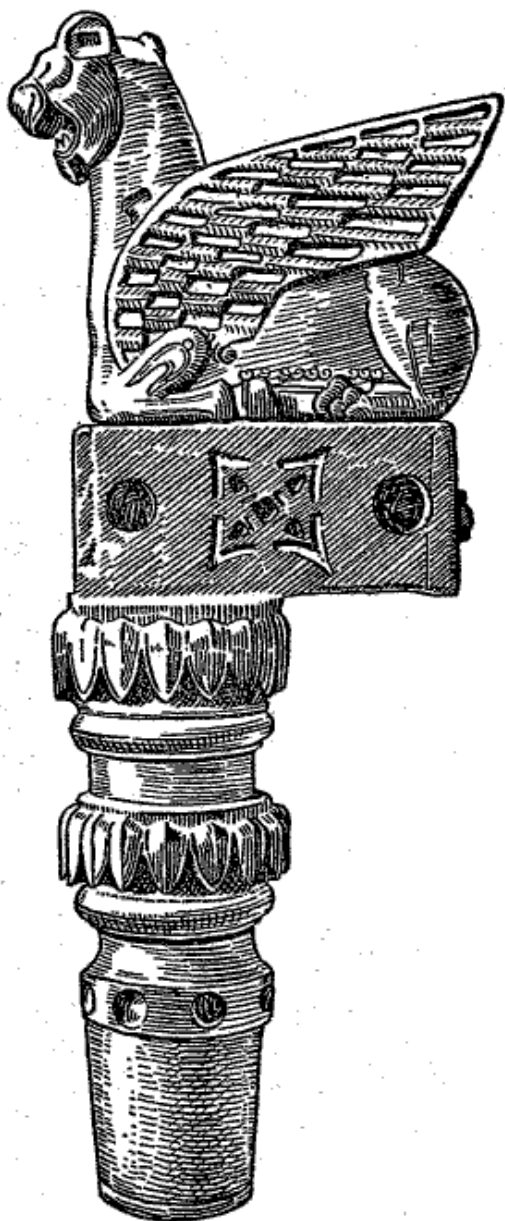
In addition to these statuettes we have other parts of thrones, such as solid legs, and bronze portions of a base in which there are slots for mounting the separate parts. Around these slots and openings there were engraved hieroglyphic signs which corresponded to signs on the separate figurines.

The majority of these statuettes came into the hands of antique dealers between 1877 and 1885, and then were sold by various persons, at different times and in different places; so we must be on our guard against believing the statements made by sellers about the place where they were found. In all probability they came from a single source. S. Devgants, who was one of the antique dealers, told Professor K. P. Patkanov in a letter that the local inhabitants had found a large gilded throne on the hill of Toprak Kale, near Van, and had broken it up. It is possible that the statuettes which we are considering belonged to this very throne, for in addition to them we have three bronze corners of a base and two of its solid legs.

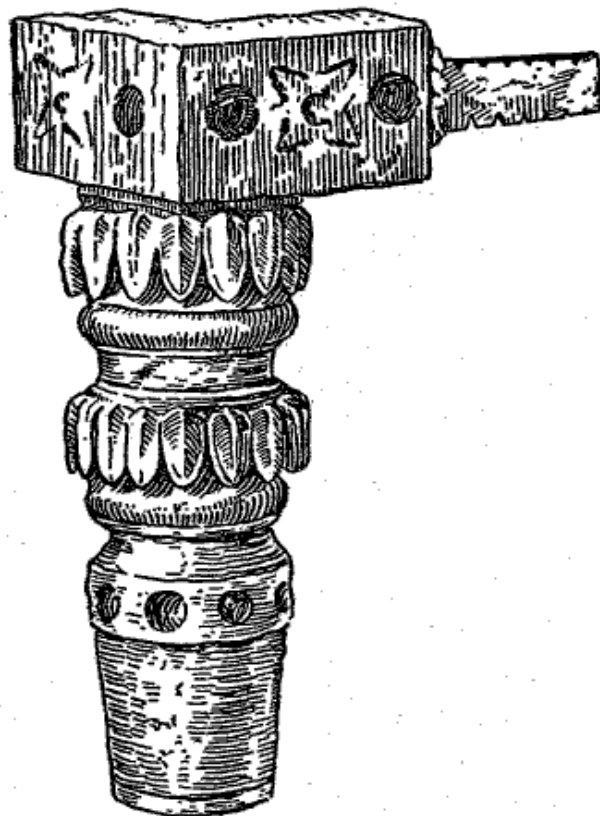
Two attempts have been made to reconstruct the throne, but both have been only partially successful, as the available material is insufficient for a certain reconstruction, and Assyrian representations do not provide close parallels. So leaving aside the problem of the general appearance of the throne we shall pass on to a description of its bronze parts and of the statuettes which may belong to it (2). 1.. Solid leg of a throne with a corner-portion of a frame on which is set a large figurine (c. 15 cm. high) of a recumbent winged animal. It has the head and hindquarters of a lion and the horns and forefeet of a bull (fig. 10). The object consists of three parts: the leg itself, the corner of the frame, and the statuette. Its height is about 0.46 m., which corresponds exactly to the height of modern chairs, but a state

[27]

[Figures 10-12]



10. Bronze leg of a throne. (*Vogüé collection, Paris*)



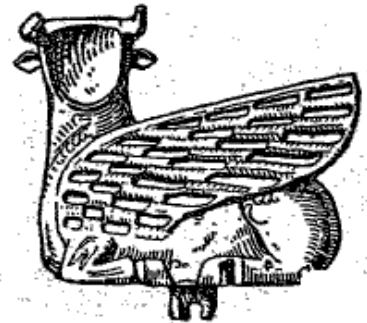
11. Bronze leg of a throne. (*Berlin Museum*)



12. Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (*British Museum*)



13. Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (*British Museum*)



14. Bronze figurines, probably from a throne. (Left: *Hermitage Museum*. Right: *British Museum*)



15. Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (*Hermitage Museum*)



16. Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (*Berlin Museum*)

[29] throne must have been higher than this, with the base of the seat on a higher level than the figurine. The middle parts of the lower frame joining the bronze corners at the top of the four legs were of wood, as on Urartian and Assyrian stools,

remains of which have been found in the excavations of the fortress at Karmir Blur and in the burials at Altin Tepe. There are illustrations of them on Assyrian reliefs (3).

2. Solid leg of a throne, like No. 1, with the corner-part of the lower frame (fig. 11). There is ornament on the upper surface of the frame, which shows that it was not covered by the seat. In the outer surface there are hollows for stone inlay (circles, and squares with concave sides) and on the sides there are tenons for joining the legs to the wooden bars (4).

3. Corner-part of a frame, belonging to the top of a throne-leg, in both shape and decoration like the corresponding parts of Nos. 1 and 2 (5).

4. Solid figurine of a winged bull, with its face made of a separate inlay, now missing. It is possibly a gryphon, for the neck of this mythical creature has chased decoration in the form of birds' feathers (fig. 9, pls. 6 and 7). Its head is turned to the left. The left wing has recesses for inlay, while the right has only chased decoration. On the back of the head there is an oblong hole for fastening the figure by means of a bar to the rest of the throne. There are traces of gold leaf on the edges of the wings and on the belly. On the upper part of the head-dress there are hieroglyphic signs which served as a guide for assemblage (6).

5. Solid figurine of a winged bull with a human body which is turned to the left (fig. 12). The face was made of stone, and inset, but is now lost. The left wing (the side to which the body faces) has recesses for inlay, while the right one, like that of No. 4, has only chased decoration. There are traces of gold leaf. On the upper part of the head-dress there are hieroglyphic signs which served as a guide for assemblage (7).

Solid objects like Nos. 4 and 5 must, in view of their weight, have been placed on the lower parts of the throne, while light, hollow objects, such as those which we shall now consider, probably served to adorn the upper parts.

6. Figure of a recumbent lion with the front legs of a bull, placed on an openwork column which consists of small cylinders laid criss-cross like a frame made of logs. The ends of the cylinders, and hollows in the upper part, were inlaid with coloured enamel (fig. 13). Barnett considers it to be an arm of the throne. There are traces of gold leaf (8).

7. Fragment of a column, like the column on No. 6. There are circles for enamel inlay on one side only, and between the rows of circles there are square openings (9).

8. Figurine of a winged bull with its head turned to the left (figure 14, right). The inset face, which might have been that of a human being or a lion, is lost. Both wings have sockets for inlay, and there are traces of gold leaf. Underneath there is a projection with a hole in it for joining the object to the rest of the throne (10).

9. Figurine of a recumbent winged bull with its head turned to the right (fig. 14, left, and pls. 4 and 5). The inset face is lost. Both wings have sockets for inlay, and there are [30] traces of gold leaf. Underneath there is a projection with holes in it for joining the figure to the rest of the throne. It forms a pair with No. 8, the only difference being the direction in which the head is turned (11).

10. Figurine of winged lion with a human body. The face is made of white stone and held in place by two pins. The eyes and eyebrows are inlaid, but the inlays forming the left eye and eyebrow are missing. The head-dress is horned, a band is fastened round the belly, and from the neck hangs a crescentic pendant (fig. 15, pls. 2 and 3). The lower part of the front is decorated with a feather-like pattern. The wings have only chased decoration, and are without sockets for inlay. There are traces of gold leaf. Underneath the paws there are attachment-pins, and the figure may have been fastened to a wooden frame (12).

11. Figurine of a winged gryphon (fig. 16, pls. 10 and 11). The eyes and eyebrows were inlaid. The wings have only chased decoration, the whole body is covered with a feather-pattern, and the feet are in the form of birds' claws. There are traces of gold leaf (13).

12. Figurine of a god standing on a mythical animal. The animal is a horned lion with the front feet of a bull (fig. 17). The god wears a long robe and has a horned crown on his head like that on No. 10. Where the arms should be there are long squared openings, and the inset face is missing. This is the only one of five similar statuettes which is preserved to its full height; the upper parts are broken off the other four (14).

13. Figurine of a god standing on a recumbent mythical animal; the animal is a horned lion with the front feet of a bull, like No. 12 (fig. 18a). The top of the statuette is broken off (15).

14. Figurine of a god standing on a recumbent bull. The bull's inset face (which was perhaps a lion's) is lost (fig. 18b). There are holes in the sides of the god's body where the arms should be, and there are traces of gold leaf. The top of the statuette is broken off (16).

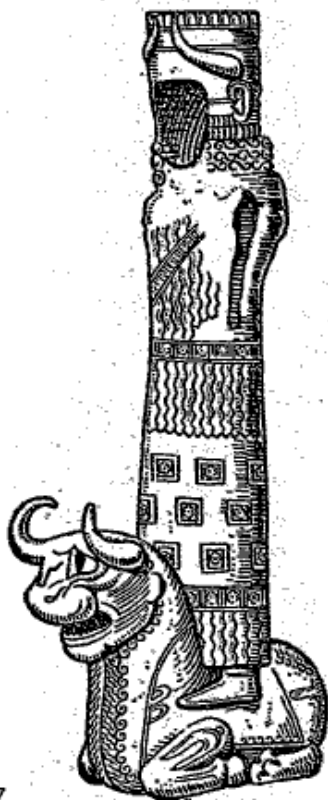
15. Figurine of a god on a recumbent bull, like No. 14. The animal's inset head is lost (fig.18c, pls. 8 and 9). The top of the statuette is broken off, and there are holes in the sides where the arms should be. On the lower surface there are hieroglyphic signs to show how it should be attached, and there are traces of gold leaf (17).

16. Figurine of a god on a recumbent bull, like Nos. 14 and 15. The inset head is lost, the top of the statuette is broken off, and there are holes in the sides (fig. 18d) (18). Apparently these four statuettes were broken when they were taken off a bar which passed through the holes in their sides.

All these five statuettes were originally covered with gold leaf, and must have served the same purpose, for the holes in the bodies of the anthropomorphic figures are all at the same height. In regarding them as parts of a state throne I am not forgetting Sargon's statement that two gold bolts in the form of divine figures standing on snarling animals were among the booty carried off from Musasir. This statement inevitably suggests the possibility that these figures were part of a lock, in which case

[31]

[Figures 17-18]

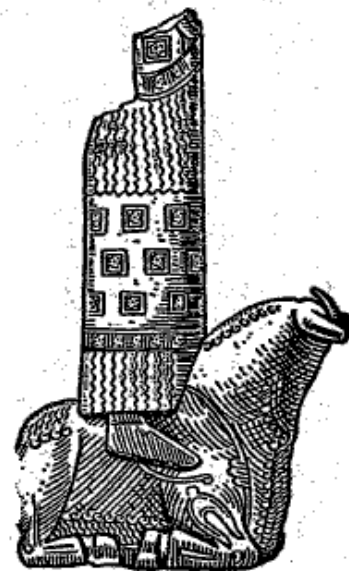


17.

Bronze figurine, probably from a throne. (*Stoclet collection, Brussels*)



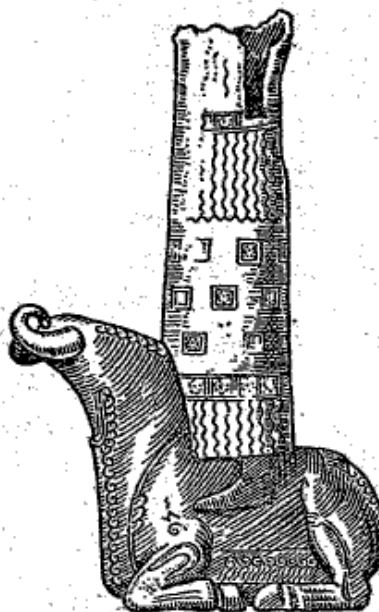
a



b

18.

bronze figurines, probably from a throne. (a, *Lowre*; b, *British Museum*; c, *Hermitage Museum*; d, *Metropolitan Museum, New York*)



c



d

[32] the bar which secured the brackets on the treasury doors, when they were locked, passed through them.

To complete the group of Uartian gilded bronze objects which I have been describing I must include one statuette which is distinguished from the rest by its size.

17. Figure of a standing male, probably a priest, in a long robe. A ribbon, the ends of which were decorated with coloured enamel, is thrown over his left shoulder; and there were similar inlays, of circular shape, on the crescentic pendant which

hangs from his neck (pls. 12 a and b). The left hand is clasped around the ribbon, and in the right, which is stretched down by the body, there is a flower or perhaps a fly-whisk in the form of a palmette. Traces of gold leaf are preserved in many places. The face is made of white stone, and the eyes and eyebrows are inlaid. The headdress has not survived. On one side of the right arm, and low down at the border of the robe, there are two rectangular openings for attaching the statuette to other objects. At the back, on the lower border of the robe, there is a small perforation (19).

These Urartian bronzes display a high level of artistic skill, and are examples of decorative palace art.²⁰ Each one has its own individual traits which distinguish it from others which are like it, and, at first glance, even identical. They are all made by a complicated technique, the so-called *cire-perdue* method. Objects made by this technique always have distinguishing peculiarities, as the model was destroyed when the casting took place, and before a second similar object could be made a new model was needed. The essential part of this method of casting was that they made the statuette out of a substance which could be easily melted, usually wax, and covered it with a mould made of fire-proof material. Two openings were left in the mould, one for pouring in the molten metal, the other to allow the melted wax, as well as gases, to escape. After careful drying the mould was heated to a high temperature, so that the wax melted and either ran out or was absorbed into the porous material in the body of the mould, which would be made of a mixture of charcoal and clay. Then the metal was poured into the baked mould, filling the whole empty space, and taking the shape of the wax model. This method of casting reproduces accurately the tiniest details, and so preserves the individual traits of the model; and there are no casting-joints as are unavoidable when a two-piece mould is used. Objects were not always cast in one piece, but sometimes in separate parts, which were then joined together. This was first and foremost the method used for parts which projected more than others, such as horns. . On statuette No. 1 a break makes it clear that the horns were cast separately and attached ready-made to the head. On the large figure, No. 17, the head (and the hair with it) was cast separately, and then fastened to a projection on the upper part of the body before being soldered on. Another point which we notice is that separate details were sometimes made of different alloys, so that they were of a different colour.

Detailed examination of the objects in the Hermitage collection has revealed very clear signs of *cire-perdue* casting. Ornamental details on the statuettes are carried out [33] in relief-work of a kind which can only be achieved by modelling in soft material. The pattern on the wings of the recumbent bull (Hermitage No. 16001) is carried out by means of a stamp, which indicates the working of a soft substance, and wax modelling is clearly visible on a figurine of a sphinx (Hermitage No. 16002). On hollow-cast objects the use of the wax method is particularly clear on the inner parts, where we can clearly discern the ridges which gave the model great firmness and were not smoothed down when the outer surface was being shaped and stamped. Most objects cast by the *cire-perdue* method were finished off by the engraver, who put the finishing touches on the decoration and sometimes added details which were not present on the wax original. This also can be seen very clearly on some of the objects we have described. The final touching-up of the decoration was also important for the subsequent gilding of the statuettes. The method of gilding. The method of gilding was extremely simple: the figurine was covered with thin gold leaf, apparently without the use of any substance to make it adhere. Thanks to its great ductility the gold reproduced all the ornamental details of the bronze and adhered sufficiently firmly. The edge of the gold sheet was secured by working it into grooves specially cut for the purpose, which can be seen on all the objects in question. Those parts of the throne which showed as gold were decorated with various inlays of coloured stone and enamel. When No. 4 was being restored a fragment of opaque glass-like material of bright red colour was found in one of the sockets on the wing. Enamel must also have been made in other colours, such as blue and white. White stone was used for faces, and eyes and eyebrows were formed of an inlay of dark (black) stone. This meant that there were four principal colours on the gilded surface of the statuette—white, red, blue and black—which corresponds to the basic range of colour on Urartian wall-paintings.

Objects of display in the palace and temple at Toprak Kale were no doubt plundered or broken up at the destruction of the fortress at the beginning of the sixth B.C. It was probably then that the gold, stones and coloured glass were removed. The local inhabitants who according to S. Devgants found a throne in the ruins of Toprak Kale in the seventies of the nineteenth century probably only found the broken pieces of a great but long-destroyed monument of Urartian art. This would explain the poor state of preservation of the statuettes which have been recovered, as well as their incompleteness as a group. If not the complete decoration of the throne, at least a significant part of it would have found its way sooner or later through antique dealers to museums and private collections, and it looks as though we have been able to locate pretty well all that was found by the inhabitants of Van, who turned to their own advantage the unconcern shown by archaeologists.

In the past, and occasionally even today, treasure hunters and chance finders have brought to light first-class examples of ancient art. The reason is that they dig in the earth on a much larger scale than do archaeologists, and they are only interested in outstanding objects. It is hard to say what an enormous quantity of archaeological material has been destroyed by treasure hunters who failed to notice it, or has been thrown away by accidental discoverers. Only systematic

excavations on particular [34] ancient sites can nowadays yield good collections of antiquities which can throw light on the various aspects of life in the ancient world.

So far no rich artistic objects of the kind we have been describing have turned up in the course of systematic excavations on any Urartian sites, but parts of more ordinary furniture have been found, whose appearance it is not difficult to reconstruct.

Remains of burnt wooden stools were found in the Karmir Blur excavations with their bronze fittings preserved (fig. 19). These included the upper ends of the legs, which supported the seat, ornaments from a set of wooden struts, middle parts of legs, to which these struts were fastened, and leg-tips (21). The middle parts were decorated with frills composed of pendant leaves, a characteristic Urartian decorative feature.

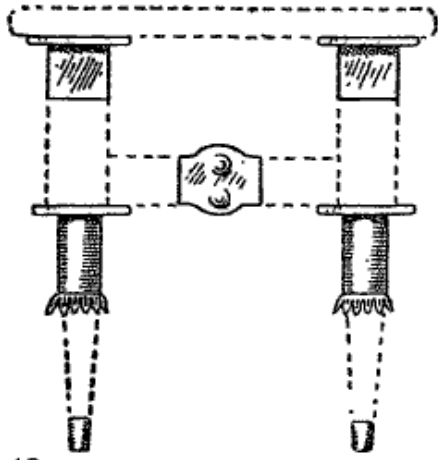
Similar bronze furniture-fittings were found in 1938 in the burials at Akin Tepe, near Erzincan, and in the subsequent excavations in 1959-60 (22). " Apart from simple bronze ornaments, parts of furniture are known which have the form of lions' paws or bulls' feet, and Assyrian and Achaemenid parallels enable us to work out their original positions (23). They belonged to the lower part of the legs, but the tips of the legs, which touched the ground, were below them again. An ornamental leg in the shape of a lion's paw, richly adorned with inlay, and with a representation of a winged sun with two stars above it on the upper part of its front face, was bought by Layard in 1877 along with other antiquities found at Toprak Kale. Simpler legs, in the form of lions' paws or bulls' feet, come from the excavations at Karmir Blur (24) and Altin Tepe.

An Urartian Candelabrum

In the course of the work of the German expedition at Toprak Kale in 1898-99 a discovery was made in one of the ancient buildings to the south of the temple of a kind that treasure hunters would have envied. It was a large and splendid candelabrum, about 136 cm. high (25). Its shaft was decorated with frills of pendent leaves and stood on three legs which terminated in bulls' hooves issuing from lions' jaws (fig. 20). On the top of the curves of the legs there were figurines of recumbent winged bulls with human heads (Assyrian *shedu*). At the bottom of the shaft, to give it stability, there was a solid hemispherical protuberance decorated with a large circlet of leaves. At the top there was a plain lamp-bowl with high sides. The candelabrum was broken when found, with the shaft in three pieces, and one of the legs, and two of the *shedu*-figurines, missing. This is one of the finest samples of Urartian art and it immediately attracted attention. L. Curtius ascribed it to Assyria, along with most of the other works of art from Van known at that time, but stylistic peculiarities—the leaf pattern, and the figurines of recumbent winged bulls with human heads, which differ in form from Assyrian examples—spoke against the opinion of the leading art-critics. Today the Urartian origin of this candelabrum is

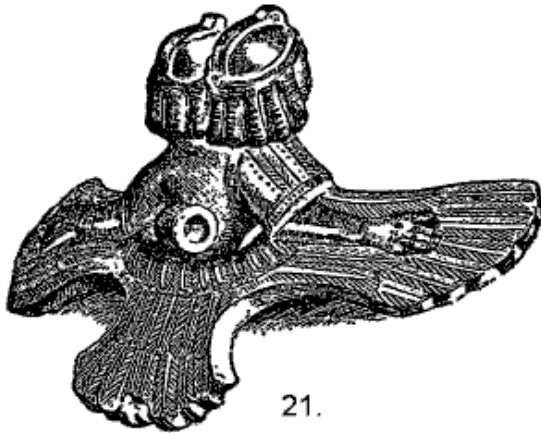
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[Figures 19-21]



19.

Bronze fittings from a stool. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)

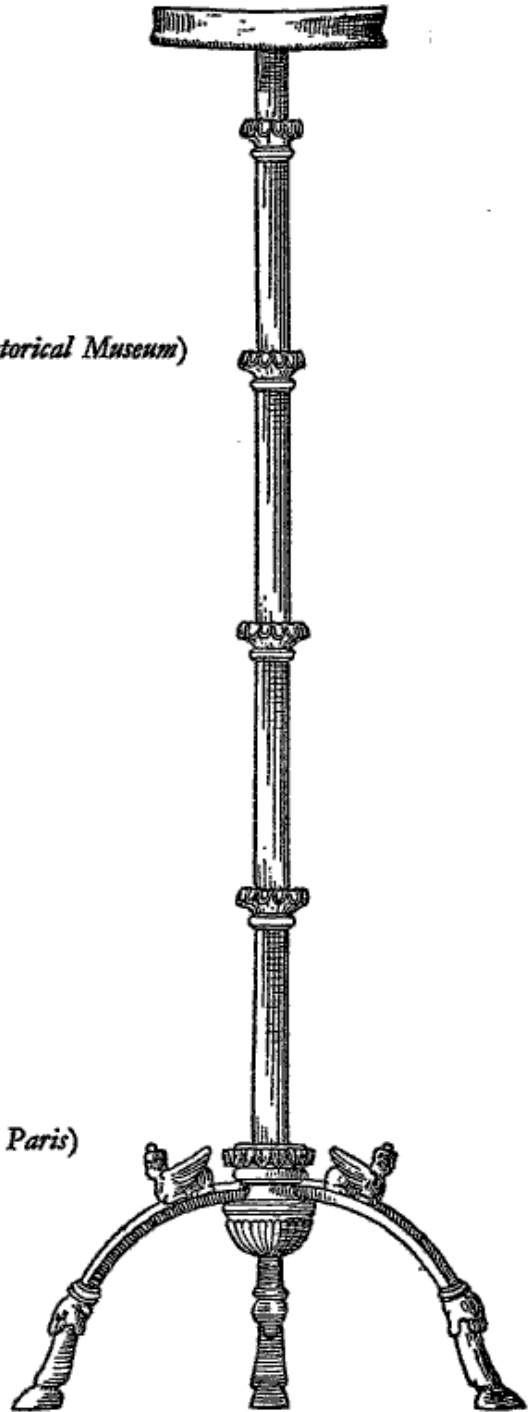


21.

Handle-mount from a bronze cauldron. (*Vogüé collection, Paris*)

20.

Bronze candelabrum (reconstructed.) (*Hamburg Museum*)



[36] beyond doubt. Recently it was restored in the Hamburg Museum of Art and Craft (26), where it has been since 1903, and in the course of the work there was found on the shaft a short four-line inscription mentioning the name of the Urartian king Rusa (probably one of the later ones, the son of Argishti or of Erimena).

But as usual the antique dealers of Van got their hands even on this object, for through them one of the statuettes which adorned the legs ended up in the museum of the monastery at Echmiadzen (27). The candelabrum in the Hamburg museum is close in style to the bronze throne, the heads of the lions on the legs being, in certain stylistic peculiarities (the

semicircle on the forehead, the stylization of the nose), extremely similar to a figurine of a lion on the throne (No. 6), and there is no doubt that it was part of the furniture of the palace. Some iron lamp-stands which have been found at Karmir Blur are much more modest, although they are actually higher (145 cm.). They consist of a long shaft which supports a plain lamp-bowl and which ends below in a decorative knob, and they stand on a tripod of curved iron rods (28) Three of these were found.

Handle-Mounts from Bronze Cauldrons

The second well-known group of Urartian works of art consists of mounts of large bronze cauldrons in the form of figurines of birds with open wings, the upper parts of whose bodies are human, and of bulls' heads. They are provided with loops through which passed the rings by means of which the cauldrons could be carried or suspended. The figurines were cast separately and then attached to the upper part of the cauldron. In most cases they have reached museums and collectors as separate statuettes, detached from the cauldrons.

Five outstanding examples of handle-mounts in the form of winged figurines are known from the territory of Urartu. The first reached the Hermitage in 1859. It came from the tomb which was accidentally discovered in the rock which lay in Iranian territory opposite the Russian frontier post of Alishar (Hermitage 1603). This group of figurines with (to judge by the hair-style) female heads was identified in 1871 as belonging to the civilization of the Urartians. M. Brosset, using photographs of D. I. Yermakov, published two such statuettes from Van which were in the Constantinople museum, and which long ago found a place in the general literature on the archaeology and art-history of the ancient East. Recently they were published again by E. Akurgal (Istanbul Nos. 41 and 42), who added a third unpublished figurine (No. 1271) (29). In addition to these three, a fourth statuette of the same type, from excavations in Rhodes, is listed in the catalogue of the Constantinople museum (30).

Apart from these, two further figurines definitely come from Van. The first reached the Vogue collection in Paris and was first published along with other objects from the same collection in 1884 (31). It was a solid handle-mount of a cauldron in the form of a bird with two female heads attached to one body (fig. 21).

The second, which was distinguished by its [37] large size (the span of the wings is 33 cm.) was acquired in Van in 1899 and presented to the Berlin Museum (VA. 2988) (32). This figurine is one of the best in quality, and is covered with a variety of chased patterns (pls. 13 a and b, 14) (33).

The figurines of birds with female bodies which decorated the sides of cult cauldrons apparently represented a deity connected with the sun, as is indicated by the disc which is sometimes to be found on the bird's back between the outspread wings; but it is not yet definitely established with which of the gods the sun-disc was connected in Urartian iconography. In Assyria it was the symbol of the god Shamash, the ideographic form of whose name was transferred by the Urartians to their own sun-god Shivini.

Three divinities are represented on a bronze belt from Karmir Blur, and they are probably the three principal figures in the Urartian pantheon: Haldi, Teisheba and Shivini, the latter being shown supporting a sun-disc. This gives us the right to conjecture that the winged goddess whose representation was placed on cult cauldrons was the sun-god's consort, Tushpuea. As has been mentioned above, along with cauldrons decorated with representations of the goddess we have others with bulls' heads projecting from seating-plates which recall the birds with outspread wings and which even occasionally have chased decoration to simulate a bird's wings and tail.

Two well-preserved heads which apparently belonged to the same cauldron reached the British Museum from Van (34). On one of them there was preserved part of a seating-plate which was decorated to look like a wing and a tail (fig. 22). The other head, like the majority of such objects, was detached from its seating-plate by the finders. P. Amandry suggests that two other heads may be assigned to the same cauldron: one in the Baltimore Art Gallery, and the other in a private collection in Paris (35). All four have distinguishing stylistic peculiarities, such as a band round the base of the horns, and heavy eyebrows, bearing a chased herring-bone pattern, overhanging the eyes.

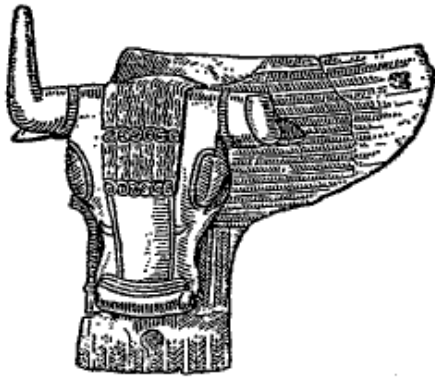
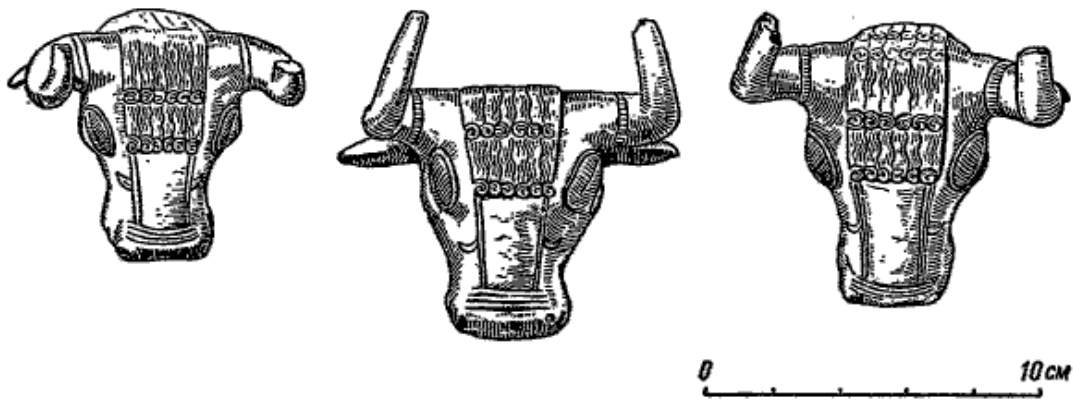
A handle-mount with a bull's head was found in the Alishar tomb in 1859 along with the winged figurine. They probably belonged to different cauldrons.

In 1905, at the village of Gushchi (Lake Urmia) two bulls' heads were discovered in a grave which, according to the finders, came to light by accident. They were of different sizes, and were thought to be from statues of bulls which had been broken up in search for gold. In fact they also belonged to cauldrons (fig. 23). These two heads, whose photographs were published by the Armenian writer and amateur ethnographer Atrpet (36), fell into the hands of antique dealers and

disappeared for a long time. It was thanks to the work of Hanfmann that they were discovered in the Louvre (AC 17-207) and in the Cleveland Museum (42-204) (37). A head in the Emery collection in Cincinnati, which was bought from Kelekian, may be assigned to this find, as may one in Harvard University Museum (1943, 1321. fig. 25). They are both very close to the head in the Cleveland Museum. The objects found in the grave at Gushchi were divided among a number of people, and if our attributions are correct, Atrpet can only have been informed of some of them. B. A. Kuftin considered that

[38]

[Figures 22-23]



22. Bronze bulls' heads from Van.



23. Bronze bulls' heads from a grave at Gushchi.

[39] the published bulls' heads from Gushchi could not have served as decorations of vessels as they ended in a thin rim for attachment to some 'tubular object' (38). Most probably this rim secured them to an aperture in the seating-plate which was fastened to the side of the cauldron, and it was easier for the finders to detach them from the seating-plate than to tear off the plate itself. These bulls' heads cannot be ornaments from furniture, as for that purpose only hornless calves' heads were used (39). In 1938 an excellently preserved cauldron was found in the cemetery discovered at Altin Tepe, near

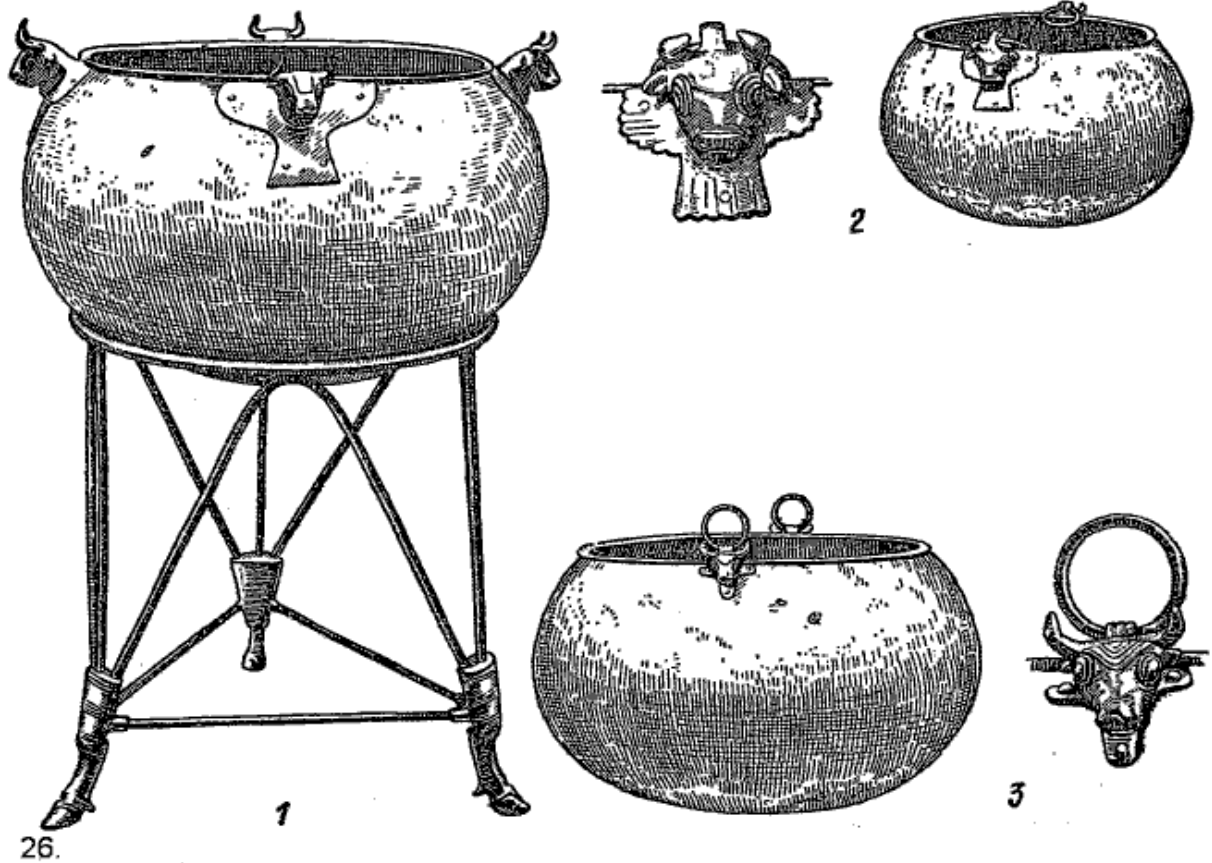
Erzincan (fig. 26). It was decorated on the outside by four bird-shaped seating-plates with bulls' heads projecting from them (Ankara Museum 8823). This cauldron stood on a tripod of curved bronze rods which ended in artistically modelled bulls' feet (40).

Two small bulls' heads also formed the ornament on a small bronze bucket which was found in fragments at Karmk Blur (Armenian Historical Museum, fig. 24) (41). The handle was attached to a loop above the head.

We have, therefore, from Urartian territory enough cauldron ornaments in the form of bulls' heads to conclude that they were characteristic products of Urartian applied art. The winged figurines and the bulls' heads are simpler in style than the statuettes which adorned the ceremonial thrones, and which we have placed in our first group. After they had been cast from a wax model incised ornament was added, so that they received decoration which the original model had lacked. Some of the bulls' heads were made up of several parts which were cast from different bronze alloys and were probably, therefore, of different colours. For example, chemical analysis of the head at Harvard University and of a horn which was attached to it revealed two different alloys. In the horn, in addition to copper and tin, there was a certain amount of zinc (42). Cauldrons decorated with figurines of female-headed birds and with bulls' heads are met with far from the borders of Urartu, for they reached Greece and Italy.

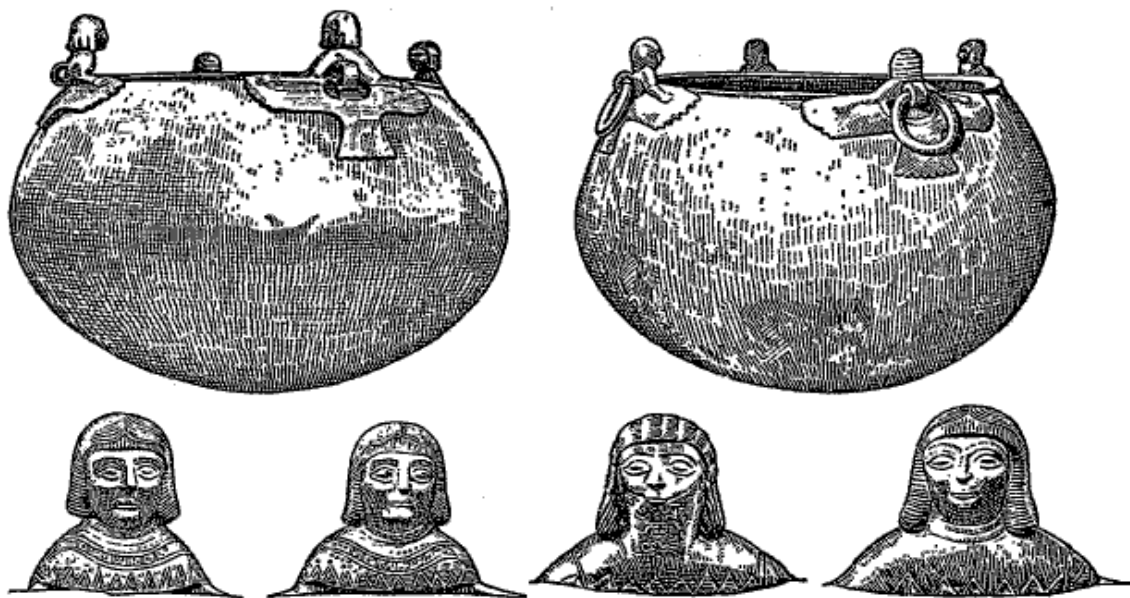
[40]

[Figures 26-27]



Bronze cauldrons decorated with bulls' heads. 1, Altin Tepe; 2, Cumae; 3, Gordion.

27 Bronze cauldrons from Gordion. (*Ankara Museum*)



[41] It used to be thought that they reached the Mediterranean by way of Syria, by-passing Asia Minor, and that the route was: Van-Carchemish-Al Mina-Rhodes-Corinth-Italy (43); but now excellent examples of such cauldrons have come to light in the very centre of Asia Minor. In 1957 an American expedition led by R. Young excavated an enormous burial mound, about 50 m. high, at Gordion, the ancient capital of the Phrygian kingdom. A rich royal burial of the mid-eighth

century B.C. was found in it, which the excavators ascribed to the Phrygian king Gordius. Many inlaid objects of bronze and wood were found in the wooden burial chamber, but there was a complete absence of articles of gold and silver. Three large bronze cauldrons stood on iron stands by the south wall of the chamber (44). One of them was decorated with four figurines of birds with female bodies which in shape and style are very closely akin to Urartian, figurines (fig. 27). On the second cauldron there were four winged figures, two female and two male, the latter being distinguished by their beards and different hair-style (fig. 27). The third cauldron was decorated with two bulls' heads. All three cauldrons were recognized as Urartian by their resemblance to similar objects which are known from the centre of the kingdom of Van.

In addition to the cauldrons two small buckets were found in the tomb, one with a lion's head on its base, the other with a ram's head. The handles were joined to loops on attachment-plates whose outline suggested that of a bird with outspread wings, as on Urartian products; but the style of these buckets is not exactly Urartian, and rather suggests Assyrian workmanship. They may even be local Phrygian products.

The discovery of Urartian cauldrons in the burial mound of a Phrygian king shows that in the middle of the eighth century B.C. Urartu's contacts with lands lying to the west were not confined to northern Syria, which was within reach of Urartian armies, but extended also to Anatolia.

In 1931 Lehmann-Haupt drew up a list of the cauldron-mounts in the form of birds with female (or occasionally male) bodies which were known at that time. The total was forty-three (45). Ten of these came from Western Asia (Urartu and Assyria) (46), but the majority came from the Mediterranean lands (Greece and Italy). They had been found on the island of Rhodes, at Athens, in Boeotia, at Delphi, at Olympia, and also in Etruscan tombs (47).

The mere statistics of these finds are no guide to their place of origin, for Greece has been studied archaeologically much more intensively than Western Asia; and apart from this it was Greek sanctuaries which provided most of the examples (Delphi 12; Olympia 7; Athens 3). In the museum at Florence there are two figurines of birds with female bodies and two with bodies of bearded males, all from Vetulonia, and in the rich 'Tomba Bernardini' at Preneste two similar female figurines were found which were close in style to western Asiatic examples. It is noteworthy that a small mount with the body of a two-faced bearded male occurs on a cauldron with large gryphon heads projecting outwards—that is, on a cauldron of Etruscan type. We may suggest that the figurine was copied from western Asiatic models, and in the opinion of Maxwell-Hyslop there are stylistic considerations which confirm this.

[42] Although a few years ago there were still arguments about the place of origin of cauldrons decorated with figurines of birds with female bodies—for beside the belief in their western Asiatic provenance (Lehmann-Haupt, Herzfeld, Furtwangler) there were the suggestions of others (Ipsen, Ducati) that they belonged to Mediterranean art—today archaeologists are unanimous in assigning the majority of them to Western Asia (48).

Naturally they cannot all be regarded as products of a single centre, and among them there will undoubtedly be copies of western Asiatic models. Thus, Lehmann-Haupt distinguished a small group of six figurines which he connects with archaic Greek sculpture of the sixth century b.c. The characteristic features of the western Asiatic group are as follows: a strongly curved nose which is thin on the bridge and broadens downwards, fleshy lips, prominent eyebrows, broad eyelids, a hair-style which is smooth on top and has vertical tresses at the back, and large wings with engraved details. The characteristics of the Greek group—the "Corinthian-Argive" group, as Lehmann-Haupt named it—are different: a straight forward-jutting nose, thin lips, eyebrows rendered by a single line, narrow eyelids, hair done in waves, and small wings without engraving (49). It is clear that these two groups have quite different stylistic peculiarities, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that they were produced in different centres. When all the objects of this group have been subjected to detailed analysis it will probably be possible to identify other local peculiarities which do not leap so clearly to the eye (50).

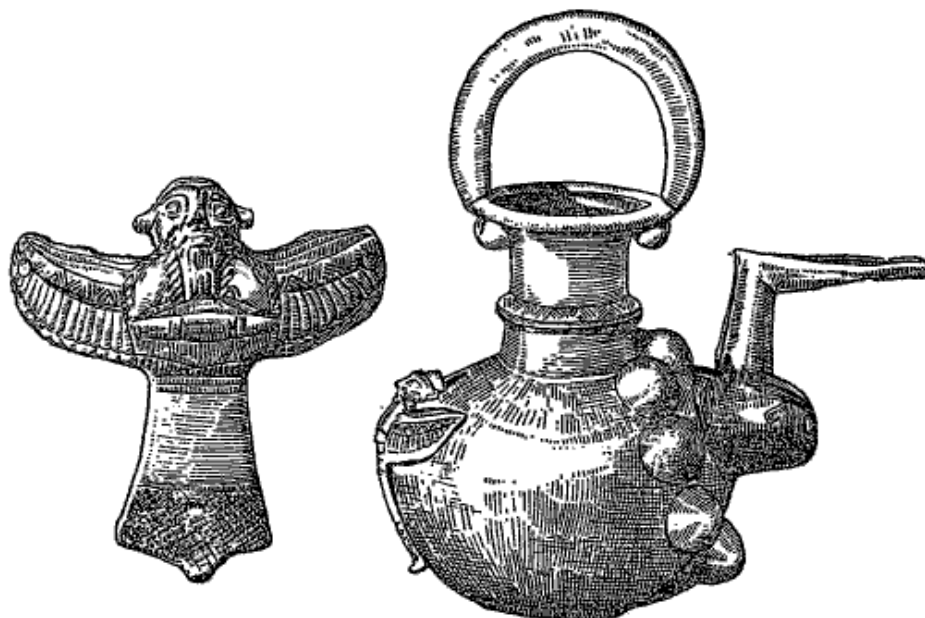
The kind of figurine which represents a composite creature with a human trunk, but with the rest of the body that of a bird, has parallels in Iran. In the Louvre there is a bronze vessel from Luristan which has a spout attached to the shoulder in the centre of a ring of large hemispherical bosses (fig. 28). An outline figure of a bird with engraved feathers is riveted on the opposite side to the spout. It has the body of a bearded man with his arms clasped to his chest (51). It is very similar to the cauldron-mounts which we have just discussed, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that they are connected. In Hamburg there is a Luristan vessel of the same shape with an attached lion's head, and Maxwell-Hyslop has published a third vessel of this kind which was found on Samos (52). So we see that the cultural connections between Western Asia and the Mediterranean led to the sharing of many artistic motives, probably, to frequent imitation and copying.

Cauldron-ornaments in the form of bulls' heads are also found in the Mediterranean region, and what is more they are found in the very same places as the figurines of birds with female bodies. P. Amandry quotes examples of such heads

from Rhodes, Samos, Athens, Delphi (6) and Olympia (5) (53). Local differences within this group are even more striking. From Italy we have one cauldron decorated with two bird-outline seating-plates with bulls' heads rising from them. It came to Copenhagen museum in 1900 from an antiquary who said it had been found at Cumae (54). It is stylistically very close to Urartian work, and in particular to the cauldron from the burial mound at Gordion (fig. 26, 3).

[43]

[Figure 28: Bronze vessel from Luristan. (Louvre)]



28. Bronze vessel from Luristan. (Louvre)

It was mentioned above that a cauldron-mount with a figurine of a two-faced male occurs on a vessel of Etruscan type with large gryphon-heads projecting outwards (55). Such cauldrons are found in rich Etruscan tombs, sometimes decorated with four heads. Cauldrons also occur on which the ornamental monster-heads are turned inwards instead of outwards. Thus, on one from the 'Tomba Regolini-galassi' (fig. 29) there are six heads of snarling lions attached to the outer surface. They have very elongated necks, and look as if they were peering into the cauldron (56). Each lion's neck has a mane, and is separated from the continuation of the handle-mount by horizontal bands.

This cauldron has an Urartian parallel. A bronze handle-mount of a cauldron terminating in a snarling lion's head was found at Karmir Blur in 1957 (fig. 29) (57). Its position on the cauldron can only have been the same as on the Etruscan example, and here again the animal's head is, as it were, inclined over the contents of the vessel. On the neck there was a cuneiform inscription in two straight lines: '(belonging to king) Sarduri, son of Argishti'.

Urartu: The Kingdom of Van and Its Art

by Boris Piotrovskii

(Continued from Previous Page [43])

War Gear

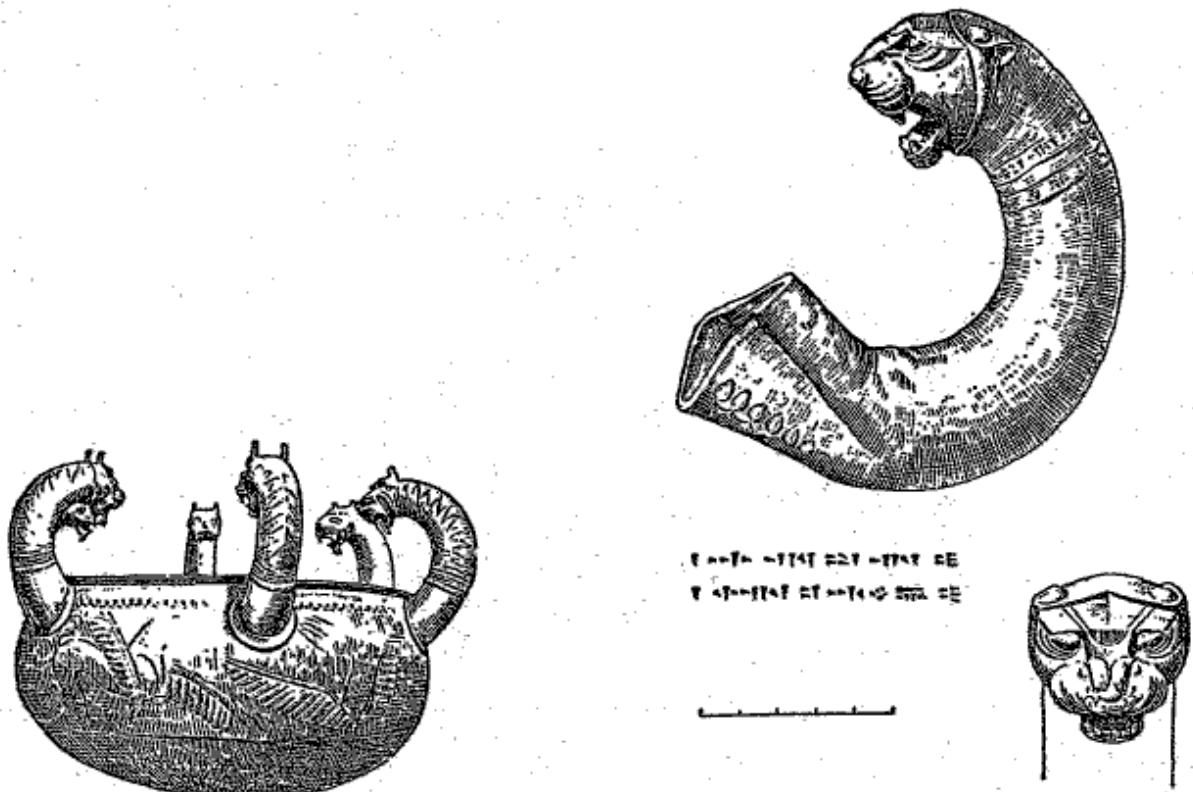
The third large group of examples of Urartian applied art consists of military equipment decorated with figure-style and abstract ornament, and often bearing cuneiform inscriptions which mention the names of kings.

Shields

Best known are the large bronze shields decorated with concentric rows of lions and bulls. A fragment of one of them which had come into the hands of antique-dealers

[44]

[Figure 29]



29. Left: bronze cauldron from the Tomba Regolini-galassi; right: bronze cauldron-handle with an inscription of Sarduri II. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum.*)

reached the Berlin museum (VA 805) (58), and the British Museum acquired two other comparatively well-preserved specimens from the Toprak Kale excavations of 1880.

A large shield (22481) belonging to the British Museum became known in 1884 when a drawing of it, still not completely restored, was published by Perrot and Chipiez (59). These three shields, and fragments of others which were found at Toprak Kale, were shown by their dedicatory inscriptions to belong to the time of Rusa, son of Erimena, the last Urartian king.

As many as fourteen older bronze shields, with inscriptions of Argishti I, Sarduri II and Rusa I, were found at different times during the excavations at Karmir Blur. Four of them were decorated with lions and bulls and bore inscriptions of Argishti I and Sarduri II (see figs. 4, 5).

Urartian shields have a characteristic shape which reminds one of a hat with a brim. The diameter varies between 70 cm. and 100 cm.

The central part of the shield consists of a cone-shape set on a low drum. Usually the shield is plain, but sometimes it is richly decorated with representations of lions and bulls arranged in three concentric zones which are separated from each other by decorative bands. A shield in the British Museum is decorated with only two rows of lions. Around the edge there is usually a dedicatory inscription in the name of the [45] king; and occasionally it is written out twice, with identical wording, in two lines. The centre of the cone is either plain or decorated with a many-petalled rosette. On the inner side of the shield there are three handles for suspension—a large one in the centre, and two smaller ones to the left and right, all on the upper part of the shield. The thickness of the bronze sheet, the dimensions, and the arrangement of handles for suspension, all show that these shields were not designed for warlike purposes, but were simply temple-offerings. Urartian shields of the form we have been describing are well known from the reliefs of Sargon's palace and from the Ashur text which describes his campaign against Urartu in 714 B.C. On the relief which shows the temple at Musasir shields of this kind are depicted hanging on the wall of the facade as well as on the columns or pilasters, and the text states that they were made of gold and silver and had their centres adorned with animal-heads.

The shields found at Toprak Kale and at Karmir Blur (60) were less sumptuous and had no bosses. The animals on them are arranged so as to appear in an upright position. Each quarter of the shield has them facing in a different direction from those on either side of it, so that not a single figure appears upside-down. The number of animals varies from fifty-six to twenty-four. The rows are separated by ornamental bands, which on two of the shields from Toprak Kale consist of a wickerwork pattern, while on the other they are rows of buds. Only the second of these patterns occurs on the shields from Karmir Blur (pls. 21, 23.)

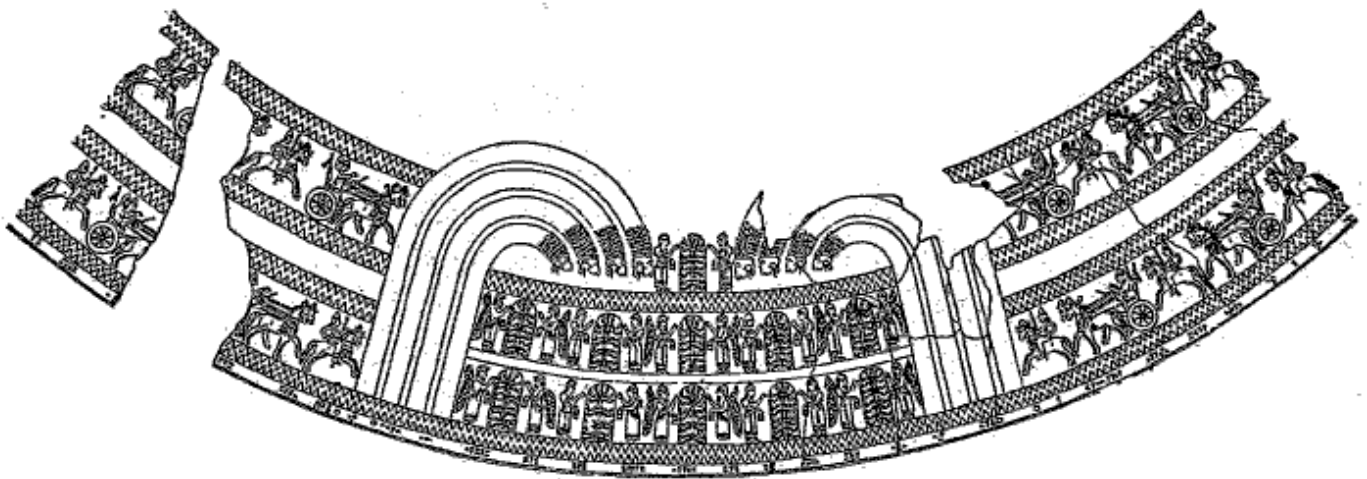
The method of decorating the shields was probably as follows. The shapes were first stamped on the shield (as is shown by the strong impression of them on the inner surface) and then they were chased with various tools, including punches of microscopic diameter which were used to make tiny circles. The system of decoration was very consistent, at least during the period of more than 150 years which separates the shield of Argishti I from Karmir Blur from that of Rusa III from Toprak Kale. Fundamentally the method did not change, and the arrangement of the animals always followed the same pattern. It is true that E. Akurgal sees different artistic styles on the shields of Argishti I and of Rusa III—a tendril style on the former, and an embossed style on the latter (61)—but this could be explained by varying degrees of skill on the part of the artists.

Helmets

Urartian helmets, which are known from the excavations at Karmir Blur (62), where twenty were found, were not inferior to the shields in artistic quality. They all had the pointed shape which was customary for Assyrian helmets also.

Eleven of the helmets were decorated in front with a symbol done in relief. It consists of a vertical line running from the front brim to the point at the top, at the bottom of which there is a zigzag shape which may represent lightning, the symbol of the god Teisheba (63). On the brim, between horizontal raised lines, there was a cuneiform inscription.

[Figure 30: Decoration on a bronze helmet of Sarduri II. (Armenian Historical Museum)]



The nine other helmets (of which only four were complete, the rest being fragmentary) were distinguished from the others by their fine artistic quality. The name of Argishti I occurred in the inscription on one of them, and that of Sarduri II in the inscriptions on three.

The fronts of the helmets were decorated with eleven sacred trees—two rows of five, and one above (fig. 30, pls. 16-19). Gods wearing horned helmets stand on either side of each tree. Some are beardless, while the rest are bearded and have large wings (cherubim). The sacred trees are surrounded by a frame whose shape suggests a round-topped stele.

All eleven sacred trees are set in a frame consisting of snakes with lions' heads, four on each side, which form a magical protection against evil forces. A handle-mount of a cauldron decorated with a snarling lion's head and bearing an inscription of Sarduri I, which was found at Karmir Blur in 1957, recalls these figures which form a frame on the front of the helmets. Sometimes, instead of a number of sacred trees, there is a single large one, and sometimes there is a chariot and a galloping horseman, as can be seen on some of the fragments.

The back and sides of the helmets are decorated with two rows of Urartian war-chariots and horsemen. The warriors have helmets similar to those on which they are depicted, and round shields. In all each helmet has ten horsemen and eight chariots closely resembling Assyrian chariots of the eighth century B.C. The chariot has light bodywork, a slender pole, and eight-spoked wheels. There are two figures on each chariot: a beardless one, who is the driver, and holds the reins and whip; and a bearded one, who is the warrior, and whose spear is fixed to the back of the chariot. Each line of figures is bordered by two rows of alternate upright and inverted triangles, which form a zigzag band. Around the lower edge there was a [47] dedicatory inscription ending up with hieroglyphic signs—perhaps the mark of the craftsman who made it. The technique employed for the figures on the helmets was similar to that used on the shields, and we see on them the same amazingly fine chasing, which does not lose its artistic quality even when greatly enlarged.

Quivers

The excavations at Karmir Blur produced also eighteen bronze quivers, in each of which there were 35-40 arrows. Many of them, as the arrows in them had iron tips, were completely destroyed by corrosion. They consisted of open-ended metal tubes, 65-70 cm. long, with two loops for a strap. The part of the quiver which came into contact with the shoulder or back of the warrior was made of leather, and the method of carrying them across the shoulder is well illustrated on Assyrian reliefs. The quivers were decorated with ornamental bands, between which there was often figure-ornament. The usual decorative motive was a pattern of alternating triangles which formed a zigzag line. The best Urartian quivers have eight bands of decoration which are filled with representations of horsemen

and war-chariots similar to those on the back and sides of the helmets which we have just described. In each band there are three horsemen and two chariots, so the usual number of figures on a quiver is forty. A cuneiform inscription mentioning the name of a king is usually incised below the upper edge.

Fragments of a quiver were found at Karmir Blur which had on it not representations of warriors, like the helmets, but of animals, like the shields. Two files of animals were preserved on it—an upper one of lions, and a lower one of bulls (64). Remains of two figures were preserved on a small fragment of another quiver. Only a bull's feet and tail remained of the first, but the second was a mythical animal with the front part of a lion and the back part of a bull. The ornament on both fragments was not a zigzag, as on the helmets, but a row of buds, as on the shields. Quivers are known from the central part of Urartu also. There is a fragment of the top of one in the British Museum which is decorated with a lion and a palmette (65) and its ornamental bands are similar to those on the helmets and on the majority of the quivers.

The Hermitage has a fragment of a quiver on which there is preserved a representation of a foot-soldier with a raised hand. It appears to have come there in 1885 along with the other antiquities, from Van.

A well-preserved quiver which had no figure-ornament and was decorated only with ornamental bands was found in 1938 in a grave at Altin Tepe (66); and the recent excavations have brought to light further specimens.

These artistically decorated shields, helmets and quivers which we have just described are particularly valuable in that they bear cuneiform inscriptions which provide a reliable date, so that we can compare examples belonging to different periods. Thus, if we compare the helmets of Argishti I and Sarduri II we can clearly distinguish the work of two different artists, for the artist of the latter reign surpassed his predecessor in skill, although he was repeating in detail his predecessor's design.

[48] The archaeological material from Karmir Blur enables us to reconstruct almost completely the appearance of an Urartian warrior. It includes bronze helmets of two kinds, as well as shields and quivers. Pieces of scale armour, both of bronze and iron, have been found. The scales on one of them were decorated with stamped rosettes, and to judge by the inscription on a large button which formed part of it, this armour belonged to king Argishti, son of Menua.

Weapons are represented by iron swords, daggers, spearheads and arrow-heads. Only bows are missing from the finds. To judge by Assyrian representations they were of large size and were simply carried on the shoulder, not in bow-cases.

Bronze Belts

A special place among weapons and armour is occupied by the bronze belts. They were made from a single sheet of bronze, hammered out thin, which was usually sewn onto a backing of leather or felt. They were often decorated with intricate stamped and engraved ornament, which mainly consisted of representations of gods and animals.

Broad belts of this kind were a usual part of an archer's equipment in the ancient East, for they took the place of a shield. At the same time the belt had a definite significance in cult and magic. The act of girding on a belt, which meant enclosing oneself in a circle, was a magic means of warding off evil powers, as is well illustrated by ethnographic parallels. This is why Urartian bronze belts were normally decorated with representations of gods belonging to the Urartian pantheon.

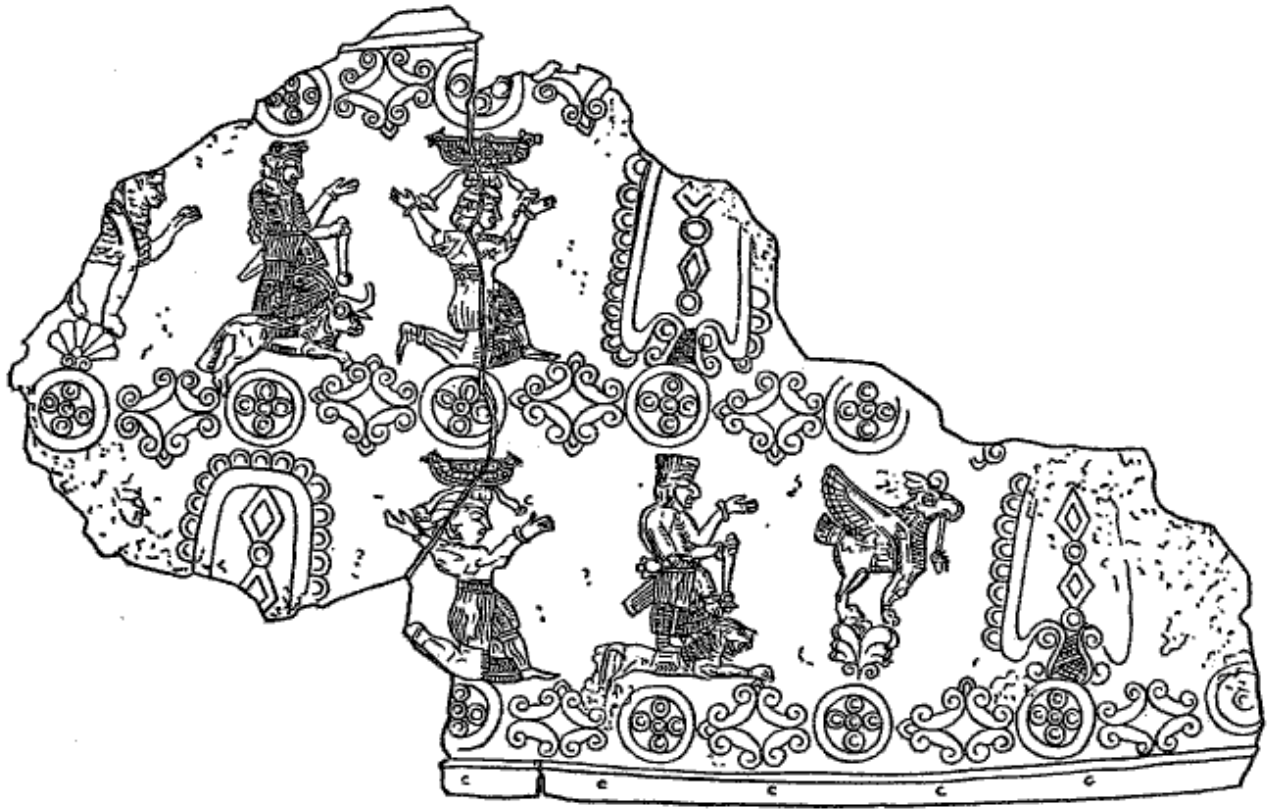
A broad bronze belt (about 12 cm. broad and 1 m. long) was found at Karmir Blur. Its decoration consisted of eleven metopes which were formed by ornamental bands made up of circles containing four-petalled rosettes, palmettes and spirals.

There was a single figure in each metope, and they included five examples of a stylized sacred tree with a disc above it, three of a god standing on a lion, and three of a god standing on a bull. The right-hand end of the belt was decorated with a stylized sacred tree which occupied the whole breadth. To judge by what we know of Urartian iconography, the god on the lion represented Haldi, the principal god of the pantheon, while the figure on the bull was Teisheba. The sun-disc above the stylized sacred tree may be the symbol of the sun-god Shivini.

Fragments of a second bronze belt, with a more elaborate pattern, were found at Karmir Blur. An ornamental motive similar to that on the belt which we have just described divided it into two horizontal bands, and the figures on the upper band were immediately above those on the lower one (fig. 31). Only five figures are preserved. To the right there is a winged gryphon with a lion's body and a bird's tail standing on a palmette. (The figure above it, which was probably the same, is lost.) Beside the gryphon there is a representation of the god Haldi standing on a lion, and above him there is a schematic representation of a sacred tree consisting of circles and lozenges enclosed in a cartouche. In addition there are two representations, one

[49]

[Figure 31: Part of a bronze belt. Karmir Blur. (Armenian Historical Museum)]



above the other, of the god Shivini, who is resting on one knee and supporting the winged sun-disc. Behind Shivini there is the god Teisheba on a bull, and below him the cartouche with the stylized sacred tree. On the left there are preserved the front parts of a *shedu*—the winged lion with a human head.

On the fragments of two other badly-preserved belts which were found at Karmir Blur traces of sacred trees, bulls and anthropomorphic figures could be discerned. Apparently the form of decoration on the two belts which we have described was the usual one in Urartian art.

The Turkish archaeologist T. Ozguc, who directed the Altin Tepe excavations, has informed me that he found some bronze belts there also, but unfortunately they are not yet published. On one of them there were figures of helmeted horsemen with spears in their hands, and on the others there were representations of bulls and lions arranged in vertical groups of three, as well as one of a centaur with a bow in his hand. The one with the horsemen represents a further group of Urartian belts, namely, those decorated with hunting-scenes. Fragments of three such belts were found in a destroyed Urartian cemetery not far from the fortress of Erebuni (Arin-berd) (fig. 7) (67). On all three a hunt for lions and bulls was represented, and among [50] the hunters there were charioteers, horsemen and foot-soldiers, one of whom had a spear in his hands and a shield hanging from his shoulder, while the others had bows

in their left hands and quivers across their shoulders. The archaeologists who have published these belts rightly compare the hunting-scenes on them with reliefs from the palaces of the Assyrian kings.

On the belts from Arin-berd there were also representations of sacred trees, similar to those on the shields of Argishti I and Sarduri II, with gryphons standing on either side of them.

The second group of representations on the belts from Altin Tepe also has parallels on other belts which we know. In the tomb at the village of Gushchi (by Lake Urmia) which produced the bronze bulls' heads we described earlier, there was found a fragment of a belt decorated with figures of animals arranged in groups of three, one above the other. The animals are goats, bulls and lions, and they are being hunted by mythical creatures in the form of birds with human bodies and legs (68).

Uartian belts which are splendid specimens of ancient art have been found in graves in Soviet Armenia and in the province of Kars. From Shirak (Leninakan region) comes a fragment (69) with a representation of a running winged gryphon in front of a sun-disc above a sacred tree, which has a parallel on the first belt from Karmir Blur. On the upper part of the belt there is a guilloche pattern, and below there is a garland of flowers and buds, a typical ornamental motive in Uartian art.

Fragments of a richly decorated bronze belt were found in a burial at the village of Ani-Pemza (70). The ornament divides the surface of the belt into rhomboid instead of into oblong fields, and in each of them there is a figure either of an animal (lion or bull), a gryphon or a bird with human head and legs. In some of the fields there are symbolic groups (possibly representing the sun) consisting of small circles and dots. At the right-hand end of the belt there are three disjointed sections of a sacred tree. The closest parallel to the belt from Ani-Pemza is one which was found in the village of Zakim, in the province of Kars, and has been known since 1904 (71). The ornament which covers it divides the surface into rhomboid fields in which there are figures of winged horses, lions, a bull and an archer. On the end there is the same stylized representation of a sacred tree (72), a pattern which is very characteristic of Uartian belts. Even simple bronze belts, whose decoration consists only of dots, have on the end of the metal sheet this stylized tree, which links Uartian art on the one hand with a certain group of Scythian objects and on the other with objects from the region of Lake Urmia. The latter became known through the discoveries at the village of Ziwiye (the so-called 'Sakkiz treasure') which were first published 1950 (pl. 27a).

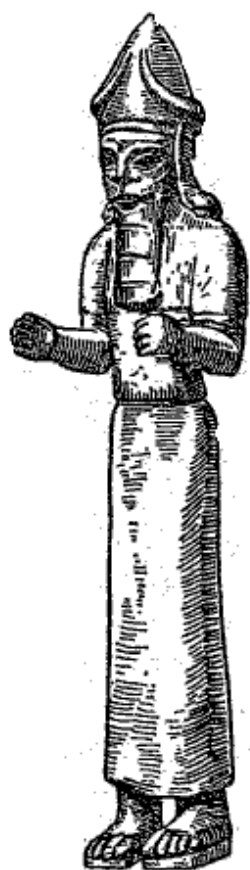
Minor Sculpture in Bronze

Statuettes of gods and goddesses

It cannot be doubted that bronze statuettes of gods were common in the ancient kingdom of Van, as in every state of the ancient Near East, and it must only be

[51]

[Figures 32-34]



32. Bronze statuette of a god. (*British Museum*)



33. Bronze statuette of a goddess. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)



Left: gold medallion; right: silver amulet. Both from Toprak Kale. (*Berlin Museum*)

[52] accident that no more than three are known to us today. (Two were chance discoveries, and only one was found in an excavation.) It is likely that plainer and cheaper clay statuettes existed alongside the bronze ones, but discoveries of these also have been rare. We shall consider at a later stage the clay figurines from Teishebaini.

In 1874 the British Museum acquired from Van, through G. Ormuzd, a bronze statuette of a bearded god (91147. Height 19.7 cm.) (73). The god is standing, with his right hand stretched forwards from the elbow, while in his left, which is clenched and held forward, he grasped something which may have been a staff or a branch of a tree. On his head he wears a pointed horned helmet, and his long robe is fastened by a broad belt (fig. 32). It is hard to say which of the gods this statuette represents, but the absence of characteristic attributes of either Teisheba or Shivini suggests that he is Haldi, the principal Urartian deity.

In 1936 the Historical Museum of Armenia (Yerevan) acquired from G. Aramyanets, who had lived for a long time in Van, a bronze statuette of a seated goddess (the throne is missing) (fig. 33). According to him it was found in the ruins of the fortress of Darabey, near Van (74); but in 1916 it was already in the hands of antique-dealers in Van, so it is impossible to say for certain where it was found (75). The statuette is 12 cm. high, and represents a seated woman in a long robe decorated with rosettes surrounded by squares. A shawl is thrown over her head and back, and on her breast she has a rich ornament and a pendant in the form of a miniature dagger topped by a tiny figure of a recumbent lion. The right hand, with open palm, is held forward, while the left is clenched, but an opening through it shows that something was held in it. This statuette is strikingly similar to the seated goddess on the gold medallion found at Toprak Kale (fig. 34) (76). Both pose and dress are the same. On the medallion the object held by the goddess is either a branch or a flower, and probably there was something similar in the left hand of the statuette which, it may be guessed, represents the goddess Arubani, the consort of Haldi. The high quality of the workmanship, particularly of the modelling of the face, is very striking. The large eyes are characteristic, as are the broad eyebrows, which meet at the bridge of the nose, and the thin lips with their fixed smile.

In 1941, in the course of the excavations at Karmir Blur, a third Urartian statuette was found. It was 24 cm. high, and represented a beardless god wearing a long robe and a horned head-dress (77) the robe is decorated with the squared pattern which is characteristic of Urartian dress, and it has a fringe on its lower edge and on the part which is thrown over the left shoulder. In his right hand, which is against his body, the god holds a disc-shaped mace, and in his left, which is bent up and pressed against his chest, a battle-axe. These attributes give grounds for regarding the statuette as a representation of Teisheba, the Urartian god of war, thunder and storm, after whom was named the town of Teishebaini, in whose citadel the statuette was actually found. The lower part of the figurine consists of a circle of pendent leaves, and of an iron tang for fastening it to a staff. Above the head-dress there is an additional feature, which is drum-shaped and decorated with three horizontal bands filled with [53] a zigzag pattern. At the top there is a broad loop set cross-wise on the head. There can be no doubt that this statuette, which is badly worn through being continually brought to a brilliant polish, was either set on the top of a standard used for cult purposes, or belonged to the emblem of an Urartian military unit. The massive loop above the head shows no sign of the wear which would have been unavoidable had the statuette been suspended, so it may be guessed that coloured ribbons were tied to it; or perhaps a metal ring was run through it and then fastened to the shaft to form a disc-shaped emblem such as is very characteristic of Assyrian war-standards.

In addition to these three high-quality Urartian bronze statuettes, there are in the British Museum some small bronze figurines which also probably come from Van. Two pieces were published by Minns: a goddess standing on two horses, and a figurine representing two winged creatures whose foreparts are joined (78); and Barnett has published three statuettes of warriors wearing crested helmets, and one of a horse (121177) (79). These small objects have no characteristic Urartian features, which makes their ascription to Urartu rather doubtful.

A horse's head

One of the finest examples of Urartian art turned up in 1957 in a wine-cellar which was excavated at Karmir Blur (pls. 24 and 25). It was a horse's head, about 17 cm. high, which had apparently decorated the top of a chariot-pole (80). This small piece of sculpture is extremely expressive, and the eyes, nostrils and mouth are beautifully executed. A distinctive feature are its flat surfaces, especially on the front and sides of the face, which suggest that the model from which it was cast was carved out of wood. The method by which it was made is also interesting,

for the horse's face was cast separately from the mane, ears and forelock, and the two parts were then joined together; and this was done so securely that only a break has revealed the join.

Our account of Urartian minor sculpture in bronze must be confined to the four authentic examples which are known today, but we can be confident that future excavations on the sites of Urartian fortresses and settlements will provide an abundance of new specimens of this branch of the fine art of the ancient kingdom.

Jewellery

The Assyrian king Sargon describes in his inscriptions the great quantity of gold objects which he plundered in 714 B.C. at Musasir in the palace and temple of king Urzana. There were gold swords, daggers and fly-whisks, as well as staffs of ivory, ebony and box-wood with tips of gold and silver; and vessels which were likewise decorated with precious metals. There was a vast quantity of silver objects: spears, standards, bows in bow-cases, crescentic pendants, and rings. The following were particularly singled out: 'a silver bowl of Rusa, with its lid' as well as '393 bowls of silver, heavy and light, the work of the lands of Ashur, Urartu and Habhu' [54] and '2 large wild-bull's horns in a mount encircled by gold rings; one gold signet-ring with a seal for confirming the decrees of Bagmashtu, the wife of Haldi'.

Naturally, finds from excavations can only reflect to a very slight degree the richness and fine quality attained by the jeweller's art in the Urartian kingdom, the art which is so vividly described in the Assyrian text which has survived on a large clay tablet dedicated in the temple of the god Ashur.

We have only a very few examples of Urartian work in gold and silver, and they come exclusively from the excavations at Toprak Kale, Karmir Blur and altin Tepe. Treasure-hunters have preferred to sell them to be melted down.

The best-known example of Urartian jewellery is a gold medallion (6.5 cm. in diameter) bearing a representation of a goddess seated on a throne with a woman standing her (81). We mentioned it in connection with the bronze statuette of the goddess Arubani which is in the Armenian Historical Museum. The German expedition found it at Toprak Kale in a jar in a wine-cellar (fig. 34).

The medallion is distinguished by the high quality of its workmanship and by its extreme restraint. The goddess and the woman have the field to themselves, and below there is a simple row of buds.

The scene of a goddess seated on a throne and receiving an offering occurs again on two amulets. Recently, during an examination of the finds brought back by the German expedition a crescentic silver amulet (fig. 34) which had lain in the Berlin Vorderasiatische Museum since 1899 was cleaned (82). There turned out to be a representation on it of a goddess seated on a throne holding a cup in one hand and a branch in the other. Before her stands a woman in a suppliant attitude who is presenting a sacrificial animal (a goat). On either side of the amulet there is a tree of a shape unlike that of the usual sacred tree which occurs on belts or helmets. Below, instead of the buds, there is a zigzag pattern. A further silver disc, 3.5 cm. in diameter, was found at Karmir Blur; it bears a clumsy but unmistakable representation of a goddess seated on a throne and a woman with a sacrificial goat (fig. 35) (83). In front of the goddess there is a star and a crescent. A noteworthy feature is the applied sheet of gold on which the head of the goddess is portrayed.

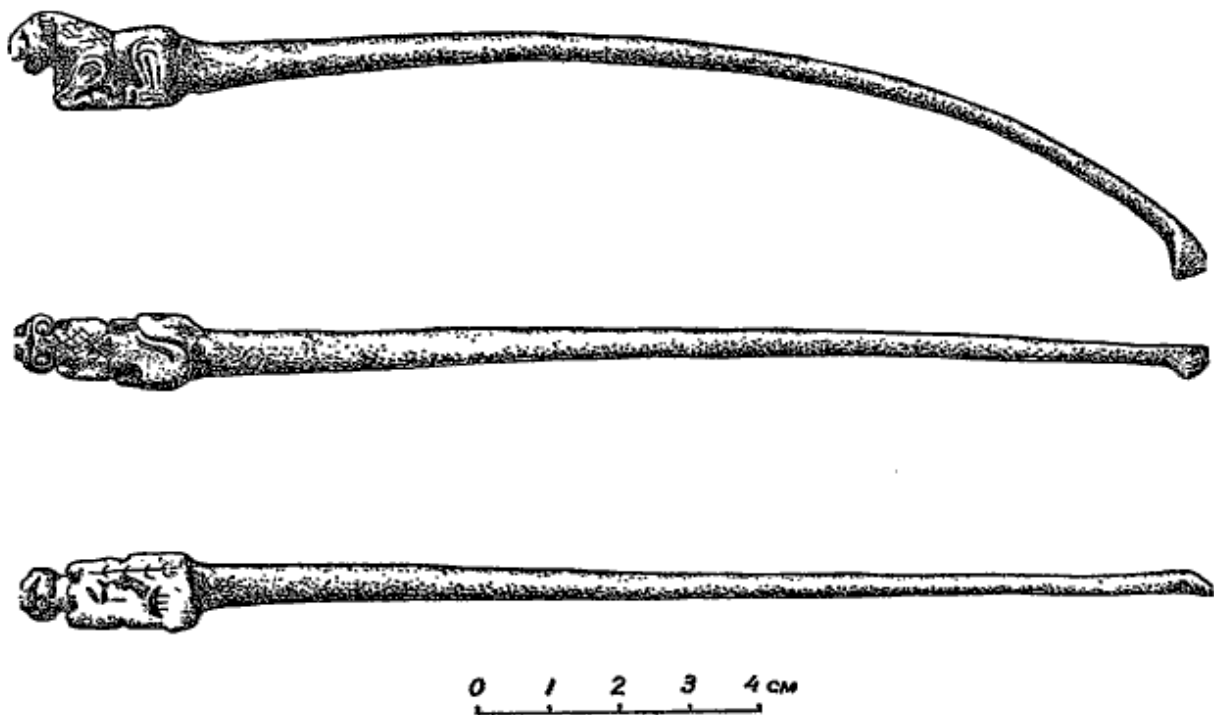
On a second, and larger, silver disc from Karmir Blur (5 cm. diameter) there is a

[Figure 35]

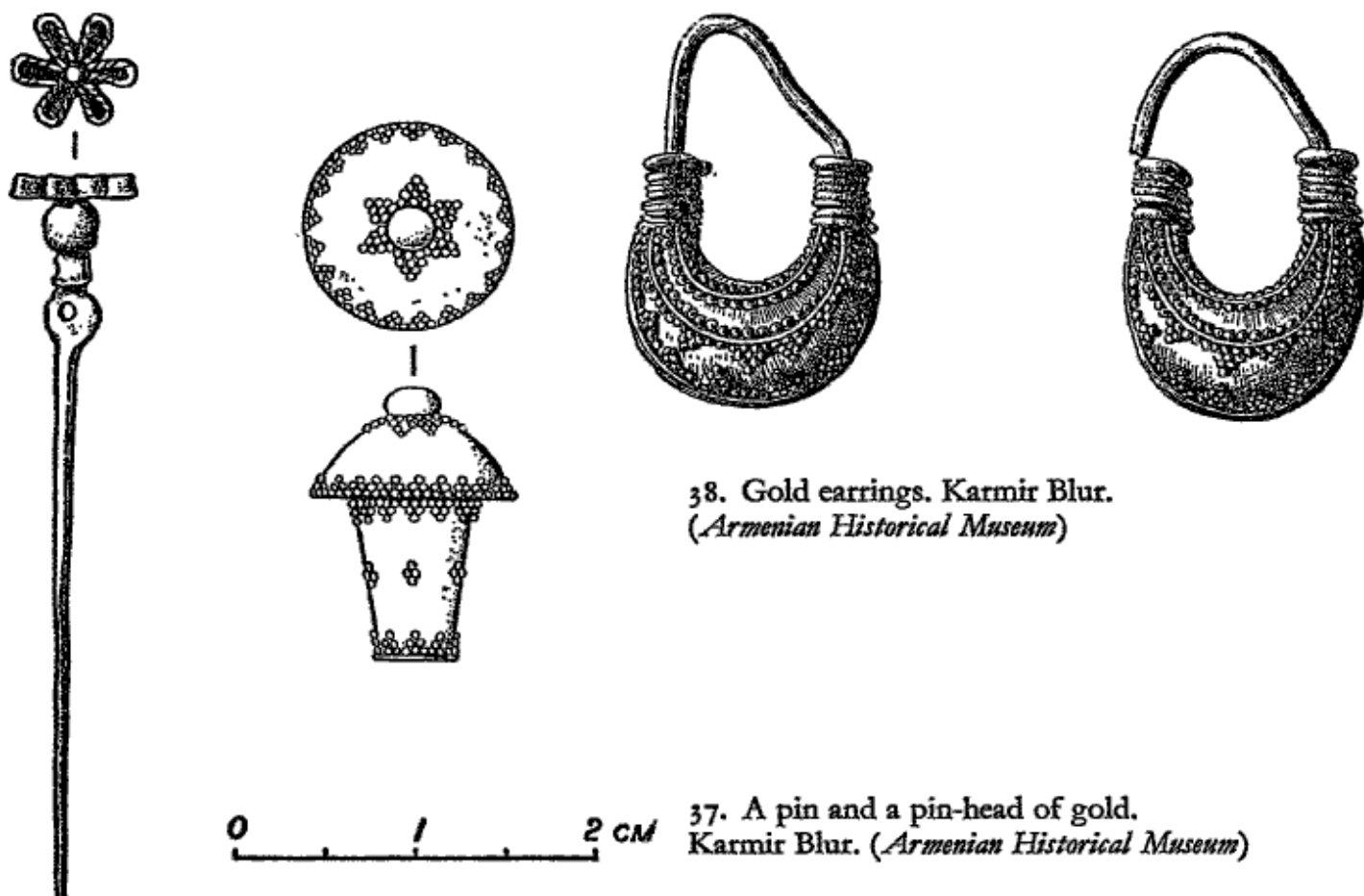


[55]

[Figures 36-38]



36. Part of a silver neck-ornament. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)



38. Gold earrings. Karmir Blur.
(*Armenian Historical Museum*)

37. A pin and a pin-head of gold.
Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)

[56] scene of sacrifice to a standing god, perhaps Haldi himself. Here again the god's head is stamped on a sheet of gold which forms a kind of halo (fig. 35).

The circumstances in which pieces of jewellery were found at Karmir Blur were various, a fact which must be connected with the last days of life in the fortress. Before the citadel was stormed the defenders plundered the contents of the storerooms and divided the booty amongst themselves; then each hid his share in a different place, reckoning on being able to recover it after the siege had been raised. Large objects, such as shields and swords, were put in holes dug in the floors of the houses, and sometimes signs (a cross) were painted on the stones of the walls to enable the hidden object to be recovered quickly. Sometimes the hidden objects were buried in a mound on the floor, and then grain was strewn over it, and branches placed on top. It was in such a mound that the following objects were found, wrapped up in a rag: part of a gold ingot, weighing 14.85 gr.; a gold earring with a biconical swelling in the centre; some small hemispherical beads for sewing on clothing; and a silver pin decorated with three animal-figures (84). A similar, though larger, pin was found in the neighbourhood of Armavir (the Urartian centre of Argishtihinili) and is now in the State Historical Museum of Armenia. The objects which had been placed in this mound showed signs of having been divided up, because there was only one gold earring, and the disc-shaped gold ingot had been broken into four parts, the preliminary marking-out by means of notches being clearly visible.

In another mound containing a collection of objects there was found half of a silver neck-ornament with small gilded figures of lions on its ends (85). On the lower side of the lion there are hieroglyphic signs (fig. 36). Apparently this ornament was broken and divided between two people.

A gold pin with an openwork five-petalled head (5.25 cm. long) was found in a similar situation, as was a tiny pin-head, only about 1 cm. long, decorated with triangular and rhomboid patterns done in filigree (fig. 37). This method of decoration is characteristic of Urartian jewellery, and the gold objects found in the tombs at Akin Tepe show just the same intricate and delicate technique. Two gold earrings which were found in 1946 hidden in a bowl at Karmir Blur provide a good example of this technique (fig. 38) (86). They were hollow and bun-shaped, and decorated with applied wire and fine filigree which formed lines and triangles. At a slightly later period this kind of earring occurs over a very wide area, for from the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. it was a characteristic type in the Mediterranean lands.

While dismantling walls of mud brick which obstructed their progress, the archaeologists at Karmir Blur several times happened on little deposits of beads and seals, and in one case even on a gold earring decorated with applied wire which formed circular and rhomboid patterns (87). We may guess that these objects were hidden in cavities made in the mud brick of the walls, which were then masked with clay.

In 1954, in some wine-cellars in the eastern part of the citadel which had only one entrance, the excavators found the charred skeletons of people who had died in the fire which broke out when the citadel had been stormed. Various objects, also [57] severely charred, were found among the remains of the skeletons; and a splendid gold bracelet with lion-head terminals was preserved undamaged (88), probably because it had been hidden in someone's bosom.

Fragments of gold sheathing from a figure of a lion, which had probably been made of wood, were found in jars in the wine-cellars. What was preserved consisted of small pieces of the muzzle, including open jaws and an eye (above which there was an inset bead of blue enamel), and parts of the mane and body (89).

Silver objects were also quite plentiful at Karmir Blur. Diadems were found there, as well as bracelets with snake-head terminals and a single-handled jug decorated with spirals and a rhombus pattern. Under its rim it had a group of hieroglyphic signs of the same kind as a similar group on some of the bronze bowls (90) and cups.

To conclude our survey of jewellers' work we must mention a large silver lid which has in its centre a solid gold handle in the form of a pomegranate (91). It is decorated with four concentric strips of gold on which there are garlands of buds just like those on the bronze shields of Argishti I and Sarduri II. A cuneiform inscription, of which the name of king Argishti survives, was incised in the space between the innermost gold strip and the next (pl. 27b).

The material which we have surveyed shows very clearly that in sumptuousness and quality of workmanship the Urartian jewellers were little inferior to their rivals in the other lands of the ancient East.

Ivory-Carving

Ivory-carving enjoyed a wide popularity in the art of the ancient East. Recent excavations of Assyrian palaces, particularly at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), have produced splendid examples of this branch of art which combine many Egyptian and Syrian stylistic elements. This is not surprising, as most of the ivory came from Nubia by way of Egypt and Syria. It must be borne in mind that easily portable objects of ivory, mounted on wood, reflected the actual intercourse which took place between peoples. But in addition to importing objects from outside, every land of the ancient East, from the second millennium B.C., had its own school of artistic ivory-carving, though their quality varied. Urartu also had its own.

Many objects of ivory were found at Toprak Kale in 1879-80 in the course of the British Museum excavations, but at that time the technique of conservation in the field was still undeveloped and not all the fine ivory objects could be saved. The British Museum possesses a large number of fragments of ivory objects: faces and parts of the human body, beautifully carved hands, heads, lions' paws and parts of their bodies, and fragments of winged figures (92). The tenons and perforations which survived on them showed that these figurines of ivory—undoubtedly a costly material—were assembled from separate parts. Details made of ivory were sometimes added to statuettes made of another material, particularly metal. Not a single Urartian statuette has survived in its entirety, and many of them are utterly disfigured and [58] dismembered. Of one large statuette (123887) only the outline of the body has survived (25.5 cm. high). It lacks head and arms, but bears traces of ornament representing a pattern on clothing. The British Museum possesses fragments of a large and splendid statuette whose height was at least 40 cm. All that survive are fragments of a lead frame of cell-work on which squares of ivory with carved rosette patterns had been fixed, as well as an inlay of coloured enamel (93). Only an object intended for display can have been provided with such an intricate coloured mosaic, but unfortunately the fragments are so small that it is quite impossible to reconstruct it. Similarly, the whole front surface is missing from a figurine of a courtier (24 cm. high) in a long robe with a broad belt and band thrown over his shoulder. His hair is done in the characteristically male 'stepped' style.

Another surviving example of sculpture in the round is a figurine of a naked standing goddess (18.2 cm. high). Around her neck there is a double necklace, and on her head there is a low circular head-dress decorated with large rosettes. Her hair is done in falling locks reminiscent of the hair-style of the winged female figures on the bronze cauldron-mounts (94).

There have also survived two half-round figures, decorated on one side only, which are of different sizes (17.2 and 11.7 cm.) but represent the same mythical creature: it has a human body, with raised arms, and the wings and head of a gryphon (95). They were probably ornaments on a chest or a panel.

Objects of carved ivory have been found in great quantity at Karmir Blur, but in quality they are distinctly inferior to those from Toprak Kale. In this respect the provincialism of the Urartian administrative and economic centre in Transcaucasia. Ivory cannot have been in common use there. As the best examples we must choose a small figurine (4 cm. high) of a winged lion with a human head, a detached head from a figurine of the same kind, and a face with a plain back which was made to be attached to a statuette of metal or wood (fig. 39).

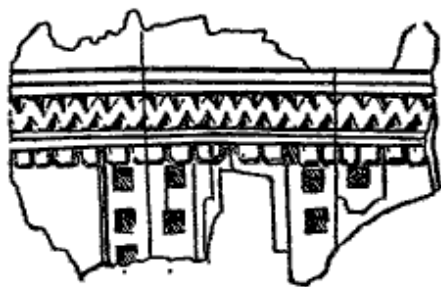
There also survived a fragment of the upper part of a turret carved in ivory which is very similar to a bronze model (16.5 cm. high) in the British Museum (fig. 40) (96).

[Figure 39: Examples of ivory-carving. Karmir Blur. (Armenian Historical Museum)]

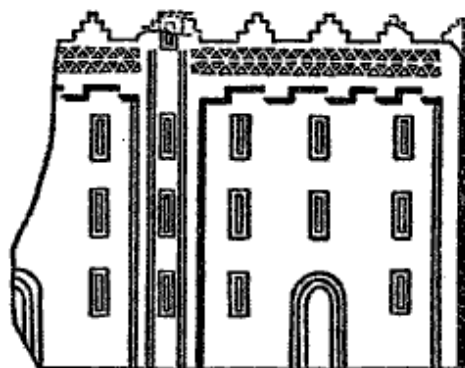


[59] That has the same stepped crenellation along its top, the zigzag pattern, the representation of timbering, and the same general structure, with the face of the wall set forward at the corners. All these features can be paralleled in the archaeological material: for instance, the basalt turrets discovered at Karmir Blur were of this kind. Where the wall is set forward at the corners the ivory model from Karmir Blur has oblong depressions, an ornament which is somehow connected with windows; but the number of these 'windows' must be exaggerated, even though there exists a large flat bronze model (30.5 cm. high) which represents the facade of a building with three storeys (fig. 41) (97). The bronze turret mentioned above probably belongs to a similar, but even larger, bronze model. Among the ivory objects found at Karmir Blur were a comb with finer teeth on

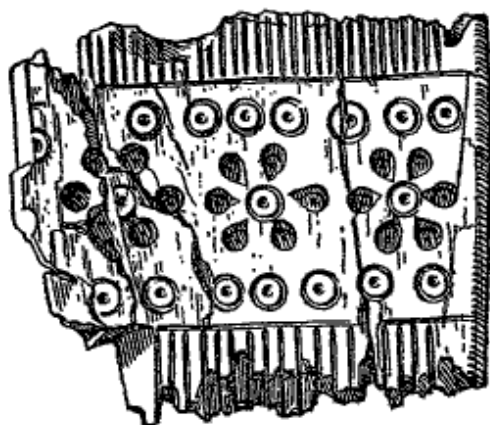
[Figures 40-42]



40. Part of a turret carved in ivory. Karmir Blur.
(*Armenian Historical Museum*)



41. Parts of bronze models of buildings.
Toprak Kale. (*British Museum*)

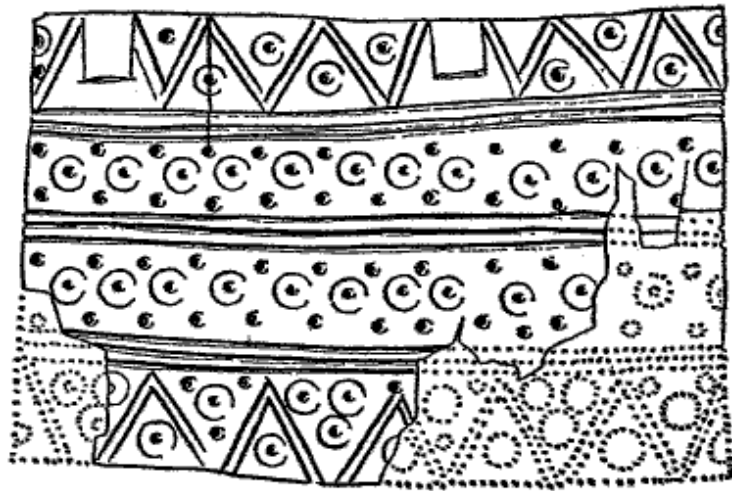


42. Left: ivory comb; right: dog's head carved in antler.
Both from Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)





43. Cylindrical jars of ivory. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)



one side than on the other, decorated with circles and five-petalled rosettes (fig. 42); a small spoon; and some small cylindrical jars covered with a variegated pattern (fig. 43). The bottom of these jars was double, and the lid was held in place by pins for which openings were provided in lugs on the top edge. They were probably used to hold cosmetic ointments, of which only a compact black mass remained. The best preserved examples are shown in our illustrations, but their ornament is only of a simple kind.

[61] Four-sided ivory handles of iron knives, which recall Assyrian examples, also occur (98), and it is possible that the turret-model mentioned above belonged to such a handle.

Carved ivory was often used in Urartian art for decorative purposes. Thin plaques were found with circles engraved on them, with circular perforations, and with pear-shaped sockets for polychrome inlay. Small disc-shaped, pear-shaped, rhomboid and oblong slips of ivory were also made, and they were used for decorating some wooden objects (possibly parts of furniture) which were found at Karmir Blur (99). Wooden legs of stools or small

benches were also discovered carved in the same shape as those which we have seen on the ceremonial throne described at the beginning of the chapter. The legs were decorated with circles of pendent leaves, and the figurines also were made of wood and covered with gold leaf.

Urartu: The Kingdom of Van and Its Art

by Boris Piotrovskii

(Continued from Previous Page [61])

Antler Carving

In two rooms in the citadel at Teishebaini heaps of sawn-up antlers were found, ready for use, and near them were some iron saws, one of which still had on its ends the rivets which had held the wooden handles. Antler was used for small objects, and we have a small head of a dog with snarling jaws (fig. 42), and parts of horse-gear (clasps fitted at points where straps crossed) in the form of rams' heads, which are very close to some Scythian examples. It is likely that many of them are actually Scythian products, but there is evidence that objects of this kind were also made in the citadel of Teishebaini. When the main gates were being excavated, a small porter's room was found just inside them. Numerous fragments of domestic pottery were found in it, as well as a stone bowl, a quern, and fragments of iron objects. On the east side there were still stocks of millet behind a stone partition. By the north wall there was a low bench made of mud brick, and two large antlers were found on the ground beside it. Near them lay a small piece which had been sawn off to make something, and pierced longitudinally, and also a small gryphon's head with ram's horns. The latter had a tenon with a hole through it on its lower side for joining it to other parts of a complete object. It is very worn, and does not give the impression of having been still in use; apparently the craftsman was going to use it as a model for making other things out of antler. The connection of this head with works of Scythian art is obvious, and the closest parallels are the antler bridle-mounts, fitted where straps crossed, from the Kelermes burial-mounds excavated by N. I. Veselovsky, and the bronze gryphon-heads and the bone cheek-pieces from the burial-mounds excavated by A. A. Bobrinsky near the village of Smela (Kiev province) (100). A Scythian cheek-piece of this kind, with a horse's hoof on one end—the upper part is burnt off—which had undoubtedly come from distant regions of Scythia, was found at Teishebaini in one of the store-rooms excavated on the citadel.

[62]

Architecture; Sculpture in Stone

The mountain region of Armenia is a land where stone is plentiful, so it is understandable that the Urartians were expert stone-workers. At the western foot of the Rock of Van a wall survives which is built of enormous blocks of stone up to 6 m. in length. On it are inscribed three identical inscriptions of king Sarduri, son of Lutipri (second half of the ninth century B.C.) which describe the supplying of the stone and the building of the wall.

The Rock of Van itself bears many traces of the work of stone-masons, such as ledges, smooth wall-surfaces which sometimes bear cuneiform inscriptions stairways, platforms and extensive groups of 4-7 rooms hollowed out of the rock itself. Some of these artificial 'caves' may have been royal tombs, as in the innermost room of two of them bases for sarcophagi were found approached by short flights of steps.

In spite of the enormous amount of labour involved in hollowing these chambers out of the rock, they are almost entirely devoid of sculptural decoration. Only in one of them ('Naft-kuyu') do we find, just below the ceiling, a double stepped cornice carved like a chain of semicircles. Small circles were marked on the wall by means of a curved chisel, but only the lower halves of them stood out in relief. It is possible that this pattern was intended to represent the ends of logs which supported a roof, such as are shown on a bronze model of a building in the British Museum.

In the 'cave' known as the 'Great Horhor Cave' there are cavities in the shape of concave-sided squares cut in the walls, and in the 'Ichkala' cave there is a row of sockets in the wall of the innermost room for the attachment of decorations, possibly of bronze.

No reliefs have yet been discovered which can be identified with complete certainty as Urartian, but a badly preserved relief near the mouth of a cave near Bayazet is described by certain scholars as Urartian. There is a colossal figure, facing right, on either side of the entrance, and above it there is a figure of a she-goat.

The Iraqi archaeologist Fuad Safar has informed me that in the course of archaeological work on the upper reaches of the Lesser Zab he found a rock-relief which was clearly not Assyrian and which, in his opinion, may be Urartian (101); and L. al-Amin has reported a second relief of the same kind at Mila Merdji, to the north of the well-known Assyrian relief at Malai. So it is perfectly possible that further Urartian monuments of this kind will yet be discovered.

The only example of large-scale sculpture in stone that has come down to us from Urartu is a badly damaged statue in grey basalt which is now in the Georgian Museum, Tbilisi (102). The upper part was found in 1898, when the German archaeological expedition was at work, and later a second part of it was thrown up out of the ground by an explosion.

The head and the lower part are missing, and the height of the surviving portion is 1.20 m. When complete it must have been almost the height of a man. The details are done in low relief, and are badly damaged. Wavy hair, falling over the back and [63] shoulders, survives on the upper part, as well as a narrow beard. The hands are laid on the chest, the right holding a club or a whip with a forked tip, and the left, probably, a bow and some arrows. A long sword is represented on the left side; it is in a scabbard which hangs from a belt and has three lines in relief along its length. The absence of the head-dress makes it impossible to say definitely whether it is a statue of a god or a king, but it is perhaps most probable that it represents a king of the first period of Urartian history. There is an absence of detail in the modelling and finish of the statue which gives it as a whole an archaic look, and this has led some scholars to connect it with middle Assyrian sculpture of the ninth century B.C., in particular with the statues of Ashurnasirpal II and of the god Nabu from Kalhu (103).

The representation of the Musasir temple on the reliefs from the palace of Sargon gives no indication of sculptural decoration, and probably there was none. The statues of door-keepers and the cows with calves which, to judge by the Louvre text, stood near the temple, were made of bronze, as were the large statues of Urartian kings which are likewise missing from the relief.

The temple itself deserves to be discussed at greater length. The date at which it was built is not known, but the fact that there was in it a statue of Ishpuini, permits us to conclude that it already existed at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century B.C. It is possible that it was constructed at the end of the ninth century by the Urartian king Menua, the brother of the Sarduri whom we have just mentioned, who at the beginning of his reign annexed Musasir to Urartu (104).

The architecture of this temple of Haldi at Musasir is of exceptional interest. It is unexpected, because it is quite different from that of the known Babylonian and Assyrian temples of Mesopotamia.

In addition, it is the oldest known temple with a pediment and a colonnade features which are fundamental to temple architecture in Asia Minor, and which passed from there to Greece (fig. 2).

The temple is built on a high platform, and has a gabled roof and a high pediment crowned with a model of a spear-head. In the facade there are five columns, which have neither capital nor base, and in the centre there is a low doorway. The walls and columns are decorated with gold and silver shields (as on all ancient temples), and at the entrance and in front of the temple there stand large bronze statues. So the connections between Urartu and the Mediterranean are not documented solely by Urartian objects found in sanctuaries and graves of Greece and Italy. There was something much more deeply rooted.

Unfortunately, not only have the remains of Musasir never been studied, but even their precise location is not known for certain. This is a task for the future.

Other types of temple have become known through the excavations at Toprak Kale and Arin-berd. One is the 'susi', an oblong building of simple shape, and the other the 'bit hilani', the temple with a row of columns in front of its entrance (105).

The temple which was excavated in 1879-80 at Toprak Kale by the British Museum expedition was apparently of the 'susi'-type. It was built of large [64] well-shaped blocks of light grey and dark grey stone arranged in a chequer pattern. It appears that colour was a very important element in Urartian architecture, and there is an echo of this in the legend

passed on by Moses of Choren that queen Shamiram built in Van luxurious houses decorated with many-coloured stones. Until recently we knew very little about Urartian reliefs, and did not think that there had ever been any of monumental size; so the discoveries made recently at Adilcevaz were quite unexpected. For a long time stones had been known which bore a representation of part of the body and head of a bull, casts of which were taken by V. Belck and published by Lehmann-Haupt (106). Long arguments ensued as to whether these reliefs should be attributed to Urartian art, for some attributed them to the Parthians, some even to the Sassanians; but P. Zarre and E. Herzfeld (107) resolutely maintained that they were Urartian.

Recently five more stones were found at Adilcevaz which formed parts of a relief (fig. 44) representing the god Teisheba standing on a bull and flanked by sacred trees (108). The figure is executed in low relief (c. 1 cm.), but the god's head is in distinctly higher relief (up to 2 cm.); and this is analogous to the way in which, as described above, a god's head was portrayed on a sheet of gold which was attached to a silver amulet. The details of the head-dress have been rendered with care, as have those of the sumptuous dress, which is decorated with a delicate geometric pattern. It is possible that originally the relief was painted in gay colours. The sacred trees have a distinctive form, and the editors rightly compare their shape with the spear on the pediment of the temple at Musasir. But there can be no doubt that these are either branches, leaves or buds of the sacred tree, for it is a portion of the sacred tree of just this shape which is held by the goddess on the gold amulet. It is easier to believe that the object on the pediment of the temple is part of the sacred tree than that bundles of spears are represented on the Adilcevaz relief. The god Teisheba is facing towards the left, and on one of the stones there is preserved part of the body of a goddess turned towards the right, in front of whom there was also a sacred tree. So it is possible that the surviving stones represent part of a relief showing a procession of deities. The dimensions of this monument are striking, for the complete figure of Teisheba on the bull was not less than 3 metres high. The editors have published also a skilful reconstruction of the figure of the bull (fig. 45).

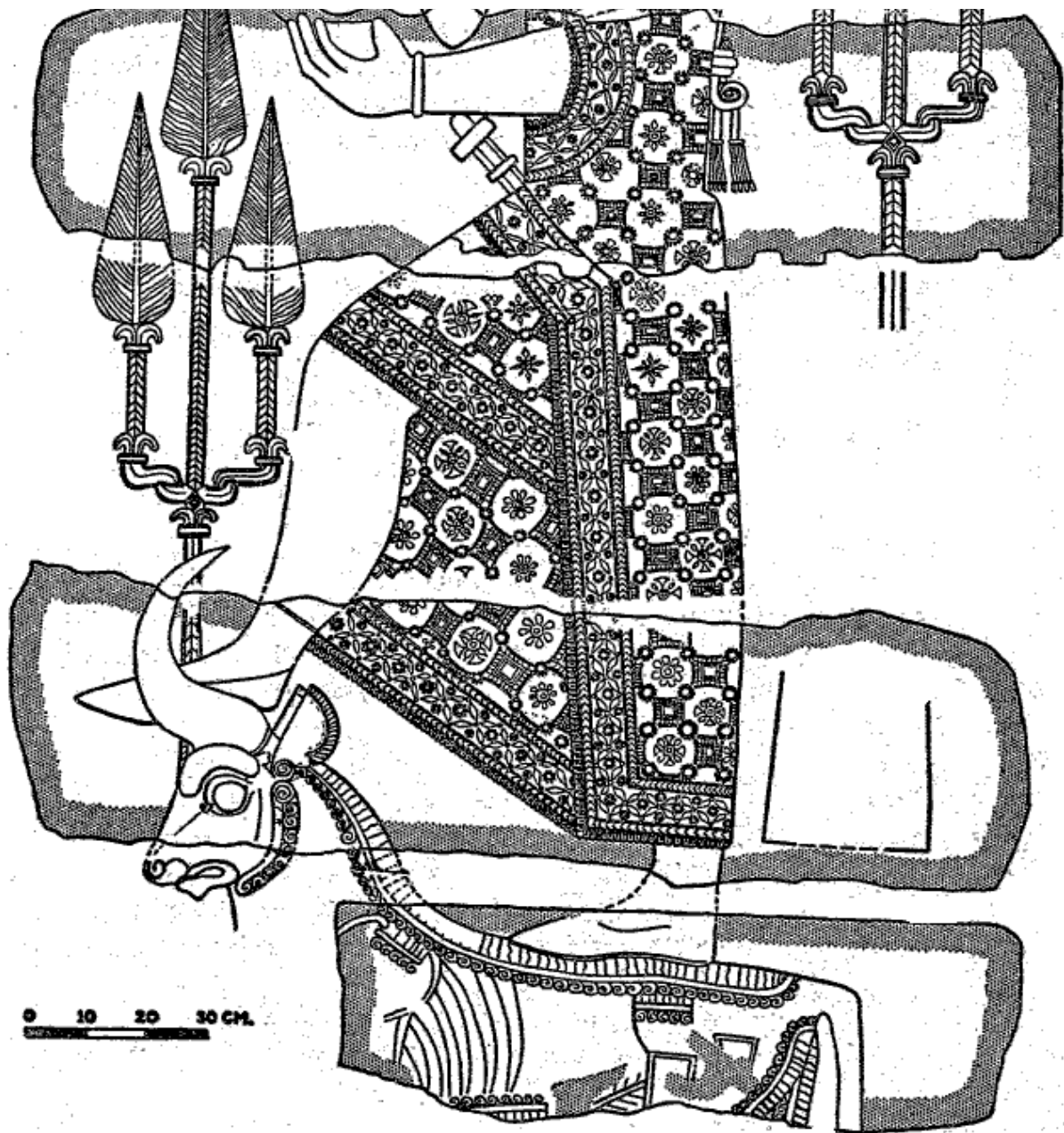
There are known to be two small reliefs, cut on blocks of basalt, in the Ankara Museum. One of them represents a lion, and the other a man dressed in clothing which recalls the Adilcevaz relief. The former was published by Akurgal (109). Its quality is distinctly inferior to that of the Adilcevaz relief, and it may justly be described as provincial. It is far removed from the standard treatment of lions and bulls which we find in Urartian art.

While he was staying in Van in 1911-12, I. A. Orbeli carried out small-scale excavations at Toprak Kale, and on the south-east slope of the hill he found fragments of a frieze made of red marble. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the whole scene from the small pieces, but it is clear that it included representations of bulls

[65]

[Figure 44: Reconstruction of a relief showing the god Teisheba standing on a bull. Adilcevaz]





[66] standing beside the sacred tree and set in a frame of rich geometric ornament. The figures are not done in relief but are drawn by deeply incised lines, which relates them to engraving on bronze-work. Fragments of the frieze from Orbeli's excavation are preserved in the Hermitage, and they can be supplemented by two pieces which were acquired in Van by the French Dominican mission (110). On the largest fragment (23 cm. high) there survives a representation of part of the body and back legs of a bull (fig. 47), with the details rendered in a geometric style which is characteristic of Urartian art. This bull was facing towards the right, but on another of the fragments there is part of the legs of a second bull which is turned towards the left. It seems that between them there was a tree which was represented not in a stylized fashion, but rather realistically. Part of the trunk, some branches and some fruit are preserved.

The ornament which formed a frame to the scene was highly decorative, and called to mind the pattern which divided up the surface of the bronze belts (fig. 47). The curving bands (which themselves contained an interlace pattern) divided up the surface into rhomboid areas in which there were circles containing the Maltese cross, rosettes and other patterns, reminiscent of the pattern on Teisheba's robe on the relief from Adilcevaz. Similar circles also occur at points where the curving lines meet. A fragment of the frieze with the best surviving specimen of this pattern used to be at the French Dominican Mission in Van,¹¹¹ and there can be no doubt that they all belonged to some ornate building.

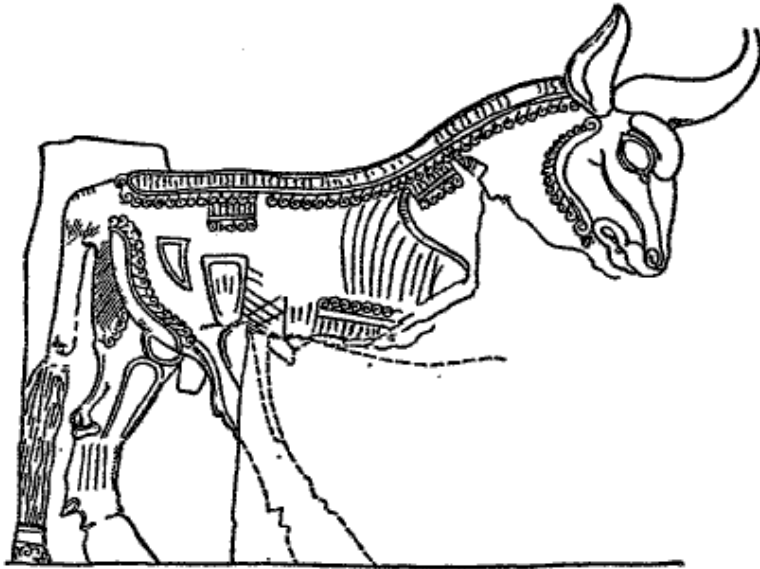
Another interesting small relief is known, also on facing-stones, and this time with inlay. It is about 17 cm. high and about 30 cm. thick (fig. 46). It was found in the course of the German expedition's work at Toprak Kale (112), and there has recently been added to it a fragment which had lain in the museum for about sixty years and was discovered when some boxes of finds from the expedition were being sorted. The stone bore a representation of a king with a branch of the sacred tree in his hands. There survives only the upper part of the figure, which is in an attitude of prayer, with the right hand raised. It is done in low relief, and it was decorated with an inlay of stone, and perhaps in part of metal, none of which survives. This formed the face, the arms, the square patterns on the dress, the design on the head-dress and the branch. Apparently the idea was to enliven the grey stone with stones of various colours and possibly also with gold (for the branch of the sacred tree).

Stone Inlays

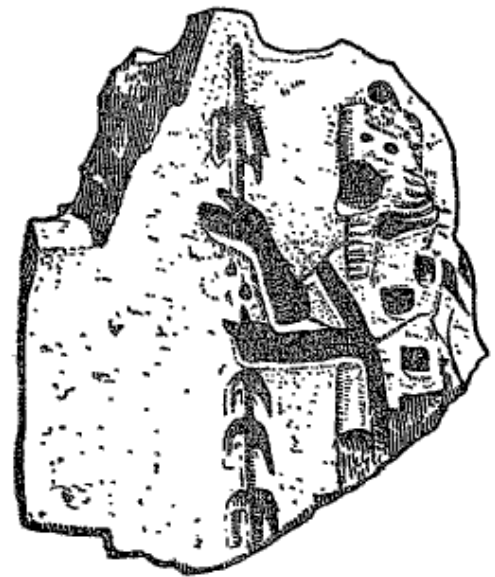
Inlay with coloured stone was a favourite technique in Urartian art. We recall the bronze figurines from the thrones which were covered with gold leaf. The faces of these mythical half-human half-animal creatures were made of white stone, with inlaid eyes and eyebrows, and their dress and wings were decorated with coloured

[67]

[Figures 45-47]

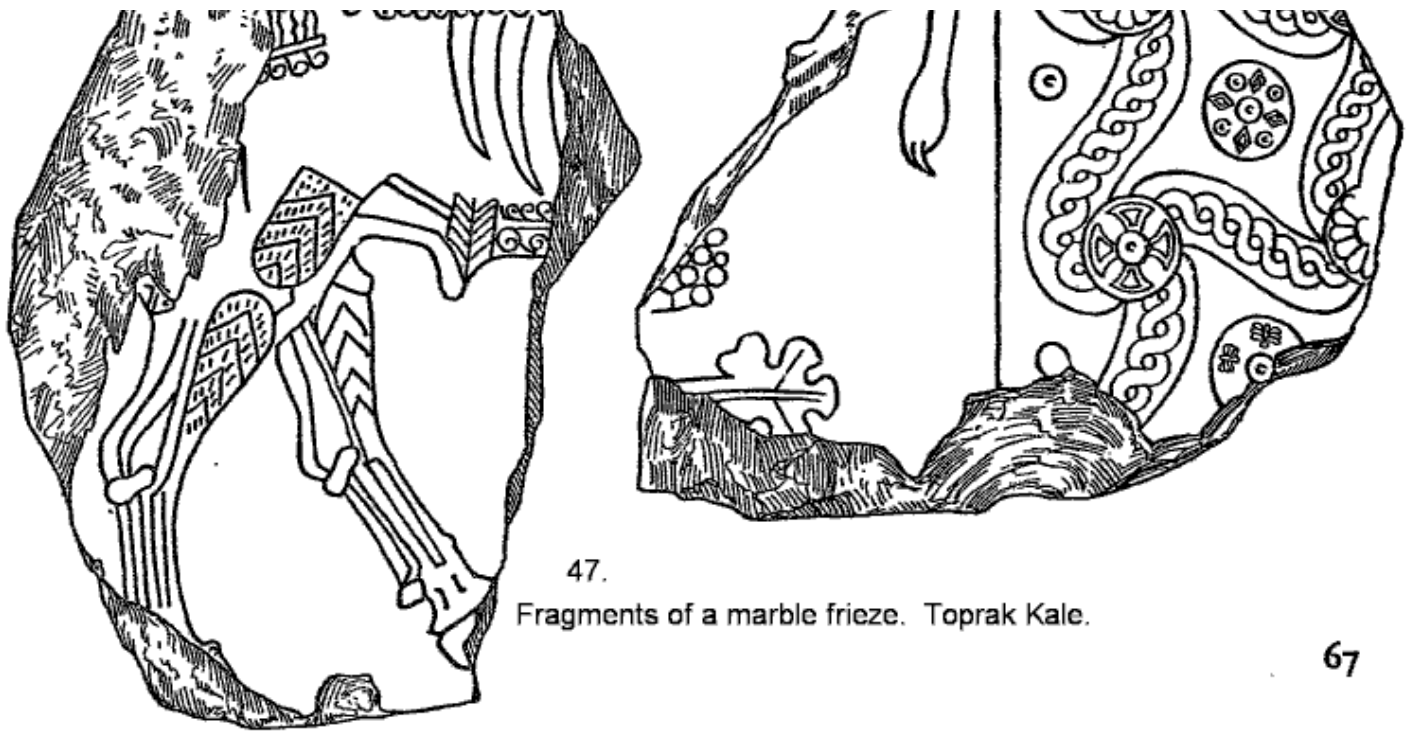


45. The Bull-relief from Adilcevaz



46. Fragment of a relief with sockets for inlay. Toprak Kale
(Berlin Museum)





47.
Fragments of a marble frieze. Toprak Kale.

[68] glass. At Toprak Kale there were found many representations of hands, with the fingers clenched or outspread, as well as of paws of beasts of prey (lions), which were carved in a soft white stone, and had sockets for pegging them in their appropriate positions. The Hermitage possesses a good example of such an inlay in the form of a human hand.

The remains of a floor, and possibly also of a panel, decorated with a polychrome inlay were found at Toprak Kale in the ruins of a mud brick building (113). Concentric rings of different coloured stone—black, dark red and white—were laid in circular depressions in the light and dark slabs. In the centre of the rings there was a conical inlay set with its flat base pointing upwards, and attached by means of a metal pin. Along with inlay of this kind there were found oblong, rhomboid and representational inlays out of which intricate compositions were made up (such as rhomboid shapes and swallow-tails).

Coloured inlay was also used to decorate low drum-shaped throne-bases made of black stone. Their outer surfaces, and often their upper surfaces as well, were adorned with circular inlays, within which there were rosettes made up of inlays of different colours (114). There is a part of one such base in the Hermitage among the antiquities brought from Van by I. A. Orbeli. Stone was also used to decorate large-scale metal sheathing or flooring. A large sheet of bronze with circular holes in it was found in the Berlin Museum among the unstudied material from the excavations at Toprak Kale. G. Meyer believes that this sheet was decorated with circular stone inlays, like the slabs. The bronze frieze representing the wall of a three-storeyed building (30.5 cm. high) which we discussed above, also served as a decorative facing.

A fragment of a similar bronze model has turned up, as it happens, amongst Lehmann-Haupt's material, and in the fortress of Kef-kalesi (Adilcevaz) there was found a large basalt block carved to represent something very similar (115). There survived part of a wall with three rows of windows (only two actually remained on the stone), a cornice with battlements, and a tower, the whole being on almost twice the scale of the bronze frieze (about 60 cm. high).

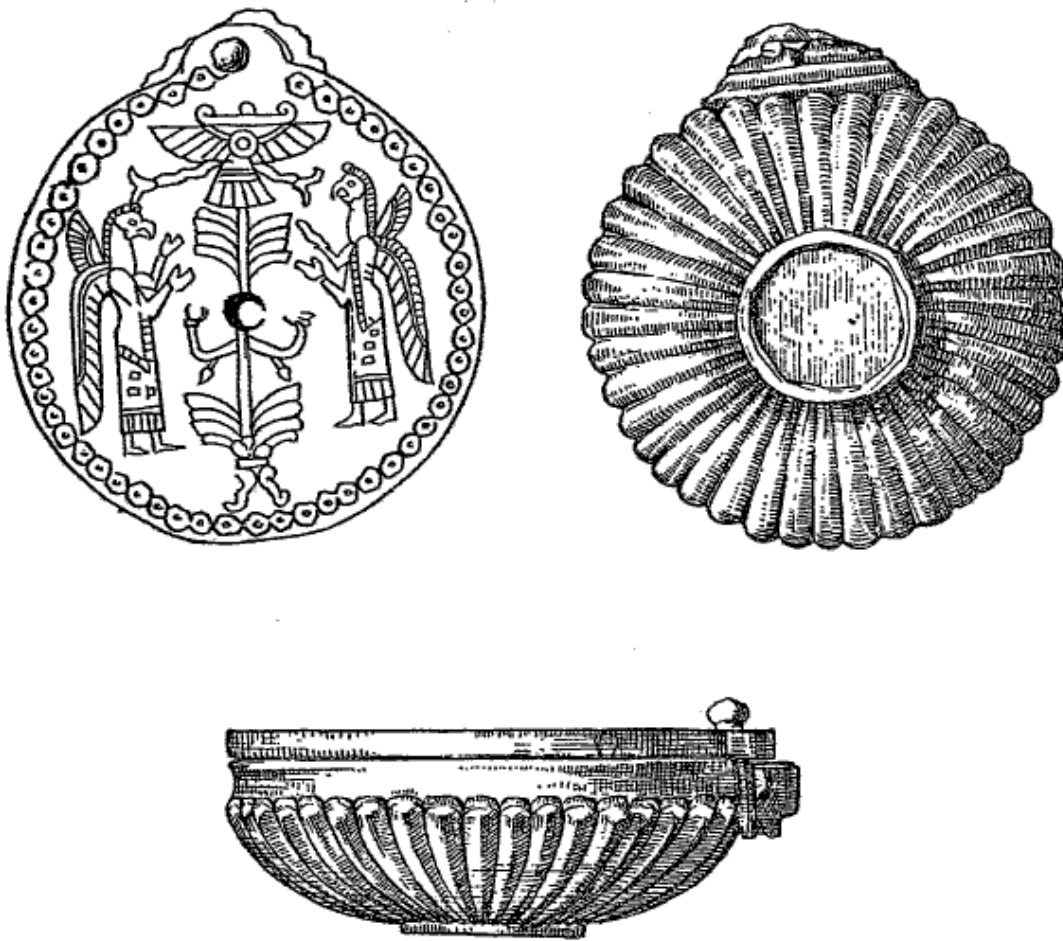
Among the decorative pieces of sheet bronze we must mention a frieze (24 cm. high) parts of which have reached the British and Berlin Museums through the hands of antique dealers, and one fragment of which was found in the course of the excavations of the English expedition at Toprak Kale (116). It has perforations for coloured inlays: bands of oblong shapes above and below, and lower still rows of circles and swallow-tails. In the principal field there are bulls resting on one knee. Their bodies are lightly engraved, but their muzzles, their hooves, the ends of their tails, the outline of their backs, and their chests are decorated with inlay set in perforations in the metal. The bulls, which face in opposite directions, stand beside a highly stylized tree set on a low hill and crowned by the sun-disc. The disc itself and the rhomboid 'trunk' of the tree were formed by inlays. Above the bulls there is a cuneiform inscription, and at the top and on the sides there are openings for fastening the [69] bronze sheet onto a backing. It is probable that the variegated

stone and glass inlay struck the eye more forcibly than did the bronze sheet itself with its chased figures, and the inlaid details such as the bulls' heads may have stood out in relief.

Minor Objects of Stone

Small objects of stone were very common in the kingdom of Van. For example, they used soft stone to make small animal-heads (lions with gaping jaws, gryphons, horses) such as are known from the excavations at Toprak Kale, Karmir Blur and Altin Tepe. These heads belonged to objects made of some other material. Two small steatite jars were found at Karmir Blur, each provided with a lid which swivelled on a pin. One of them (fig. 48) was fluted on its lower part, like the *phiale*-bowls. On its flat lid (8 cm. diameter) there was incised the sacred tree with winged and bird-headed genii on either side of it. Above the tree there is the winged sun-disc, and

[Figure 48: Steatite jar with decorated lid. Karmir Blur. (Armenian Historical Museum.)]



[70] around the edge there is a clumsy pattern which imitates a guilloche. On its top side there are the remains of a projection with a hollow in it for the pin, as well as the hooves of a figure of a recumbent animal (117). We can restore the animal as a recumbent bull by comparing a fragment of a similar jar made of red porphyry which was found at Toprak Kale (118). This was a small bowl (5 cm. diameter) fluted underneath, with a projection decorated with a small figure of a recumbent bull (fig. 49). Possibly this also had a lid, like the jar from Karmir Blur. It comes from the centre of Urartu (Toprak Kale) and supplies admirably the part which is missing from the jar found in the Urartian border fortress.

The other stone jar (fig. 50) found at Karmir Blur is so unusual that I am not convinced that it is of Urartian manufacture (119). It has a low cylindrical shape, and there are hunting-scenes carved on it in relief, including animals, a horseman, an archer resting on one knee and a warrior bearing a knife and a shield. On the lid there is a figure of a lion carved in the round, and a bull and a stag carved in relief.

Among the small stone objects found at Toprak Kale we may mention a basalt slab (10 cm. long) bearing a representation of 'lightning', which is possibly the symbol of the god Teisheba (120).

An enormous number of stone amulets, seals and beads have been found in the course of excavations of Urartian settlements and burials. At Karmk Blur there was found a pendent amulet of stone (2.3 cm. diameter) engraved on both sides. On one side there is a man with raised arms, and on the other an animal (fig. 51). Many amulets were made of coloured glass which was finished by cutting, just like stone. From among them we may mention beads in the form of recumbent bulls, with signs incised on their lower surface.

Seals

Pendent stamp-seals enjoyed great popularity in Urartu. They have scenes engraved on their lower surfaces, and sometimes on their sides as well, in which case the seal also served as an amulet. They often form part of rich necklaces, sometimes together with silver medallions. They were made both of hard stone (rock crystal) and soft steatite, and also of fired clay (fig. 52). They can be clearly divided into five types: (1) a conical type with a perforation near the top and with engraving on its lower surface only; (2) a concave-sided type, shaped rather like a weight, with a lug for suspension also with engraving on its lower surface only; (3) a tall cylindrical type with a lug for suspension, with engraving on its lower surface and often on the surface of the cylinder as well; (4) a tall four-sided type with a lug for suspension, and engraving on all its surfaces; and (5) a disc-shaped type with engraving on both sides. These types of seal are very distinctive, and quite different from Mesopotamian cylinder seals; but, probably with the spread of Assyrian influence in Urartu, various kinds of cylinder seals were produced, without the lug, but pierced longitudinally for a cord.

[71]

[Figures 49-51]

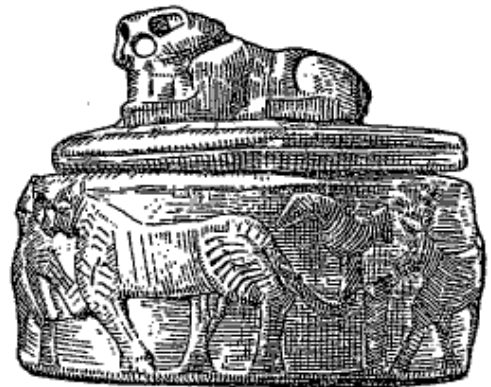


49. Fragment of a small jar of red porphyry. Toprak Kale. (*Berlin Museum*)



51. Stone amulet. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)

50. Stone jar with relief decoration. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)





Seals of the first two types (the conical and the concave-sided) have simple representations on their lower surfaces, usually a stylized figure of a walking bird, lion, goat or horse, with stars and crescents beside them. The scenes on the disc-shaped seals of type 5 are also confined to stylized animals and symbols. The tall cylindrical and four-sided seals bear distinctly more complicated scenes, particularly on their sides. Sometimes the seals of type (3) have a slightly conical shape, in which case their impression does not run horizontally, but is slightly curved. At Karmir Blur seals of these two kinds bear various scenes, particularly of the worship of the sacred tree and of struggles with animals; and here we find scenes which are familiar to us from the monumental remains of Urartian art. In front of the altar, which has a crescent above it, stand two figures, both winged. One carries a small bucket, and the other, who wears a kind of horned head-dress, is leading a sacrificial goat. Behind them stands the king holding a branch of the sacred tree (121). On these small seals scenes were skilfully engraved of the same kind as occur on monumental remains. On the lower surface of the seal which we have just described there is a winged sun-disc with a recumbent animal below it. On another tall four-sided seal found at Karmir Blur there is a representation of the god Teisheba standing on a bull and of the god Shivini resting on one knee and supporting the winged sun-disc (fig. 53) (122). Both figures have parallels on a bronze belt, and that of Teisheba also on the relief from Adilcevaz.

A large number of Urartian seals were found at Toprak Kale, as well as impressions of seals on lumps of clay. Among the impressions published by Lehmann-Haupt (123) there are some elaborate scenes, and one, which shows a ceremony connected with the cult of the tree, has become widely known. It shows a four-wheeled vehicle with a tree set upon it. Behind the vehicle stands the king or a priest, and

[73]

[Figures 53-55]



53. Stone seals. Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)



54. Impression of a seal from Toprak Kale. (*Berlin Museum*)



55. Stone seal

Karmir Blur. (*Armenian Historical Museum*)

Seal-impressions found at Toprak Kale bear scenes connected both with cult and with court life. Some of them show the king, possibly in his role of high priest, walking beneath a sunshade which is carried by an attendant. Sometimes beside the king there is a lion, which possibly was kept as a sacred animal in Urartian temples.

We also have an incomplete impression with an inscription of Rusa which shows the royal chariot with musicians walking behind it (fig. 54).

Urartian seals give us various interesting and elaborate scenes connected with cult and religion, but unfortunately it is impossible to explain the majority of them, as we are completely ignorant of Urartian mythology.

At Karmir Blur seal-impressions were also found on the seals of store-rooms, as well as on cuneiform tablets, sent from Tushpa, which contained the commands of the king and his ministers. On the seal of a grain store there was the impression of a cylinder seal which included a cuneiform inscription and a representation of a sacred tree, on either side of which stand winged animals with human heads, (fig 55) (124). The shape of the sacred tree is close to that which is characteristically Urartian, that with which certain motives on the Scythian gold scabbards from the Kelermes and Melgunov kurgans are also connected.

The cuneiform letters contain the commands of Sarduri son of Rusa, Sarduri son of Sarduri, and of crown-prince Rusa son of Rusa, and the seal-impressions on them are of a uniform kind, showing the stylized sacred tree with mythical winged animals (horse, lion) standing on either side of it (125). The tablets also bear impressions made with the lower surfaces of these tall stamp-seals, which usually show the same mythical creature as that standing by the sacred tree, but this time down on its four feet or paws. It is noteworthy that although the seals used on the letters sent to the Urartian centre of Teishebaini belong to different periods, the subjects on them do not vary.

Beads

The excavations at Karmir Blur have yielded an enormous quantity of stone beads of various kinds, made of carnelian, sardonyx, jasper, steatite and rock crystal, but unfortunately we cannot yet distinguish with certainty between those which are genuinely Urartian and the very many which must have been imported (126). The beads can be classified according to the kind of stone and according to the technique of manufacture, particularly the way in which the hole is drilled through them. Urartian beads—not only the stone ones, but also those made of paste and covered with a coloured glaze, and those made of semi-transparent coloured enamel—certainly deserve special and attentive study.

[75]

Pottery

The most characteristic Urartian pottery are some red vessels which have a brilliantly polished surface. Many examples come from the excavations at Toprak Kale. The principal shapes were carinated bowls and one-handled jugs, and these became widely known at the time of the first publication by Lehmann-Haupt of the Toprak Kale material (127).

Excavations on Urartian sites in Transcaucasia have greatly increased our knowledge of pottery. It is sufficient to mention that in a single store-room on the citadel of Karmir Blur there were 1036 jugs, of which over a hundred were unbroken.

The shape of Urartian jugs was exactly the same in Transcaucasia as in the centre of the kingdom (an elegant body and neck, a spout like an oinochoe, and a thin, gently-curving handle), but the polish on the surface was inferior. Compared with that found in central Urartu, and with certain specimens from Erebuni, the red polished surface on the pottery from Teishebaini is duller, lustreless and lacking the brightness and wonderful shine.

In Urartian red polished pottery the influence of metallic shapes can be clearly recognized. It is shown in the flattening of the handle, and in the raised band which separates the neck from the body.

There are, in fact, some bronze vessels which are identical in shape to the clay ones, as was noted long ago by Lehmann-Haupt. In the graves at Altin Tepe there were found some large rounded bronze vessels with riveted rims whose shapes are copied in Urartian pottery. And we can observe the same thing happening with bowls. In 1949, as has been mentioned above, ninety-seven bronze bowls were found in one of the wine-cellars at Karmir Blur (128). These

fine bowls are paralleled among the Karmir Blur pottery by the clay bowls which were found in great quantity, and only one of them has a shape which only occurs in metal. It is decorated on the outside with fourteen flutes hammered out from the inner surface, and its shape is that of the *phiale*, a kind of shallow bronze cup which was common in the ancient East (129). Many similar examples of the *phiale* were found at Karmir Blur, of various types, some having deeper flutes than others, and sometimes complex relief ornament as well.

Some *phiale*-shaped clay cups come from Arin-berd, but apparently they all belong to the post-Urartian period. To all appearance the transference of this shape to pottery was slow in happening, but we may concede that certain clay copies of the bronze *phiale* may have been produced before the end of the Urartian kingdom.

Excavations of pre-Urartian levels in Van have revealed painted pottery which is closely connected with other western Asiatic wares, and painted vessels continued to exist in Urartu throughout the whole period of the kingdom. We have some splendid examples of this kind of pottery. At Karmir Blur there was found a pot of *askos*-shape with a red polished neck and handle and a body covered with a white slip. All over its surface there were geometric patterns (circles, chequers, groups of [76] parallel lines, star-patterns) done in brown paint and arranged in three horizontal bands (130). Various fragments exist of similar painted pots. At first sight this pot might appear to be an import from some Mediterranean land or from Iran, but on closer study it appears to show traits which are characteristic of Urartian pottery.

The decoration on the *askos* resembles that on another remarkable piece of painted pottery from Karmir Blur: a beaker made in the shape of a boot, which gives us an accurate representation of Urartian footwear, even including the laces (pl. 23a). This also has brown paint on a light cream-coloured ground. On its upper part there is an ornamental band filled with chequers and small circles, and there is similar decoration near the toe. A second beaker of this kind was found at Karmir Blur made of black polished ware, and bearing a pattern made up of lines and triangular impressions (pl. 23b). Like the other it represents accurately a soft leather boot with a pointed toe and without a separate sole. The lines of ornament indicate the lines of stitches so clearly that we can see without difficulty the leather shapes from which Urartian boots were made. The front of an Urartian boot was laced, as is shown by the parallel lines which are done by deep burnishing.

We have another example of highly artistic Urartian pottery in a large black polished vase (50 cm. high) with a broad mouth and a narrow base (pl. 26) (131). Below the high flaring rim there is a band of ornament consisting of small circles, each containing a large dot, which are done on a light background, and touch a band of brown which is immediately above them; and below this again there is a further band framed by two broad lines. There is painted decoration on the upper part of the rim consisting of two rows of alternate brown and yellow rectangles.

[Figures 56: Modelled figures on the rim of a piece of Urartian pottery. Toprak Kale. (Berlin Museum); 57: Head of a beast of prey, from a pot. Toprak Kale. (Berlin Museum)]



[77] The ornamental band below the rim includes three bulls' heads modelled in the round, which recall the bronze heads described earlier.

Modelled figures occur often on Urartian pottery. Fragments of the rims of large red vessels were found at Toprak Kale decorated with modelled groups of a beast of prey attacking a bull (132) (fig. 56) The bull is placed on the upper surface of the rim, with its legs either bent up or hanging down, while the beast of prey which is attacking it and has seized its side is placed in a vertical position on the outer face of the rim. On a bronze axe which comes from the region of Lake Van there is a model of a dog attacking a lion (133).

In the Berlin and British Museums there are various heads of beasts of prey with snarling jaws which are modelled in great detail (fig. 5 7).

In character they are close to earlier Hittite examples of the so-called 'Cappadocian pottery' period such as are well known from excavations in Anatolia (Bogaz Koy, Alishar and other places).

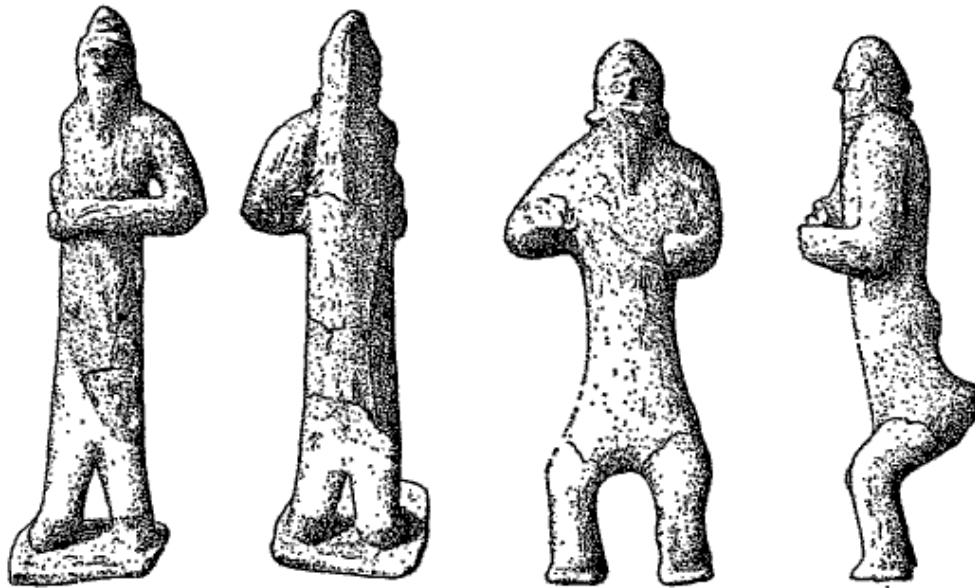
Sculpture in Clay

We also know some small-scale Urartian sculpture in clay. In 1949 three statuettes of tutelary deities were found near an altar in a wine-cellar at Karmir Blur (134). They are all of the same kind, and represent standing bearded figures whose heads and backs are covered with fish-skins in such a way that the head of the fish forms the god's head-dress (fig. 58). The statuettes had been painted, and on the heads and backs there were traces of bright blue paint; but it was in very bad condition, and crumbling into powder. Each god's left arm is bent across his waist, while the right arm is extended forwards. Probably it held a spear or a branch of a tree, as in all the bases there is a corresponding hollow in which the end of the object was set. Similar statuettes wearing the fish-skin dress are known from the excavations at Ashur, the Assyrian capital (135). Gods in fish-attire, who are connected with the god Ea, occur on Assyrian monuments, especially on those which have magical significance, where they usually stand by a sick man's bed. On an Urartian seal belonging to K. V. Trever there is an elaborate scene: there is a winged sun-disc above a fish, a god seated on a throne, and a standing priest and a god in fish-attire beside a bed. This seal bears a religio-magic scene which to a certain extent can be explained, as indicated above, with the help of the religion and myths of Mesopotamia and Western Asia (136).

A clay statuette was found in another store-room at Karmir Blur (fig. 58). This one bore no suggestion of fish-shape, but represented a bearded anthropoid divinity with a scorpion's tail (137). Traces of paint are preserved on it. The face had been painted white, the eyes red, the hair and beard brown, and the head-dress bright blue. Similar divinities are found in Mesopotamia, beginning with the royal tombs of the First Dynasty of Ur; and they are particularly common on late Assyrian and Babylonian seals.

[78]

[Figure 58. Left: clay statuette of figure wearing fish-attire; right: clay statuette of a bearded figure with a scorpion's tail. Karmir Blur. (Armenian Historical Museum)]



In some temporary buildings in the courtyard of the citadel at Teishebaini there were found two crude figurines of animals—a horse and a bull. They were made of clay, and may have served as children's toys.

Wall Painting

To conclude our survey of Urartian art we must consider monumental wall-painting, examples of which have been found in the course of excavations of Urartian fortresses in the territory of the Armenian S.S.R.

In the fortress of Erebuni (Arin-berd) there were paintings in a long room of the temple in the western part of the great central courtyard and in some of the rooms of the palace which occupied the northern part of the fortress (138).

The 1950 excavations in the south-west corner of the temple revealed a large piece of fallen wall-plaster covered with painting from which the general lay-out of the ornamental elements could be deduced. The many-tiered paintings at Erebuni were executed basically in three colours: red and dark blue on a white ground.

On the upper part of the wall, on the projecting cornice, there were circles containing many-rayed stars. Lower down there was a row of alternate red and dark blue palmettes—a characteristic Assyrian pattern—and below them a band made up of stepped battlements, which also occur commonly in Assyrian paintings. Below these three ornamental bands there was a narrow frieze containing figures of bulls and rams, and below again, in the fifth band, there was a painting of sacred trees with gods standing on either side of them. The shape of the trees recalls the one which is [79] found on the helmets of Argishti and Sarduri, but they are rendered much more schematically. Dark blue paint was used for the outline, for the stem, and for the branches, which end in circular fruit. The figures of the gods also recall those on the helmets. They have neither beards nor wings, and they hold fruit and baskets in their hands.

In the same room at Erebuni there were found numerous fragments of wall-painting showing other decorative motives: circles containing many-rayed stars scattered on a dark blue background, rows of rosettes, garlands of stylized pomegranates, and garlands of buds. Many fragments of painted plaster lay on the floor with the painted side downwards, and where this had happened the imprint of the painting showed clearly on the bricks. In these cases it was very easy to see the guiding lines ruled on the background in black paint so as to form a grid over the whole surface which acted as a guide for drawing the ornamental motive.

In 1951 painted fragments of a broad frieze of representations of gods were found on the floor of a room in the temple. A painting survived of the bearded god (probably Haldi) standing on a lion—a familiar figure in Urartian iconography (139). On other fragments of the wall-plaster there was part of the robe of a second figure. The frieze probably showed a procession of gods, as on the Assyrian rock-reliefs at Bavian and Maltai. Larger fragments of painting were found in one of the rooms of the palace at Erebuni, where they had been done not only on the flat surfaces of the walls but also, on the east side, in niches. In 1959 and 1960 large fragments of a polychrome wall-painting were found, made up of the following parts: a row of stepped battlements, a row composed of the 'tree of life' with divinities standing on either side

of them, a broad band of large representations of bulls, lions, winged divinities and concave-sided rectangles, and a second made up of the 'tree of life', this time with garlands of pomegranates. All five bands of the painting were separated by narrow strips containing small circles. The middle portion of this wall-painting was occupied by a broad central frieze (140). There remained a complete figure of a bull resting on one knee, whose back, chest and belly were outlined by a broad band. It is very like the bulls on the sheet of bronze from Toprak Kale, which had their outlines decorated with stone inlay; but in this case the bulls were placed between highly ornamental concave-sided rectangles. Other fragments which survived of the central frieze contained parts of a lion and of some winged divinities, which shows that there was an alternation of different figures.

The wall-paintings from Arin-berd have close parallels in the painting of Assyrian palaces, particularly those of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Kalhu (Nimrud). There we find a similar row of ornamental battlements, the bull resting on one knee (winged in this case), rectangles with concave sides, and circles containing rosettes (141). The circles have a border filled with a zigzag pattern which also has its counterpart at Erebuni. So Urartian paintings of the eighth century B.C. are connected with Assyrian examples of the middle of the ninth.

Assyrian wall-painting is now quite well known. From the thirteenth century B.C. [80] we have the paintings from the palace at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, which were done in red and dark blue paint on a white ground. Along with various other motives we find there sacred trees with winged, bird-headed divinities standing on either side of them (142).

Fragments of paintings were found in the course of the nineteenth-century excavations of the palaces of Ashurnasirpal II and Sargon, but the rich stone reliefs which decorated the walls of the state apartments made them appear to be of secondary interest; and the clearing and consolidation of the paintings was infinitely more complicated than the clearing and sketching of the stone reliefs. This is why the paintings of the Assyrian royal palaces of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. are known to us only from information which is scattered through a number of different publications (143).

In the course of the most recent excavations at Dur-Sharrukin remains of a wall-painting were found in a building to the south-east of the temple of Nabu. This also was executed in dark blue, red and black paint on a white ground. A figure of the god Ashur was preserved, with Sargon, accompanied by an attendant, standing before him; they are twice life-size. The whole group is framed by an ornamental frieze and by figures of winged divinities standing on discs, like those on the mouldings of the arches of the gates of Sargon's principal palace. A portion of the wall below this group, which was painted to a height of about 6 cm., bore three friezes separated by ornamental bands. The middle one consisted of bulls arranged in pairs, facing inwards, on either side of discs framed by inward-curving lines. The upper and lower friezes were filled with figures of winged divinities, resting on one knee, who hold fruit in their right hands and baskets in their left. They are facing discs, which here take the place of the sacred tree (144).

Very fine examples of Assyrian wall-painting, dating from the middle of the eighth century B.C., are known as a result of the excavation of the palace of the Assyrian governor Shamshi-ilu at Til Barsib, on the Euphrates. In addition to scenes showing the bringing of gifts, the driving of prisoners, and the royal hunt, there were also decorative panels showing figures very familiar to us in Assyrian painting, such as bulls, goats sinking down on one knee, and divinities kneeling before discs (145). The Til Barsib excavations show that on the borders of the Assyrian Empire painted stone reliefs were replaced in the palaces by wall-paintings. The same happened in Urartu, and Urartian painting has obvious connections with that of Assyria.

Fragments of wall-painting were found at Karmir Blur also (146), where they occurred among the bricks of the walls of the second floor which had fallen down onto the floor below. They consisted of small fragments bearing various ornamental motives, such as circles containing crosses, and crossing lines framing circles containing rosettes, reminiscent of the decoration on the red marble frieze from Toprak Kale. Some small fragments were also found of winged divinities (faces, parts of wings, and part of a dress decorated with the usual Urartian pattern of squares containing rosettes) and of animals (a lion's mane). On the basis of the fragments it was [81] possible to restore completely a disc with rays emanating from it, at the ends of which there were palmettes and pomegranates (pl. 28).

The great fire in which the citadel of Teishebaini was destroyed had altered the colours of the paintings, but the researches carried out by V. I. Kononov, the restorer at the Hermitage Museum, have revealed what the original colours of the paint really were. The painting was done on a white ground made of white clay (kaolin) applied in a thick layer, and the outlines were sketched in a black paint, made of soot. Two kinds of red paint were used, made of natural mineral colours. One was a clear red, made from red ochre with a high iron content, which had lost its clearness through the heat of the fire; the other was made of a lighter, more yellowish ochre which had been changed by the high

temperature to a very dull red. The investigation of a dark colour, which survived as a cracked and wrinkled layer, proved to be particularly interesting. It was a clear dark blue siliceous glaze (smalt) whose colour came from an admixture of copper, such as was widely used in the ancient East (in Assyria, Egypt, and other lands). The actual paint, made of powdered smalt, did survive on the specimens which were examined, but heavily masked by the scorched sticky material with which it was mixed.

Lumps of coloured clay were found at Karmir Blur; in particular there were two lumps of a clear dark blue colour which were probably raw material for making that shade of paint. A vessel containing similar paint, turned to powder, was found at Toprak Kale.

So we see that in Urartian wall-painting, both at Arin-berd and at Karmir Blur, the basic colours were dark blue and red on a white ground. This links it with Assyrian painting, from which, also, it derived its motives.

The study of Urartian art has this advantage, that it can take into account the whole body of surviving material. In this chapter about two hundred objects of artistic interest have been considered, and they represent virtually all that is known today. There is no doubt that future excavations will considerably increase the total, but even today an analysis of the limited quantity of material fully permits a general definition of Urartian art, and reveals its connections with many neighbouring lands in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

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Appendix B

The Relationship between Urartian and Scythian Art

Scythian works of art whose makers were either strongly influenced by the art of Western Asia, or even copied actual examples of it, have been found in the burial mounds of the lower Dniepr and along the Kuban. They consist of gold scabbards for the short Scythian sword, and they are decorated with figures derived from the art of the ancient Near East. The first of them was found as early as 1763 in the Ukrainian province of Kherson by General Melgunov, and was sent to the Kunstkamera (1). It is now in the Hermitage. On it there are mythical creatures with the bodies of bulls and lions, with wings in the form of fishes, and with the heads of gryphons, human beings, lions and sheep. They all hold bows in their hands, bent and ready for shooting (pls. 29, 30).

The treatment of the bodies of the animals, particularly those of the bulls, attracts attention, as it is very close to some Urartian work; and the human heads recall those of the winged figures on the Urartian bronze cauldrons. On the upper part of the scabbard there is a stylized sacred tree which is also close to the Urartian ones on the bronze belts, and two winged genii who hold in their hands, instead of the usual small fruit-container, something (possibly a fruit-bearing branch) which resembles an object shown in the hands of the gods on the Urartian belts from Karmir Blur. The stylized sacred tree has lost its proper form, as the artist has failed to understand it, and he has placed on either side of its schematized shape two more realistic representations of trees, whose parallels are to be found on the silver pendant in the Berlin Museum which was discovered at Toprak Kale (2). The handle of the weapon itself was covered with gold leaf whose decoration included a design similar to the Urartian sacred tree as well as a characteristic pattern—the garland made up of flowers and buds. On the lower part of the handle there are two figures of recumbent goats. On the scabbard's side-projection there is a figure of a stag done in the Scythian style, which is quite distinct from the style of the figures on the rest of the scabbard, and on the edge of the projection there are stylized birds' [98] heads. Thus the ornamental motives on the scabbard of the Melgunov sword (from the Litoy burial mound), apart from those on the side-projection, have analogies in Urartian art. A second short sword was found in 1903 by D. G. Schultz in a burial mound at the village of Kelermes on the Kuban. It is now in the Hermitage (3). The representations on its gold scabbard are close to those on the Melgunov scabbard, but not identical, for they do not include any creatures with human heads, and bows are held only by monsters with lions' or gryphons' heads. On the upper part of the scabbard and on the lower part of the handle there are stylized sacred trees, beside which stand pairs of winged figures holding fruit in both their hands. In addition to the stylized trees there are two others which are more realistically portrayed. The ornament on the handle also contains elements derived from Urartian representations of sacred trees, even to the simplified pattern of alternate circles and diamond-shapes which recurs in the tree-designs contained in the cartouches on the belt from Karmir Blur. There is also, between the beasts of prey at the ends of the scabbard, an ornament which is characteristic of Urartian belts. The side-projection is decorated in a purely Scythian style.

I have considered carefully the connections between the Melgunov and Kelermes swords and the art of Urartu, and I have assumed that both these original works of Scythian art were either influenced by Urartian products or actually copied from them (4). Urartian scabbards did not have side-projections like the Achaemenid ones, so the Scythian artist could not at that point copy Urartian motives, and therefore filled the gap with Scythian figures. It should be noticed that the decoration is spread thickly over the scabbard in an endeavour to fill all empty spaces; but this principle is not observed on the projection, where there are large un-decorated areas above and below the stag.

There is one group of objects among the Ziwiye finds (the 'Sakkiz treasure') (5) which is very important for studying the connections between Scythian art and that of the ancient Near East. It may be connected with the occupation by the Scythians of the region round Lake Urmia, which is mentioned in Assyrian records (6).

Among the finds from Ziwiye (which, as Barnett has shown (7), come from a tomb or cemetery, and not from a hoard) three different stylistic groups can be clearly distinguished. One is Assyrian (rather early Assyrian, consisting of eighth-century objects which were plundered at the fall of Assyria); one is local Mannean; and the third combines Scythian and Near Eastern elements.

According to Barnett's dating, the burial or burials from which the 'Sakkiz treasure' is derived cannot be earlier than the end of the seventh century B.C., and this, apparently, must be the date of the group of objects which shows Scythian features. Among them particular interest attaches to the fragments of a belt made out of a sheet of gold which are now in the Tehran Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the Pennsylvania, University Museum. The broad belt was completely covered by a pattern which outlined small spaces arranged in six rows (8); and this system of ornament, which divides up the surface of the belt, is similar to that on Urartian belts, though it is complicated by having small lions heads in the corners of the spaces. Those of the first, third and fifth rows contain representations of goats with their legs bent under them, in a way which recalls certain motives in Achaemenid art, and in those on the second, fourth and sixth rows there are typical Scythian stags. So we see that this sumptuous belt combines Scythian art with that of the Near East.

A second object to which I shall devote particular attention is a fragmentary sheet of gold on which are represented two sacred trees, one above the other (9). On either side of the upper [99] one stand two *shedu* (winged bulls with human heads), and outside them there are winged lions with gryphons' heads (of which only one is preserved). On either side of the lower tree stand winged and horned lions with scorpions' tails, and behind them are winged genii with birds' heads, holding small buckets. All these figures have close parallels both in Urartian art and on the Melgunov and Kelermes swords.

These representations of the stylized sacred tree belong to the Urartian series of sacred trees which occurs on the belts, which are themselves connected with Scythian works of art. The gold sheet undoubtedly repeats ancient Near Eastern scenes, but without preserving their true significance; for the winged genii, whose natural positions are immediately on either side of the sacred tree, are ousted by mythical creatures who upset the whole composition.

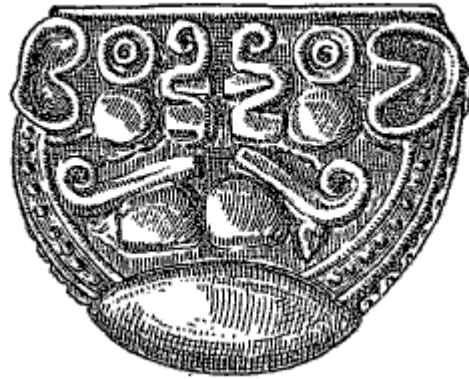
Another characteristic stylized sacred tree occurs on a gold pectoral (10), where there are also various figures of Scythian appearance which resemble in particular those on the gold handle of the iron pole-axe from Kelermes (11). There is an even closer resemblance between this handle and a silver sheathing of a shield or dish which is decorated with five concentric rows of figures (12). Some of these figures are very like the animals on the Kelermes pole-axe, whose misunderstood and misrepresented shapes must have been copied from other objects. Fantastic shapes like that of the elephant, to take one example, can only be the result of much successive copying.

There is yet another object in the 'Sakkiz treasure' which has definite connections with the Scythian sword-scabbards. This is a gold scabbard-tip decorated with two beasts of prey which stand face to face on their hind-paws (fig. 65) (13).

We see from the foregoing survey that Urartian bronze belts form a very interesting group of examples of ancient art, revealing as they do the connections which were maintained through the Urartian centres in

Transcaucasia between the Scythian culture and that of Western Asia. These connections resulted from the activities, at the end of the seventh century B.C., both of nomadic peoples of Western Asia itself and of others who, like the Scythians, penetrated into the region and took part, along with the Babylonians and the Medes, in the destruction of the Assyrian state.

[Figure 65: Gold scabbard-tip from the Sakkiz treasure]



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21. See also Appendix A, p. 91.

CHAPTER 3

1. I have normally translated the Russian word *smalta* as *enamel*, without intending to express an opinion as to whether the substance in question was technically enamel or not. - P.S.G.
2. Piotrovsky, 1939, p. 58; Barnett, 1950, p. 43.
3. Piotrovsky, 1950, p. 53, fig. 31; Barnett, 1953, p. 127; Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 728, fig. 390. The leg is in the Vogüé private collection in Paris, to which it was added in 1884. It was first published in Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 725, fig. 383. Photograph in Barnett, 1950, pl. XIX.
4. It is 31 cm. high. It was found at Toprak Kale in 1898/9 in the course of the excavations of the German expedition. Berlin Museum, VA 755. Published by Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, pp. 485-487; 1906, p. 95, fig. 65.
5. It is 8.5 cm. high. It was bought by Layard in Constantinople in 1887, along with other objects from Van. British Museum 91251. Barnett, 1950, pls. II and IV, 3.
6. It is 22.5 cm. high. Hermitage, Eastern department. From the collection of A. S. Uvarov. Published by Piotrovsky, 1939, p. 51, pl. V. First described in the catalogue of the A. S. Uvarov collection of antiquities, no. 498 (1887).
7. It is 20.3 cm. high. Bought by Layard in

- Constantinople in 1887, along with other objects from Van. British Museum 91247. Barnett, 1950, pls. VI and VII.
8. It is 28 cm. high. British Museum 91253. From the excavations at Toprak Kale in 1880. Barnett, 1950, pl. XI.
 9. It is 31 cm. high. In the Vogüé private collection in Paris. First published in Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 725, fig. 384. Photograph in Barnett, 1950, pl. XXII, 6.
 10. It is 10.8 cm. high. British Museum 91248. Bought by Layard in Constantinople in 1887, along with other objects from Van. Barnett, 1950, pl. V.
 11. It is 10.6 cm. high. Hermitage 16001. Bought from K. Kamsarakan in 1886, described as having been found 'in Van, on the hill of Toprak Kale, in 1884'. Piotrovsky, 1939, p. 50, pl. I.
 12. It is 16.0 cm. high. Hermitage 16002. It was bought from K. Kamsarakan in 1885, and was said to have been found at Toprak Kale in 1884. Barnett quotes a letter which Raynolds wrote to Birch from Van on June 20th, 1884, in which he describes how, on the previous day, a figurine of this kind (and probably this very one) had been offered him for sale by a workman who claimed to have found it near Rassam's excavation at Toprak Kale (see Appendix A, p. 88). Piotrovsky, 1939, p. 50, pls. II-III; Barnett, 1950, pp. 20-21, and 1954, pp. 13-14.
 13. It is 21.2 cm. high. Berlin Museum, VA 775. During the war it was kept at the Hermitage. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, p. 96, fig. 66. A drawing was attached to the letter which S. Devgants wrote from Van to Professor K. P. Patkanov on July 22nd, 1884. (See Appendix A, note 9). He was offering the statuette, which had been found at Toprak Kale, for sale. Piotrovsky, 1939, pp. 48-50.
 14. It is 30 cm. high. In the Stoclet private collection, Brussels. Barnett, 1954, pp. 14-15, fig. 18. There is a photograph, taken before it was acquired by Stoclet, in D. I. Yermakov's collection (Nos. 7445-7448).
 15. The height of the surviving part is 15 cm. Louvre. Bought in Erzerum in 1885. L. Heuzey, *Les origines orientales de l'art*, I (Paris, 1891) pl. IX.
 16. The height of the surviving portion is 21.5 cm. British Museum 91243. From the 1880 excavations at Toprak Kale. Barnett, 1950, pl. VII, 3.
 17. The height of the surviving part is 23.0 cm. Hermitage. From the collection of A. S. Uvarov. Piotrovsky, 1939, p. 51, pl. IV. First published in the A. S. Uvarov catalogue, no. 497 (1887).
 18. The height of the surviving part is 17.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum, New York, 50. 163. Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, March 1952, p. 216, pl. III, 1.
 19. It is 36 cm. high. Berlin Museum, VA 774. In the war it was rescued by the Soviet army and was temporarily kept in the Hermitage. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, p. 98, fig. 69. In Devgants' letter from Van to Professor K. P. Patkanov of July 22nd, 1884, this object, which was found at Toprak Kale, is offered for sale. (See Appendix A, note 9) Piotrovsky, 1939, pp. 48-50.
 20. Piotrovsky, 1939, pp. 56-58.
 21. Piotrovsky, 1950, p. 53.
 22. Barnett, 1953, p. 127.
 23. Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 101, fig. 24 and p. 652, fig. 317; Barnett, 1950, pl. IV, 2.
 24. Piotrovsky, 1959b, p. 179, fig. 42.
 25. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, p. 93, drawing 63.
 26. Hoffmann, 1960, p. 896.
 27. Piotrovsky, 1944, p. 225, fig. 67.
 28. Piotrovsky, 1950, pp. 69-70, fig. 42.
 29. Akurgal, 1959, pls. XX-XXIII.
 30. Istanbul Müzeleri. Asariatika Müzesi. Tunc eserler Rehberi. Istanbul, 1937, p. 39.
 31. Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 735, fig. 397; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1956, pl. XXVI, 1-2.
 32. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, p. 86, drawing 58.
 33. Perrot and Chipiez incorrectly describe one of the Istanbul statuettes as belonging to the Hermitage; and in Lehmann-Haupt's list two statuettes are ascribed to

- the collection of V. S. Golenishchev (apparently through confusion with the Istanbul statuettes published by Brosset).
34. Barnett, 1950, pl. xvi.
 35. Amandry, 1956, pp. 239-260.
 36. Atrpet. The cult of the bull in ancient Armenia. (In Armenian.) In the Armenian journal *Ethnographic Review*, xxiii, 2, 1912.
 37. Hanfmann, 1956a, pp. 205-213.
 38. Kuftin, 1943, p. 41.
 39. A. P. Mantsevich. A bull's head from a burial mound of the sixth century B.C. on the river Kalitva. *Sovietskaya Arkeologiya*, 1958, no. 2, p. 196.
 40. Barnett, 1953, pls. xiii, xiv.
 41. Piotrovsky, 1950, p. 70, fig. 44.
 42. Hanfmann, 1956b, pp. 43-57. The article includes (p. 58) an analysis carried out by R. J. Gettens.
 43. Sidney Smith. The Greek trade at Al Mina. *Antiquaries Journal*, xxii, 1942, p. 87.
 44. Young, 1958a, pp. 3-13; 1958b, pp. 139-154.
 45. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931.
 46. Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 734, refer to a statuette from Nineveh in the British Museum (no. 12060); E. Herzfeld. Khat-tische und khaldische Bronzen. *Janus*, i, 1921, p. 151.
 47. G. Karo. Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit. *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xlv, 1920, p. 139; A. Furtwängler. Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia. iv, Berlin, 1890; Ridder. Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes. p. 287, nos. 764-766; *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlii, 3, 1938, p. 400; P. Perdrizet. Fouilles de Delphes. v. Paris, 1905, p. 80.
 48. M. Pallottino. Urartu, Greece and Etruria. *East and West*, ix, 1, 2, Rome, 1958, pp. 29-52; Amandry, 1958, pp. 73-109; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1956, pp. 150-167.
 49. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, pp. 490-493.
 50. The problem is discussed by O. W. Muscarella in *Hesperia*, xxxi, 1962, pp. 317-329. P.S.G.)
 51. A survey of Persian art. Vol. iv. Oxford University Press. 1938, pls. 63, 64a.
 52. Goldman. Luristan pitchers. *Artibus Asiae*, xx, 4, Ascona, 1957, pp. 251-264, fig. 24; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1956, pl. xxxiv, 4.
 53. Amandry, 1956, p. 249.
 54. Ibid. pl. xxviii.
 55. P. Ducati. Storia dell'arte etrusca, i, p. 121.
 56. M. G. Mazunti. Lebeti etruschi. *Studi etruschi*, xxvii, Florence, 1959, pl. xiii, p. 68. For a similar mount from Olympia see U. Jantzen. Griechische Greifenkessel. Berlin, 1955, pl. 9, 3.
 57. Piotrovsky, 1960, pp. 119-122.
 58. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, p. 99, fig. 70. He refers to the letter from S. Devgants to K. P. Patkanov which we quote in Appendix A, note 9.
 59. Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, ii, fig. 415. There is a complete drawing of the shield in Linch, Armenia, ii, Tblisi, 1910, p. 80, fig. 124. There are photographs and copies of the inscriptions in Barnett, 1950, pl. ix-x, pp. 13-15. One shield from Toprak Kale (22483) has neither figure-ornament nor an inscription.
 60. Piotrovsky, 1955, pp. 26-30.
 61. Akurgal, 1959.
 62. Piotrovsky, 1959, p. 178.
 63. Piotrovsky, 1950, pp. 63-67; 1952, p. 49, with inset enlargement of a figure on the helmet of Argishti I.
 64. Piotrovsky, 1952, pp. 37-38, fig. 20.
 65. Barnett, 1954, p. 9.
 66. Barnett, 1953, p. 126, pl. xviii.
 67. Martirosian, 1958, figs. on pp. 71, 73, 76 and 77.
 68. Kuftin, 1943, pl. xi. (See now Barnett, 1963, pp. 153-198, and R. W. Hamilton, The decorated bronze strip from Guschi, in *Anatolian Studies*, xv, 1965, pp. 41-51. - P.S.G.)
 69. Ibid. p. 44, fig. 31.
 70. Piotrovsky, 1959b, fig. 86.
 71. Ibid. fig. 85.
 72. Ibid. fig. 82.
 73. Barnett, 1950, p. 2, pl. xviii, 2.
 74. Piotrovsky, 1940, pp. 89-91.

75. Report by academician I. Y. Marr on the registration of the manuscripts and antiquities of Turkish Armenia. *Izvestiya Imp. Akademii nauk*, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 1715-1716 (a letter from A. A. Florensky).
76. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, p. 502.
77. Piotrovsky, 1950, p. 68, fig. 41.
78. E. Minns. Small bronzes from Northern Asia. *Antiquaries Journal*, x, January 1930, pl. iv, 1-2.
79. Barnett, 1954, p. 7, pl. II, 2.
80. Piotrovsky, 1959a, fig. 40.
81. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, fig. 56.
82. Meyer, 1955, p. 209.
83. Both medallions have been published. Piotrovsky, 1955b, pp. 11 and 18, figs. 5 and 11; photographs in Piotrovsky, 1959b, pl. XLVII.
84. Piotrovsky, 1955b, p. 18, fig. 12.
85. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pl. XLVII.
86. Piotrovsky, 1950, p. 83, fig. 53.
87. Piotrovsky, 1955b, p. 20, fig. 14.
88. Piotrovsky, 1955a, p. 43.
89. Piotrovsky, 1955b, p. 22, pl. xv.
90. Ibid. p. 18, fig. 13.
91. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pls. XLII-XLIII.
92. Barnett, 1950, pl. XII.
93. Ibid. pl. XIII.
94. Ibid. pl. XIV.
95. Ibid. pl. XV.
96. Ibid. pl. I, 1.
97. Ibid. pl. I, 2.
98. Piotrovsky, 1944, p. 186, fig. 51.
99. Piotrovsky, 1950, pp. 34-35, fig. 13.
100. Piotrovsky, 1949b, pp. 186-188; Report of the Archaeological Commission, 1904, p. 94; A. A. Bobrinsky. Burial mounds and chance finds near the town of Smela, II, 1894, pl. XXIV, and III, 1901, pl. VII, 5.
101. Belck. Aus den Berichten über die armenische Expedition. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1899, p. 241. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, pp. 754-757. A. A. Ivanovsky, Through Transcaucasia. *Materialy po arkheologii Kavkaza*, VI.
102. G. V. Tsereteli. Urartian monuments in the Georgian Museum. Tblisi, 1939, p. 62, pls. xxx-xxxI.
103. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, pp. 76-80, figs. 47j, 48.
104. Piotrovsky, 1959b, p. 201.
- (105. See now: K. Balkan, Ein urartäischer Tempel auf Anzavurtepe, in *Anatolia*, v, 1960, pp. 99-131, and T. Özgüc, The Urartian architecture on the summit of Altintepe, in *Anatolia*, VII, 1963, pp. 43-49. - P.S.G.)
106. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, pp. 742-743.
107. E. Herzfeld. Iran in the Ancient East, Oxford, 1941, p. 249, fig. 353.
108. Burney, 1958a, pp. 211-218; Hulin, 1958, pp. 235-236.
109. Akurgal, 1959, pl. XVII.
110. Farmakovskiy, 1914, pp. 45-47, pls. XVII-XVIII.
111. Ibid. pl. XVIII, 1.
112. Lehmann-Haupt. 1906, p. 81, fig. 53; 1931, pp. 548-549.
113. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, pp. 551-553.
114. Ibid. p. 555.
115. Burney, 1958a, pl. XXXVa, fig. 3.
116. Barnett, 1950, pl. VIII, pp. 5, 8, 16.
117. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pl. XLIX.
118. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, p. 80, fig. 49.
119. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pl. XLVIII.
120. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, p. 80, fig. 50.
121. Piotrovsky, 1953, fig. 22, no. 19.
122. Piotrovsky, 1955b, fig. 42.
123. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931, tailpieces at the ends of chapters.
124. Piotrovsky, 1954b, p. 76.
125. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pls. XXXII-XXXIII.
126. Piotrovsky, 1953, pp. 48-51.
127. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, pp. 109-120, figs. 82 and 92.
128. Piotrovsky, 1953, pp. 54-63.
129. Heinz Luschey. Die Phiale. Bleicherode am Harz, 1939.
130. Piotrovsky, 1959, pp. 175-176.
131. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pp. 192-193, pl. XLIV.
132. Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, pp. 112-115; 1931, pp. 470-471.
133. W. M. Flinders Petrie. Tools and weapons. London, 1917, pl. XI.
134. Piotrovsky, 1953, p. 24, fig. 9.
135. W. Andrae. Das wiedererstandene Assur. Leipzig, 1938, pl. 8; D. J. Wiseman.

- Cylinder seals of Western Asia. London, 1959, pls. 77, 81.
136. Piotrovsky, 1959b, p. 230.
137. Piotrovsky, 1953, p. 24, fig. 10.
138. Piotrovsky, 1952, pp. 41-44; Oganessian, 1960, pp. 289-296.
139. Oganessian, 1960, fig. 8.
140. Ibid. fig. 6.
141. Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, p. 703, pl. xiv.
142. W. Andrae. *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* Leipzig, 1923, pl. III.
143. G. Contenau. *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, III, 1931, p. 1324.
144. G. Loud, C. Altman. *Khorsabad II*. Chicago, 1938, pl. 89.
145. Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl. xvi.
146. Piotrovsky, 1952, pp. 41-44.

APPENDIX A

1. (F. Gille). *Musée de l'Ermitage Impérial*. Saint-Petersbourg, 1860, p. 194; Manuscript catalogue by G. E. Kizeritsky, vol. III, no. 1092-1101, pp. 44-50.
2. Hermitage Museum Archives. Inventory no. 1, 1858, no. 62; it was A. A. Jessen who pointed out the relevance both of this letter, and of Brugsch's report that he was presented with antiquities, to the objects which were sent to the Hermitage in 1859 by I. P. Kolyubakin.
3. H. Brugsch. *Reise der K. Preussischen Gesandtschaft nach Persien 1860 und 1861*. I. Leipzig, 1862, pp. 126-128, 143-145.
4. (F. Gille). *Musée de l'Ermitage Impérial*, pp. 194, 374; (F. Gille). *Muzei Imperatorskovo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg, 1861, p. 218, 408.
5. *Istoriya Armenii Moiseya Khorenskovo*. Russian translation by I. O. Emin, Moscow, 1893, pp. 28-29; I have quoted a more correct translation by L. A. Kalantar.
6. J. Saint-Martin. *Notice sur le voyage littéraire de M. Schulz en Orient, et sur les découvertes qu'il a faites récemment dans les ruines de la ville de Sémiramis en Arménie*. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1828, vol. 2, p. 161.
7. F. E. Schulz. *Mémoire sur le lac de Van et ses environs*. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1840, vol. 9, pp. 257-323.
8. M. Brosset. *Études sur les monuments géorgiens photographiés par M. Iermakof, et sur leurs inscriptions*. *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*,

xvi, 1871 pp. 433-464, reprinted in *Mélanges Asiatiques* VI, (1869-1873), St.-Petersbourg, 1873, pp. 486-523.

Brosset published two letters with his article, one from the very distinguished Russian art-critic V. V. Stasov, the other from the French orientalist Longpérier.

Stasov pointed out that the bronze figures showed none of the characteristics of 'Semitic' or 'Aryan' art, and considered that they represented a third kind, and were extremely important material for the study of the antiquities of the Near East. In this he was anticipating the discovery of two very significant elements in the civilization of the ancient Near East: the Hurrian and Hittite cultures. Longpérier also noted that the bronzes published by Brosset showed no signs of Egyptian or Greek style, and were closest to Babylonian art. He considered that there were two possible explanations. Either they were of Babylonian manufacture, and had reached Armenia by way of trade, or they were the work of the people whom Herodotus called the Alarodii, whom G. Rawlinson and P. Lenormand connected with the Urartians mentioned in Assyrian records. (A. de Longpérier, *Deux bronzes antiques de Van*. *Oeuvres A. M. Longpérier*, I, Paris, 1883, p. 276.)

Thus as early as 1871 the first examples of the art of Urartu (that is, the kingdom of Van) were correctly identified; but as yet Urartu was represented only by cuneiform inscriptions, the collection of which con-

tinued, but whose interpretation was still in its earliest stages.

Nevertheless, objects of Urartian art were for a long time considered to be Assyrian, and were not distinguished in surveys of Assyrian art. Thus Perrot and Chipiez, in their *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* (vol. II, 1884, fig. 281, p. 584), borrow from Longpérier's article a drawing of the bronze statuette from Van which is there correctly identified as Urartian, and place it with all the rest of the Assyrian objects, together with the other antiquities from Van which were known at that time.

In the same way Yermakov, when he photographed a further Urartian statuette – a figure of a god standing on a mythical animal (one which disappeared for a long time, and recently turned up in the Stoclet private collection in Brussels) – wrote in his inventory of photographs: 'No. 7445–7448. Persepolis. Bronze Assyrian idol on a bull.'

9. We have interesting evidence about the people who traded in antiquities in Van, and can reach an even clearer idea by comparing documents in Leningrad and in London (Piotrovsky, 1939, pp. 44–60; Barnett, 1950, pp. 1–43, and 1954, pp. 3–22). A typical example is the following letter, written in Armenian, which was sent from Van to Professor K. P. Patkanov of St. Petersburg University (10–22 July, 1884):

'Over the last six years or more I have gradually acquired in Vaspurakan the following antiquities, which I am guarding with the greatest care as priceless pearls of our national past in prehistoric times, and as objects which can throw new light on the history of our life in ancient times and be of use to modern scholarship in general. Here is a short list of them:

1. a large shield of rounded-oval shape made of pure copper, with engraved figures of lions and bulls, skilfully executed, arranged in two lines. Around the shield there is an inscription.
2. a small statue of a goddess of the same material, overlaid with pure gold. The

head is missing, but half of a head which was found with it appears to belong to it.

3. a figure of a griffin ('bird-lion') of the same material and also formerly overlaid with pure gold. I enclose a drawing of it as an example. Although the ancient metal is again copper, it is remarkably heavy. The gold with which it was overlaid is gone, partly through being buried under ruins for age-long years, partly through being stripped off by ignorant persons who found it.
4. small red clay jugs, on some of which there is a cuneiform inscription.
5. a ploughshare of incredible size.
6. hammers.
7. an object which is possibly a sacrificial table. It has circular openings in it, and on its sides there appear to have been cuneiform inscriptions.
8. two bowls of the same metal. One is solid, the other thin and decorated.
9. spearheads.
10. a multi-coloured delicately-worked mosaic from a palace or a temple, the sort of thing they call "vanakn"; small details of various ornaments, cuneiform signs, etc.

My antiquities were found near Aigestan in the ruins of the fort of "Zymzymmagara," which appears to have been most likely a palace or a large temple. At the foot of this bare rock there is the "Mkheridur", completely covered with cuneiform writing which has in the past been copied. Last year some Englishmen did a certain amount of digging on these extensive ruins with funds provided by the British Museum. A very fine building was discovered, resembling a palace, but in spite of great expenditure of money they only found a shield and a small figure resembling mine, to which the English press attached extremely great importance. They intend to carry out their investigations thoroughly.

'Once in the past a large number of fine objects was found in these ruins, including

a throne of incredible size, completely covered with cuneiform writing, and gilded; but the painful fact is that on my return from Europe I learned that it had been broken up and destroyed. I remember from my childhood what an enormous number of different figurines they found in these ruins, but taking them to be the accursed handiwork of Satan or of jinns they broke them with hammers and made out of them bronze vessels or spades and ploughshares. In this place they did not find coins, and there are none. In other ruins I have found silver and bronze snakes (i.e. fragments of bracelets with snake-head terminals - B.P.). . . . With a view to widening my archaeological investigations, and in order to acquire more valuable antiquities, I am obliged, against my will, to sell those which I possess. . . . I hereby request you to offer them to the St. Petersburg museum. . . . With the help of the Russian consul in Van, my friend K. Kamsarakan, I shall pack it all up and send it to you, bearing the cost of despatch myself, and I shall accept whatever arrangement you can make with the director of the museum. I shall take care to weigh it all and to seal it up. I believe that these antiquities are worth at least three to five thousand roubles, and even more if I send them to London or Paris. Sedrak (the rest of the signature is illegible).'

This letter is in K. P. Patkanov's file in the archives of the Institute for Asiatic Peoples of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In spite of the fact that it is quite impossible to read the signature at the end of the letter, the name of the writer, as R. Barnett has shown, can be determined with complete certainty. He was Sedrak Devgants, a dealer in Urartian antiquities, who in 1885 offered some of the objects listed in his letter to the well-known Viennese orientalist D. Müller (Barnett, 1954, p. 18). The later history of the whole collection is well known to us, for it came in its entirety into the possession of the Berlin museum, and was published by Lehmann-Haupt, who

did not indicate either when or how these objects reached the museum (Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, pp. 96-100).

Sedrak Devgants, in his letter to K. P. Patkanov, mentioned the fact that he had been collecting antiquities for more than six years, and it is perfectly possible that the Armenian who offered 'Assyrian antiquities from Van' to Layard in 1877, the first year of his ambassadorship in Constantinople, was also Devgants (Barnett, 1950, pp. 3-8). This collection, which was bought by the British Museum, included two bronze figures of winged bulls, one lying down and one standing, one of them with a human body; parts of a throne; a model in low relief of a two-storeyed building; and fragments of a shield. On Layard's instructions H. Rassam visited Van and found that the objects in Assyrian style which had been offered for sale in Constantinople had been discovered on the hill of Toprak Kale, which lay not far from the Rock of Van. It was there that the British Museum excavations mentioned by Devgants in his letter to K. P. Patkanov were carried out in 1879 and 1880.

10. Barnett, 1950, pp. 20, 21; 1954, p. 19.

11. In the Hermitage archives there is the following receipt from P. Bernshtam, from whom a small collection of antiquities from Van was acquired. 'I have sold to the Department of Antiquities of the Imperial Hermitage Museum, for three thousand roubles, the following Assyrian objects: 1 silver bracelet (with lions' heads); 1 similar bracelet, but broken; 1 bronze winged lion, with a human face made of alabaster; 1 bronze ram with damaged face; 1 bronze ferrule; 1 bronze ring; 1 piece of bronze armour; some fragments of bronze and various pieces of alabaster; all found by Mr. K. Kamsarakan in 1884 on the hill of Toprak Kale in the province of Van.' (Hermitage Archive, 1885, no. 20 - 'Record of the office of the Imperial Hermitage of the purchase of bronze Assyrian objects from Mr. Bernshtam.')

We may recall that it was precisely with

- the help of the Russian consul in Van, K. Kamsarakan, that Sedrak Devgants intended to despatch to Russia his collection of antiquities. Kamsarakan was not alone in being a lover of the past, and in other foreign consulates and missions in Van valuable archaeological collections were formed.
12. H. Rassam. *Asshur and the land of Nimrod*, New York, 1897, pp. 377, 378.
 13. Lehmann-Haupt, 1931; 'Urartu.' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xxii, 1929.
 14. H. Schäfer and W. Andrae. *Die Kunst des alten Orients*. 1925, pl. 546.
 15. Barnett, 1950, pp. 1-43; 1954, pp. 3-22.
 16. Preliminary accounts in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*. Berlin, 1898, pp. 127, 522, 568; Lehmann-Haupt, 1906, pp. 65-124; idem, *Armenien einst und jetzt*. I (Berlin, 1910); II, 1 (1926); II, 2 (1931).
 17. Meyer, 1955, pp. 205-213.
 18. Hoffmann, 1960, p. 896.
 19. I. A. Orbeli. Preliminary account of the expedition to Asiatic Turkey, 1911-1912. *Izv. Akademii nauk*, St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 922; Farmakovskiy, 1914, pls. xvii-xviii.
 20. K. Lake. *Vanda yapilan halfriyat*. 1938. *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, iv, 1940, pp. 179-191; H. Otto. Die amerikanischen Ausgrabungen am Burgfelsen von Van. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, xiv, 1-2, 1941, pp. 87-95.
 21. A. S. Uvarov. An investigation of the ruins of Armavir. *Protokoly podgotovitel'nogo Komiteta k V arkheologicheskomu sezd'u*. Moscow, 1882, pp. 439-448.
 22. A. A. Ivanovsky. *Through Transcaucasia. Materialy po Arkheologii Kavkaza*, vi, Moscow, 1911.
 23. A. A. Adzhian, L. T. Gyuzalian, B. B. Piotrovsky. Cyclopean fortresses in Transcaucasia. *Soobshcheniya Gos. Akademii Istории materialnoi kultury*, Leningrad, 1931, nos. 1-2, pp. 61-64.
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APPENDIX B

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6. Piotrovsky, 1954, p. 141.
7. Barnett, 1956, pp. 111-116.
8. *University Museum Bulletin*, 21, 1. Philadelphia, March 1957, p. 34, fig. 25.
9. Godard, 1950, p. 35, fig. 25.
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11. Piotrovsky, 1959b, pls. LIV-LV.
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13. Ibid. fig. 7.

Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity

Assyrian Sources

[Main Menu](#)

Assyrian Inscriptions

[Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia](#) (extracts), by Daniel David Luckenbill. Extracts from volumes one and two concerning eastern Asia Minor, the Lake Van area, Nairi, Urartu, etc.

Note: The **full texts** of both volumes 1 and 2 are now available. They are searchable, making them particularly useful:

[volume 1](#) (Chicago, 1926), in 313 pdf pages;

[volume 2](#) (Chicago, 1927), in 513 pdf pages.

[Annals of the Kings of Assyria](#), by E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, at uchicago.edu (covering the period from about 2000 to 860 B.C.).

Available as a bookmarked and searchable pdf file at Internet Archive: [Annals of the Kings of Assyria](#) (London, 1902).

[Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I](#), king of Assyria about 1275 B.C., grandson of Adad-nirari I, edited and translated from a memorial tablet in the British Museum, by L. W. King (London, 1904), in 212 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. An account of the king's conquests in Asia Minor around the Lake Van area, to the west of Lake Urmia, and elsewhere.

[Annals of Assur-Nasir-Pal](#) (reigned 883-859 B.C.), by J. M. Rodwell.

A multilingual HTML version of the above may be downloaded from Internet Archive: [Annals of Assur-Nasir-Pal](#).

[Mesopotamian Chronicles](#), at Wikipedia.

[Mesopotamian Chronicles](#), Google search of Wikipedia.

History, Culture, Mythology

[Babylonia](#), multiple authors, at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

[Assyria, Its Princes, Priests, and People](#), by A. H. Sayce.

[Assyria](#) Wikipedia article. Good summary and additional, recent links.

At Internet Archive, Writings of:

[Nicholas Adontz](#)
[E. A. Wallis Budge](#)
[Igor M. Diakonoff](#)
[Robert Drews](#)
[I. J. Gelb](#)

[Hans G. Güterbock](#)
[Daniel David Luckenbill](#)
[A. Leo Oppenheim](#)
[A. H. Sayce](#)
[E. A. Speiser](#)

[Assyria](#), by M. Dandamayev, E. Grantovskii, and K. Schippmann at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

A wonderful account of early Mesopotamian history is provided by the 1st century B.C. author, Diodorus Siculus, in Book 2 of his *Library of History*. A multilingual HTML version of Book 2 is available at Internet Archive: [Diodorus, Book 2](#). This book, important for the history of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus, deals with Assyria, Semiramis/Shamiram, Media, Scythians, India, the Amazons, and the Arabs, among other topics.

[The Pre-history of the Armenian People](#), *The Rise of Assyria and Urartu; their wars; their collapse* (excerpts), by Igor M. Diakonoff.

[Diakonoff, Map 3](#). *Schematic Map of Western Asia at the Beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C. (9-7th Centuries B.C.)*.

The original Russian of the above work (Erevan, 1968), without Diakonoff's later additions and corrections, is available for reading online: [Предыстория армянского народа](#), at [annals.xlegio.ru](#).

[Ассиро-вавилонские источники по истории Урарту](#) [[Assyro-Babylonian Sources for the History of Urartu](#)], by Igor M. Diakonoff, at [annals.xlegio.ru](#).

Material at Internet Archive for [Assyria/Assyrian](#).

Material at Ancient World Online for [Assyria/Assyrian](#).

[The Oriental Institute Open Access Publications](#) and [ETANA Core Texts](#), prepared by Charles Jones.

[Ancient Locations](#), a database of archaeological sites, prepared by Charles Jones.

Material at Sacred-Texts for [Assyria](#).

[The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria](#), by Morris Jastrow, at Sacred-Texts.
[Myths of Babylonia and Assyria](#), by Donald A. Mackenzie, at Sacred-Texts.

[Art and Artifact as Ethnobotanical Tools in the Ancient Near East with Emphasis on Psychoactive Plants](#), by William Emboden, Jr.

[The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments and its Outcomes](#), by E. Bonavia (Westminster, 1894), in 259 pdf pages with numerous illustrations. Contents include: Flora of the Assyrian Monuments of the British Museum and Others; Sacred Trees of Assyria; the Cone-Fruit; The Lotus; The Evil Eye; The Trident; Notes on Some Cylinders; Conclusions.

[Of Gods, Men and Monsters on Assyrian Seals](#), by Pauline Albenda, from *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar., 1978), pp. 17-22, in 7 pdf pages, with plates.

[Assyria in Classical Universal Histories](#), by Robert Drews, from *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 14, H. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 129-142, in 15 pdf pages.

[Assyria and Syria: Synonyms](#), by Richard N. Frye, from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), pp. 281-285, in 6 pdf pages.

[The Ancient Name of Edessa](#), by Amir Harrak, from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Jul., 1992), pp. 209-21, in 7 pdf pages.

[Aram Naharaim: A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium B.C.](#) With an appendix on Indo-Aryan names [from Mitanni, Nuzu and Syro-Palestinian documents], by Roger Timothy O'Callaghan and Paul Emile Dumont (Rome, 1948), *Pontificium Institutum Biblicum*, in 172 searchable pdf pages.

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Material at Ancient World Online for [Mesopotamia](#).

Material at Sacred-Texts for [Mesopotamia](#).

Art History

Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art:

[Mesopotamia 8000-2000 B.C.](#)
[Mesopotamia 2000-1000 B.C.](#)
[Mesopotamia 1000 B.C. - 1 A.D.](#)
[Mesopotamia 1 - 500 A.D.](#)

Google Images:

[Babylonian Art](#)
[Assyrian Art](#)

Annals of Assur-Nasir-Pal

Text Source:

- Library collection: "World's Greatest Literature"
- Published work: "Babylonian and Assyrian Literature"
- Translator: Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A.
- Publisher: P. F. Collier & Son, New York
- Copyright: Colonial Press, 1901

The printed translation was indexed by column and line of the original inscription. This index is displayed at the start of each line in the form of [column.line]. In addition to this, HTML anchor tags have been added at every 5th index to allow search programs and notes to directly reference the text. Their form is:

"AssurNasirPal.Ann.column.line"

Notes - (Covering pages 165 - 166)

Concerning Assur-nasir-habal or Assur-nasir-pal (i.e., "Assur preserves the son") we possess fuller historical records than of any other of the Assyrian monarchs, and among these the following inscription is the most important. From it, and from the inscription upon his statue discovered by Mr. Layard in the ruins of one of the Nimroud temples, we learn that he was the son of Tuklat-Adar or Tuklat-Ninip, that he reigned over a territory extending from the "Tigris to the Lebanon, and that he brought the great sea and all countries from the sunrise to the sunset under his sway." These inscriptions are published in the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," Vol. I, plates 17 to 27, and were partially translated by Professor Oppert, *"Histoire des Empires de Chaldee et d'Assyrie"*, page 73 and following *"Extrait des Annales de philosophie chretienne,"* tom. IX, 1865.

There is considerable difficulty and a consequent divergence of opinion as to the precise date when Assur-nasir-pal ascended the throne. But he most probably reigned from 883 to 858 B.C.

It need scarcely be remarked that Assur-nasir-pal is a different person from the well-known Sardanapalus of classic writers, or Assur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon, who reigned from about B.C. 668 to 625.

It will be seen from the inscription that the campaigns of Assur-nasir-pal took place in the mountains of Armenia, in Commagene and the provinces of the Pontus, inhabited by the Moschi and other tribes. He probably advanced into Media and a portion of western Persia. The countries on the banks of the Euphrates submitted to his arms, and in one of his expeditions he vanquished

Nabu-bal-iddin, King of Babylon. Westward, he reduced the southern part of Syria, and advanced to the mountain chains of the Amanus and Lebanon, but though he penetrated as far as to Tyre and Sidon and exacted tribute from both as well as from Byblus and Aradus, he did not subdue Phoenicia. The kingdoms of Israel and Judah, under the sway of Ahab and Jehosaphat, were no doubt too powerful, as is evinced by the armies which they must have maintained for their struggle with the Syrians, for Assur-nasir-pal to have ventured upon attacking them. This feat was reserved for his successors on the throne of Assyria.

The inscription was found in the ruins of the Temple at the foot of the Pyramid at Nimroud (Calach).

ANNALS OF ASSUR-NASIR-PAL

Column 1 - Covered in pages 166 - 175

[1.1] To Ninip most powerful hero, great, chief of the gods, warrior, powerful Lord, whose onset in battle has not been opposed, eldest son,

[1.2] crusher of opponents, first-born son of Nukimmut, supporter of the seven, noble ruler, King of the gods the producers, governor, he who rolls along the mass

[1.3] of heaven and earth, opener of canals, treader of the wide earth, the god who in his divinity nourishes heaven and earth, the beneficent,

[1.4] the exalted, the powerful, who has not lessened the glory of his face, head of nations, bestower of sceptres, glorious, over all cities a ruler,

[1.5] valiant, the renown of whose sceptre is not approached, chief of widespread influence, great among the gods, shading from the southern sun, Lord of Lords, whose hand the vault of heaven

[1.6] (and) earth has controlled, a King in battle mighty who has vanquished opposition, victorious, powerful, Lord of water-courses and seas,

[1.7] strong, not yielding, whose onset brings down the green corn, smiting the land of the enemy, like the cutting of reeds, the deity who changes not his purposes,

[1.8] the light of heaven and earth, a bold leader on the waters, destroyer of them that hate (him), a spoiler (and) Lord of the disobedient, dividing enemies, whose name in the speech of the gods

[1.9] no god has ever disregarded, the gatherer of life, the god(?) whose prayers are good, whose abode is in the city of Calah, a great Lord, my Lord - (who am) Assur-nasir-pal, the mighty King,

[1.10] King of multitudes, a Prince unequalled, Lord of all the four countries, powerful over hosts of men, the possession of Bel and Ninip the exalted and Anu

[1.11] and of Dakan, a servant of the great gods in the lofty shrine for great (O Ninip) is thy heart;
a worshipper of Bel whose might upon

[1.12] thy great deity is founded, and thou makest righteous his life, valiant, warrior, who in the
service of Assur his Lord hath proceeded, and among the Kings

[1.13] of the four regions who has not his fellow, a Prince for admiration, not sparing opponents,
mighty leader, who an equal

[1.14] has not, a Prince reducing to order his disobedient ones, who has subdued whole
multitudes of men, a strong worker, treading down

[1.15] the heads of his enemies, trampling on all foes, crushing assemblages of rebels, who in the
service of the great gods his Lords

[1.16] marched vigorously and the lands of all of them his hand captured, caused the forests of all
of them to fall, and received their tribute, taking

[1.17] securities, establishing laws over all lands, when Assur the Lord who proclaims my name
and augments my Royalty

[1.18] laid hold upon his invincible power for the forces of my Lordship, for Assur-nasir-pal,
glorious Prince, worshipper of the great gods

[1.19] the generous, the great, the powerful, acquirer of cities and forests and the territory of all of
them, King of Lords, destroying the wicked, strengthening

[1.20] the peaceful, not sparing opponents, a Prince of firm will(?) one who combats oppression,
Lord of all Kings,

[1.21] Lord of Lords, the acknowledged, King of Kings, seated gloriously, the renown of Ninip
the warrior, worshipper of the great gods, prolonging the benefits (conferred by) his fathers:

[1.22] a Prince who in the service of Assur and the Sun-god, the gods in whom he trusted, royally
marched to turbulent lands, and Kings who had rebelled against him

[1.23] he cut off like grass, all their lands to his feet he subjected, restorer of the worship of the
goddesses and that of the great gods,

[1.24] Chief unwavering, who for the guidance of the heads (and) elders of his land is a steadfast
guardian, the work of whose hands and

[1.25] the gift of whose finger the great gods of heaven and earth have exalted, and his steps over
rulers have they established forever;

[1.26] their power for the preservation of my Royalty have they exercised; the retribution of his
power, (and) the approach of His Majesty over Princes

[1.27] of the four regions they have extended: the enemies of Assur in all their country, the upper and the lower I chastised, and tribute and impost

[1.28] upon them I established, capturing the enemies of Assur - mighty King, King of Assyria, son of Tuklat-Adar who all his enemies

[1.29] has scattered; (who) in the dust threw down the corpses of his enemies, the grandson of Bin-nirari, the servant of the great gods,

[1.30] who crucified alive and routed his enemies and subdued them to his yoke, descendant of Assur-dan-il, who the fortresses

[1.31] established (and) the fanes made good. In those days by the decree of the great gods to royalty power supremacy I rose up:

[1.32] I am a King, I am a Lord, I am glorious, I am great, I am mighty, I have arisen, I am Chief, I am a Prince, I am a warrior

[1.33] I am great and I am glorious, Assur-nasir-habal, a mighty King of Assyria, proclaimer of the Moon-god, worshipper of Anu, exalter of Yav, suppliant of the gods

[1.34] am I, servant unyielding, subduing the land of his foeman, a King mighty in battle, destroyer of cities and forests,

[1.35] Chief over opponents, King of the four regions, expeller of his foes, prostrating all his enemies, Prince of a multitude of lands of all Kings

[1.36] Even of all, a Prince subduing those disobedient to him, who is ruling all the multitudes of men. These aspirations to the face of the great gods

[1.37] have gone up; on my destiny steadfastly have they determined; at the wishes of my heart and the uplifting of my hand, Istar, exalted Lady,

[1.38] hath favored me in my intentions, and to the conduct of (my) battles and warfare hath applied her heart. In those days I Assur-nasir-pal, glorious Prince, worshipper of the great gods

[1.39] the wishes of whose heart Bel will cause him to attain, and who has conquered all Kings who disobey him, and by his hand capturing

[1.40] his enemies, who in difficult places has beaten down assemblages of rebels; when Assur, mighty Lord, proclaimer of my name

[1.41] aggrandizer of my royalty over the Kings of the four regions, bountifully hath added his invincible power to the forces of my government,

[1.42] putting me in possession of lands, and mighty forests for exploration hath he given and urgently impelled me - by the might of Assur my Lord,

[1.43] perplexed paths, difficult mountains by the impetuosity of my hosts I traversed, and an equal there was not. In the beginning of my reign

[1.44] (and) in my first campaign when the Sun-god guider of the lands threw over me his beneficent protection on the throne of my dominion I firmly seated myself; a sceptre

[1.45] the dread of man into my hands I took; my chariots (and) armies I collected; rugged paths, difficult mountains, which for the passage

[1.46] of chariots and armies was not suited I passed, and to the land of Nairi I went: Libie, their capital city, the cities Zurra and Abuqu

[1.47] Arura Arubie, situated within the limits of the land of Aruni and Etini, fortified cities, I took, their fighting-men

[1.48] in numbers I slew; their spoil, their wealth, their cattle I spoiled; their soldiers were discouraged; they took possession of a difficult mountain, a mountain exceedingly difficult; after them

[1.49] I did not proceed, for it was a mountain ascending up like lofty points of iron, and the beautiful birds of heaven had not reached up into it: like nests

[1.50] of the young birds in the midst of the mountain their defence they placed, into which none of the Kings my fathers had ever penetrated: in three days

[1.51] successfully on one large mountain, his courage vanquished opposition: along the feet of that mountain I crept and hid: their nests, their tents,

[1.52] I broke up; 200 of their warriors with weapons I destroyed; their spoil in abundance like the young of sheep I carried off;

[1.53] their corpses like rubbish on the mountains I heaped up; their relics in tangled hollows of the mountains I consumed; their cities

[1.54] I overthrew, I demolished, in fire I burned: from the land of Nummi to the land of Kirruri I came down; the tribute of Kirruri

[1.55] of the territory of Zimizi, Zimira, Ulmanya, Adavas, Kargai, Harmasai, horses, (fish (?).

[1.56] oxen, horned sheep in numbers, copper, as their tribute I received: an officer to guard boundaries over them I placed. While in the land of Kirruri

[1.57] they detained me, the fear of Assur my Lord overwhelmed the lands of Gilzanai and Khubuskai; horses, silver

[1.58] gold, tin, copper, *kams* of copper as their tribute they brought to me. From the land of Kirruri I withdrew;

[1.59] to a territory close by the town Khulun in Gilhi Bitani I passed: the cities of Khatu, Khalaru, Nistun, Irbidi,

[1.60] Mitkie, Arzanie, Zila, Khalue, cities of Gilhi situated in the environs of Uzie and Arue

[1.61] and Arardi powerful lands, I occupied: their soldiers in numbers I slew; their spoil, their riches I carried off;

[1.62] their soldiers were discouraged; the summits projecting over against the city of Nistun which were menacing like the storms of heaven, I captured;

[1.63] into which no one among the Princes my sires had ever penetrated; my soldiers like birds (of prey) rushed upon them;

[1.64] 260 of their warriors by the sword I smote down; their heads cut off in heaps I arranged; the rest of them like birds

[1.65] in a nest, in the rocks of the mountains nestled; their spoil, their riches from the midst of the mountains I brought down; cities which were in the midst

[1.66] of vast forests situated I overthrew, destroyed, burned in fire; the rebellious soldiers fled from before my arms; they came down; my yoke

[1.67] they received; impost tribute and a Viceroy I set over them. Bubu son of Bubua son of the Prefect of Nistun

[1.68] in the city of Arbela I flayed; his skin I stretched in contempt upon the wall. At that time an image of my person I made; a history of my supremacy

[1.69] upon it I wrote, and (on) a mountain of the land of Ikin(?) in the city of Assur-nasir-pal at the foot I erected (it). In my own eponym in the month of July and the 24th day (probably B.C. 882).

[1.70] in honor of Assur and Istar the great gods my Lords, I quitted the city of Nineveh: to cities situated below Nipur and Pazate powerful countries

1.71] I proceeded; Atkun, Nithu, Pilazi and 20 other cities in their environs I captured; many of their soldiers I slew;

[1.72] their spoil, their riches I carried off; the cities I burned with fire; the rebel soldiers fled from before my arms, submitted,

[1.73] and took my yoke; I left them in possession of their land. From the cities below Nipur and Pazate I withdrew; the Tigris I passed;

[1.74] to the land of Commagene I approached; the tribute of Commagene and of the Moschi in *kams* of copper, sheep and goats I received; while in Commagene

[1.75] I was stationed, they brought me intelligence that the city Suri in Bit-Khalupe had revolted. The people of Hamath had slain their governor

[1.76] Ahiyababa the son of Lamamana they brought from Bit-Adini and made him their King. By help of Assur and Yav

[1.77] the great gods who aggrandize my royalty, chariots, (and) an army, I collected: the banks of the Chaboras I occupied; in my passage tribute

[1.78] in abundance from Salman-haman-ilin of the city of Sadikannai and of Il-yav of the city of Sunai, silver, gold,

[1.79] tin, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool, vestments of linen I received. To Suri which is in Bit-Halupe I drew near;

[1.80] the fear of the approach of Assur my Lord overwhelmed them; the great men and the multitudes of the city, for the saving of their lives, coming up after me,

[1.81] submitted to my yoke; some slain, some living, some tongue-less I made: Ahiyababa son of Lamamana

[1.82] whom from Bit-Adini they had fetched, I captured; in the valor of my heart and the steadfastness of my soldiers I besieged the city; the soldiers, rebels all,

[1.83] were taken prisoners; the nobles to the principal palace of his land I caused to send; his silver, his gold, his treasure, his riches, copper

[1.84] (?)tin, *kams*, *tabhani*, *hariati* of copper, choice copper in abundance, alabaster and iron-stone of large size

[1.85] the treasures of his harem, his daughters and the wives of the rebels with their treasures, and the gods with their treasures,

[1.86] precious stones of the land of . . . , his swift chariot, his horses, the harness, his chariot-yoke, trappings for horses, coverings for men,

[1.87] vestments of wool, vestments of linen, handsome altars of cedar, handsome . . . , bowls of cedar-wood

[1.88] beautiful black coverings, beautiful purple coverings, carpets, his oxen, his sheep, his abundant spoil, which like the stars of heaven could not be reckoned,

[1.89] I carried off; Aziel as my lieutenant over them I placed; a trophy along the length of the great gate I erected: the rebellious nobles

[1.90] who had revolted against me and whose skins I had stripped off, I made into a trophy: some in the middle of the pile I left to decay; some on the top

[1.91] of the pile on stakes I impaled; some by the side of the pile I placed in order on stakes; many within view of my land

[1.92] I flayed; their skins on the walls I arranged; of the officers of the King's officer, rebels, the limbs I cut off;

[1.93] I brought Ahiyababa to Nineveh; I flayed, him and fastened his skin to the wall; laws and edicts

[1.94] over Lakie I established. While I was staying in Suri the tribute of the Princes of Lakie throughout the whole of them,

[1.95] silver, gold, tin, copper, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, vestments of wool and linen, as tribute

[1.96] and gift, I defined and imposed upon them. In those days, the tribute of Khayani of the city of Hindanai, silver,

[1.97] gold, tin, copper, amu-stone, alabaster blocks, beautiful black (and) lustrous coverings I received as tribute from him. In those days an enlarged image

[1.98] of my Royalty I made; edicts and decrees upon it I wrote; in the midst of his palace I put it up; of stone my tablets I made;

[1.99] the decrees of my throne upon it I wrote; in the great gate I fixed them, in the date of this year which takes its name from me, in honor of Assur my Lord and Ninip who uplifts my feet.

[1.100] Whereas in the times of the Kings my fathers no man of Suhi to Assyria had ever come, Il-bani Prince of Suhi together with his soldiers

[1.101] (and) his son, silver, gold as his tribute to Nineveh in abundance brought: in my own eponym at the city of Nineveh I stayed: news

[1.102] they brought me that men of the land of Assyria, (and) Hulai the governor of their city which Shalmaneser King of Assyria my predecessor

[1.103] to the city of Hasiluha had united, had revolted: Dandamusa a city of my dominion marched out to subdue (them);

[1.104] in honor of Assur, the Sun-god and Yav, the gods in whom I trust, my chariots and army I collected at the head of the river Zupnat, the place of an image

[1.105] which Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglath-Adar, Kings of Assyria my fathers had raised; an image of My Majesty I constructed and put up with theirs.

[1.106] In those days I renewed the tribute of the land of Izala, oxen, sheep, goats: to the land of Kasyari I proceeded, and to Kinabu

[1.107] the fortified city of the province of Hulai. I drew near; with the impetuosity of my formidable attack I besieged and took the town; 600 of their fighting men

[1.108] with (my) arms I destroyed; 3,000 of their captives I consigned to the flames; as hostages I left not one of them alive; Hulai

[1.109] the governor of their town I captured by (my) hand alive; their corpses into piles I built; their boys and maidens I dishonored;

[1.110] Hulai the governor of their city I flayed: his skin on the walls of Damdamusa I placed in contempt; the city I overthrew demolished, burned with fire;

[1.111] the city of Mariru within their territory I took; 50 warrior fighting men by (my) weapons I destroyed; 200 of their captives in the flame I burned;

[1.112] the soldiers of the land of Nirbi I slew in fight in the desert; their spoil, their oxen, their sheep, I brought away; Nirbu which is at the foot of mount Ukhira

[1.113] I boldly took; I then passed over to Tila their fortified city; from Kinabu I withdrew; to Tila I drew near;

[1.114] a strong city with three forts facing each other: the soldiers to their strong forts and numerous army trusted and would not submit;

[1.115] my yoke they would not accept; (then,) with onset and attack I besieged the city; their fighting men with my weapons I destroyed; of their spoil,

[1.116] their riches, oxen and sheep, I made plunder; much booty I burned with fire; many soldiers I captured alive;

[1.117] of some I chopped off the hands and feet; of others the noses and ears I cut off; of many soldiers I destroyed the eyes;

[1.118] one pile of bodies while yet alive, and one of heads I reared up on the heights within their town; their heads in the midst I hoisted; their boys (*Continued on Column 2*)

Column 2 - Covered in pages 175 - 186

[2.1] and their maidens I dishonored, the city I overthrew, razed and burned with fire, In those days the cities of the land of Nirbi

[2.2] (and) their strong fortresses, I overthrew, demolished, burned with fire: from Nirbi I withdrew and to the city Tuskha

[2.3] I approached; the city of Tuskha I again occupied; its old fort I threw down: its place I prepared, its dimensions I took; a new castle

[2.4] from its foundation to its roof I built, I completed, I reared: a palace for the residence of My Royalty with doors of *iki* wood I made;

[2.5] a palace of brick from its foundations to its roof I made, I completed: a complete image of my person of polished stone I made; the history

[2.6] of my surpassing nation and an account of my conquests which in the country of Nairi I had accomplished I wrote upon it; in the city of Tuskha

[2.7] I raised it; on suitable stone I wrote and upon the wall I fixed it; (then) the men of Assyria, those who from the privation of food to various countries

[2.8] And to Rurie had gone up, to Tuskha I brought back and settled there: that city to myself

[2.9] I took; the wheats and barleys of Nirbi I accumulated in it; the populace of Nirbi who before my arms had fled,

[2.10] returned and accepted my yoke; of their towns, their Viceroys, their many convenient houses I took possession; impost and tribute, horses,

[2.11] horses for the yoke, fish, oxen, sheep, goats in addition to what I had before settled, I imposed upon them; their youths as hostages

[2.12] I took. While I was staying in Tuskha, I received the tribute of Ammibaal son of Zamani, of Anhiti of the land of Rurie

[2.13] of Labduri son of Dubuzi of the land of Nirdun and the tribute of the land of Urumi-sa Bitani, of the Princes of the land of Nairi,

[2.14] chariots, horses, horses for the yoke, tin, silver, gold, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, goats.

[2.15] Over the land of Nairi I established a viceroy: (but) on my return the land of Nairi, and Nirbu which is in

[2.16] the land of Kasyari, revolted; nine of their cities leagued themselves with Ispilipri one of their fortified towns and to a mountain difficult of access

[2.17] they trusted; but the heights of the hill I besieged and took; in the midst of the strong mountain their fighting men I slew; their corpses like rubbish on the hills

[2.18] I piled up; their common people in the tangled hollows of the mountains I consumed; their spoil, their property I carried off; the heads of their soldiers

[2.19] I cut off; a pile (of them) in the highest part of the city I built; their boys and maidens I dishonored; to the environs of the city Buliyani

[2.20] I passed; the banks of the river Lukia I took possession of; in my passage I occupied the towns of the land of Kirhi hard by; many of their warriors

[2.21] I slew; their spoil I spoiled; their cities with fire I burned: to the city of Ardupati I went. In those days the tribute

[2.22] of Ahiramu son of Yahiru of the land of Nilai son of Bahiani of the land of the Hittites and of the Princes of the land of Hanirabi, silver, gold,

[2.23] tin, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, horses, as their tribute I received; in the eponym of Assuridin they brought me intelligence that

[2.24] Zab-yav Prince of the land of Dagara had revolted. The land of Zamua throughout its whole extent he boldly seized; near the city of Babite

[2.25] they constructed a fort; for combat and battle they marched forth: in the service of Assur, the great god my Lord and the great Merodach

[2.26] going before me, by the powerful aid which the Lord Assur extended to my people, my servants and my soldiers I called together; to the vicinity

[2.27] of Babite I marched: the soldiers to the valor of their army trusted and gave battle: but in the mighty force of the great Merodach going before me

[2.28] I engaged in battle with them; I effected their overthrow; I broke them down; 1,460 of their warriors in the environs

[2.29] I slew; Uzie, Birata, and Lagalaga, their strong towns, with 100 towns within their territory I captured;

[2.30] their spoil, their youths, their oxen, and sheep I carried off; Zab-yav for the preservation of his life, a rugged mountain

[2.31] ascended; 1,200 of their soldiers I carried off; from the land of Dagara I withdrew; to the city of Bara I approached; the city of Bara

[2.32] I captured; 320 of their soldiers by my weapons I destroyed; their oxen, sheep, and spoil in abundance I removed;

[2.33] 300 of their soldiers I took off; on Tasritu 15th from the town Kalzi I withdrew, and came to the environs of Babite;

[2.34] from Babite I withdrew; to the land of Nizir which they call Lulu-Kinaba I drew near; the city Bunasi one of their fortified cities

[2.35] belonging to Musazina and 20 cities of their environs I captured; the soldiers were discouraged; they took possession of a mountain difficult of access; I, Assur-nasir-pal impetuously after them

[2.36] like birds swooped down; their corpses lay thick on the hills of Nizir; 326 of their warriors I smote down; his horses I exacted of him,

[2.37] their common people in the tangled hollows I consumed; seven cities in Nizir, which were of their duly appointed fortresses I captured; their soldiers

[2.38] I slew; their spoil, their riches, their oxen, their sheep I carried off; the cities themselves I burned; to these my tents I returned to halt;

[2.39] from those same tents I departed; to cities of the land of Nizir whose place no one had ever seen I marched; the city of Larbusa

[2.40] the fortified city of Kirtiara and 8 cities of their territory I captured; the soldiers lost heart and took to a steep mountain, a mountain (which) like sharp iron stakes

[2.41] rose high upward; as for his soldiers, I ascended after them; in the midst of the mountain I scattered their corpses; 172 of their men I slew; soldiers

[2.42] in numbers in the hollows of the mountain I hunted down; their spoil, their cattle, their sheep, I took away; their cities with fire

[2.43] I burned; their heads on the high places of the mountain I lifted up; their boys and maidens I dishonored; to the tents aforesaid I returned to halt;

[2.44] from those same tents I withdrew; 150 cities of the territory of Larbusai, Durlulumai, Bunisai and Barai I captured;

[2.45] their fighting men I slew; their spoil I spoiled; the city of Hasabtai I razed (and) burned with fire; 50 soldiers of Barai I slew in battle on the plain.

[2.46] In those days the Princes of the entire land of Zamua were overwhelmed by the dread of the advance of Assur my Lord and submitted to my yoke; horses, silver, gold,

[2.47] I received; the entire land under a Prefect I placed; horses, silver, gold, wheat, barley, submission, I imposed upon them

[2.48] from the city of Tuklat-assur-azbat I withdrew; the land of Nispi accepted my yoke; I went down all night; to cities of remote site in the midst of Nispi

[2.49] which Zab-yav had established as his stronghold I went, took the city of Birutu and consigned it to the flames. In the eponym of Damiktiya-tuklat, when I was stationed at Nineveh, they brought me news

[2.50] that Amaka, and Arastua withheld the tribute and vassalage due to Assur my Lord. In honor of Assur mighty Lord and Merodach the great going before me,

[2.51] on the first of May I prepared for the third time an expedition against Zamua: my fighting men before the many chariots I did not consider: from Kalzi I withdrew; the lower Zab

[2.52] I passed; to the vicinity of Babite I proceeded; the river Radanu at the foot of the mountains of Zima, my birthplace, I approached; oxen,

[2.53] sheep, goats, as the tribute of Dagara I received: near Zimaki I added my strong chariots and battering rams as chief of warlike implements to my magazines; by night

[2.54] and daybreak I went down; the Turnat in rafts I crossed; to Amali the strong city of Arastu I approached;

[2.55] with vigorous assault the city I besieged and took; 800 of their fighting men I destroyed by my weapons; I filled the streets of their city with their corpses;

[2.56] their many houses I burned; many soldiers I took alive; their spoil in abundance I carried off; the city I overthrew razed and burnt with fire; the city Khudun

[2.57] and 20 cities in its environs I took; their soldiers I slew; their booty in cattle and sheep I carried off; their cities I overthrew razed and burned; their boys

[2.58] their maidens I dishonored; the city of Kisirtu a fortified city of Zabini with 10 neighboring cities I took; their soldiers I slew; their spoil

[2.59] I carried off; the cities of Barai and Kirtiara, Bunisai together with the province of Khasmar I overthrew razed and burned with fire;

[2.60] I reduced the boundaries to a heap, and then from the cities of Arastua I withdrew: to the neighborhood of the territory of Laara and Bidirgi, rugged land, which for the passage

[2.61] of chariots and an arms was not adapted, I passed: to the royal city Zamri of Amika of Zamua I drew near; Amika from before the mighty prowess of my formidable attack

[2.62] fled in fear and took refuge on a hill difficult of access: I brought forth the treasures of his palace and his chariot; from Zamri I withdrew and passed the river Lallu and to the mountains of Etini,

[2.63] difficult ground, unfit for the passage of chariots and armies, whither none of the Princes my sires had ever penetrated; I marched in pursuit of his army on the mountains of Etini:

[2.64] the hill I ascended: his treasure, his riches, vessels of copper, abundance of copper, *kam* of copper, bowls of copper, pitchers of copper, the treasures of his palace and of his storehouses,

[2.65] from within the mountains I took away to my camp and made a halt: by the aid of Assur and the Sun-god, the gods in whom I trust, from that camp I withdrew and proceeded on my march;

[2.66] the river Edir I passed on the confines of Soua and Elaniu, powerful lands; their soldiers I slew in numbers; their treasure, their riches, *am* of copper,

[2.67] *kam* of copper, *sapli* and *namziete* of copper, vessels of copper in abundance, *pasur* wood, gold and *ahzi*, their oxen sheep, riches,

[2.68] his abundant spoil, from below the mountains of Elani, his horses, I exacted from him: Amika for the saving of his life to the land of Sabue went up

[2.69] the cities Zamru, Arazitku, Amaru. Parsindu, Eritu, Zuritu his fortified city, with 150 cities

[2.70] of his territory I overthrew, razed, burned; the boundary I reduced to a heap. While in the vicinity of Parsindi I was stationed, the war-like engines of the tribe of Kallabu

[2.71] came forth against the place; 150 of the fighting men of Amika I slew in the plain; their heads I cut off and put them up on the heights of his palace;

[2.72] 200 of his soldiers taken by (my) hands alive I left to rot on the wall of his palace: from Zamri the battering-rams and . . . my banners I made ready;

[2.73] to the fortress Ata, of Arzizai, whither none of the Kings my sires had ever penetrated I marched; the cities of Arzizu, and Arzindu

[2.74] his fortified city, with ten cities situated in their environs in the midst of Nispi a rugged country, I captured; their soldiers I slew the cities I overthrew razed and burned with fire:

[2.75] to those my tents I returned. In those days I received copper, *tabbili* of copper, *kanmate* of copper, and *sariete* as the tribute of the land of Siparmina, such as women

[2.76] collect: from the city of Zamri I withdrew; to Lara, (the rugged hill-country, unfitted for the passage of chariots and armies, with instruments [axes] of iron I cut through and

[2.77] with rollers of metal I beat down) with the chariots and troops I brought over to the city of Tiglath-assur-azbat in the land of Lulu - the city of Arakdi they call it - I went down;

[2.78] the Kings of Zamue, the whole of them, from before the impetuosity of my servants and the greatness of my power drew back and accepted my yoke; tribute of silver, gold, tin,

[2.79] copper, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool, horses, oxen, sheep, goats, in addition to what I had before settled, I imposed upon them; a Viceroy

[2.80] in Kalach I created. While in the land of Zamue I was stationed the cities Khudunai, Khartisai, Khutiskai Kirzanai

[2.81] were overwhelmed by fear of the advance of Assur my Lord; impost, tribute, silver, gold, horses, vestments of wool, oxen, sheep, goats, they brought to me; the rebel soldiers

[2.82] fled from before my arms; they fled to the mountains; I marched after them; within confines of the land of Aziru they settled and got ready the city of Mizu as their strong place;

[2.83] the land of Aziru I overthrew and destroyed from Zimaki as far as the Turnat I scattered their corpses; 500 of their fighting men I destroyed;

[2.84] their spoil in abundance I carried off. In those days in the land of Samua, (in which is) the city of Atlila which Zibir King of Kardunias had taken, devastated,

[2.85] and reduced to a heap of ruins, I Assur-nasir-pal King of Assyria took, after laying siege to its castle a second time the palace as a residence for My Majesty I therein strengthened, made princely and enlarged beyond what of old was planned;

[2.86] the wheat and barleys of the land of Kalibi I accumulated therein; I gave it the name of Dur-Assur. On the first of May in the eponym of Sanmapakid I collected my chariots and soldiers

[2.87] the Tigris I crossed; to the land of Commagene I passed on; I inaugurated a palace in the city of Tiluli; the tribute due from Commagene I received; from Commagene I withdrew;

[2.88] I passed on to the land of the Istarat; in the city of Kibaki I halted; from Kibaki I received oxen, sheep, goats and copper; from Kibaki I withdrew;

[2.89] to the city of Mattyati I drew nigh; I took possession of the land of Yatu with the town Kapranisa; 2,800 of their fighting men I smote down with my weapons; their spoil in abundance I carried off;

[2.90] the rebels who had fled from before my arms now accepted my yoke; of their cities I left them in possession; tribute impost and an officer over them I set;

[2.91] an image of my person I made; collected laws I wrote upon it and in the city of Mattiyati I placed it; from Mattiyati I withdrew; at the city of Zazabuka

[2.92] I halted; the tribute of Calach in oxen, sheep, goats and various copper articles I received; from Zazabuka I withdrew;

[2.93] at the city of Irzia I made a halt; that city I burned; but received there the tributes due from Zura in oxen, sheep, goats and *kam* copper:

[2.94] from Izria I withdrew; in the land of Kasyari I halted; Madara (and) Anzi two cities of the territory I captured and slew their soldiers;

[2.95] their spoil I carried off; the cities I burned with fire; six lakes I crossed over in Kasyari, a rugged highland for the passage of chariots and an army

[2.96] unsuited; (the hills with instruments of iron I cut through [and] with rollers of metal I beat down;) the chariots and army I brought over. In a city of Assur on the sandy side which is in Kasyari,

[2.97] oxen, sheep, goats *kam* and *gurpisi* of copper I received; by the land of Kasyari I proceeded; a second time to the land of Nairi I went down; at the city of Sigisa

[2.98] I made a halt; from Sigisa I withdrew; to Madara the fortified city of Labduri the son of Dubisi I drew near, a city extremely strong with four impregnable castles;

[2.99] the city I besieged; they quailed before my mighty prowess; I received, for the preservation of their lives, their treasures, their riches, their sons, by tale; I imposed upon them

[2.100] tribute and duties; an officer I appointed over them; the city I demolished, razed, and reduced to a heap of ruins; from Madara I withdrew; to Tuskha

[2.101] I passed over; a palace in Tuskha I dedicated; the tribute of the land of Nirdun, horses, yoke-horses, fish, *kam* of copper, *gurpisi* of copper, oxen, sheep,

[2.102] goats, in Tuskha I received; 60 cities and strong castles below Kasyari, belonging to Labduri son of Dubuzi I overthrew razed and converted to a heap of ruins.

[2.103] In the service of Assur my Lord from Tuskha I withdrew. The powerful chariots and battering-rams I put up in my stores; on rafts

[2.104] I passed the Tigris; all night I descended; to Pitura a strong town of Dirrai I drew near - a very strong city -

[2.105] two forts facing each other, whose castle like the summit of a mountain stood up: by the mighty hands of Assur my Lord and the impetuosity of my army and my formidable attack

[2.106] I gave them battle; on two days before sunrise like Yav the inundator I rushed upon them; destruction upon them I rained with the might

[2.107] and prowess of my warriors; like the rush of birds coming upon them, the city I captured; 800 of their soldiers by my arms I destroyed; their heads

[2.108] I cut off; many soldiers I captured in hand alive; their populace in the flames I burned; their spoil I carried off in abundance; a trophy of the living and of heads

[2.109] about his great gate I built; 700 soldiers I there impaled on stakes; the city I overthrew, razed, and reduced to a heap of ruins all round; their boys,

[2.110] their maidens, I dishonored; the city of Kukunu facing the mountains of Matni I captured; 700 of their fighting men I smote down with my weapons;

[2.111] their spoil in abundance I carried off; 50 cities of Dira I occupied; their soldiers I slew; I plundered them; 50 soldiers I took alive; the cities I overthrew

[2.112] razed and burned; the approach of my Royalty overcame them; from Pitura I withdrew, and went down to Arbaki in Gilhi-Bitani;

[2.113] they quailed before the approach of my Majesty, and deserted their towns and strong places: for the saving of their lives they went up to Matni a land of strength

[2.114] I went after them in pursuit; 1,000 of their warriors I left in the rugged hills; their corpses on a hill I piled up; with their bodies the tangled hollows

[2.115] of the mountains I filled; I captured 200 soldiers and cut off their hands; their spoil I carried away; their oxen, their sheep

[2.116] without number, I took away; Iyaya, Salaniba, strong cities of Arbaki I occupied; the soldiers I slew; their spoil I carried off

[2.117] 250 towns surrounded with strong walls in the land of Nairi I overthrew demolished and reduced to heaps and ruins; the trees of their land I cut down; the wheat

[2.118] and barley in Tuskha I kept. Ammiba'al the son of Zamani had been betrayed and slain by his nobles. To revenge Ammiba'al

[2.119] I marched; from before the vehemence of my arms and the greatness of my Royalty

[2.120] they drew back: his swift chariots, trappings for men and horses one hundred in number,

[2.121] horses, harness, his yokes, tribute of silver and gold with 100 talents

[2.122] in tin, 100 talents in copper, 300 talents in *annui*, 100 *kam* of copper, 3,000 *kappi* of copper, bowls of copper, vessels of copper,

[2.123] 1,000 vestments of wool, *nui* wood, *eru* wood, *zalmalli* wood, horns, choice gold,

[2.124] the treasures of his palace, 2,000 oxen, 5,000 sheep, his wife, with large donations from her; the daughters

[2.125] of his chiefs with large donations from them I received. I, Assur-nasir-pal, great King, mighty King, King of legions, King of Assyria,

[2.126] son of Tuklat-Adar great and mighty King, King of legions, King of Assyria, noble warrior, in the strength of Assur his Lord walked, and whose equal among the Kings

[2.127] of the four regions exists not; a King who from beyond the Tigris up to Lebanon and the Great Sea

[2.128] hath subjugated the land of Laki in its entirety, the land of Zuhi with the city of Ripaki: from the sources of the Ani

[2.129] (and) the Zupnat to the land bordering on Sabitan has he held in hand: the territory of Kirrouri with Kilzani on the other side the Lower Zab

[2.130] to Tul-Bari which is beyond the country of the Zab; beyond the city of Tul-sa-Zabdani, Hirimu, Harute, the land of Birate

[2.131] and of Kardunias I annexed to the borders of my realm and on the broad territory of Nairi I laid fresh tribute. The city of Calach I took anew; the old mound

[2.132] I threw down; to the top of the water I brought it; 120 hand-breadths in depth I made it good; a temple to Ninip my Lord I therein founded; when

[2.133] an image of Ninip himself which had not been made before, in the reverence of my heart for his great mighty god-ship, of mountain stone and brilliant gold I caused to make in its completeness;

[2.134] for my great divinity in the city of Calach I accounted him: his festivals in the months of January and September I established: Bit-kursi which was unoccupied I closed:

[2.135] an altar to Ninip my Lord I therein consecrated: a temple for Beltis, Sin, and Gulanu, Hea-Manna and Yav great ruler of heaven and earth I founded.

Column 3 - Covered in pages 186 - 197

[3.1] On the 22d day of the third month, May, in the eponym of Dagan-bel-ussur, I withdrew from Calach; I passed the Tigris at its nearer bank

[3.2] and received a large tribute; at Tabite I made a halt; on the 6th day of the fourth month, June, I withdrew from Tabite and skirted the banks of Kharmis;

[3.3] at the town of Magarizi I made a halt; withdrew from it and passed along by the banks of the Chaboras and halted at Sadikanni;

[3.4] the tribute due from Sadikanni, silver, gold, tin, *kam* of copper, oxen, sheep, I received and quitted the place.

[3.5] At the city of Katni I made a halt; the tribute of Sunaya I received, and from Katni withdrew;

[3.6] at Dar-Kumlimi I halted; withdrew from it and halted at Bit-Halupe, whose tribute

[3.7] of silver, gold, tin, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool and linen, oxen and sheep I received, and withdrew from it;

[3.8] at the city of Zirki I made a halt; the tribute of Zirki, silver, gold, tin, oxen,

[3.9] sheep, I received; withdrew from Zirki; halted at Zupri, whose tribute

[3.10] of silver, gold, tin, *kami*, oxen, sheep, I received; withdrew from Zupri and halted at Nagarabani,

[3.11] whose tribute in silver, gold, tin, *kami*, oxen, sheep, I received and withdrew from it;

[3.12] near Khindani, situated on the nearer banks of the Euphrates I halted;

[3.13] the tribute of Khindani, silver, gold, tin, *kami*, oxen, sheep, I received. From Khindani

[3.14] I withdrew; at the mountains over against the Euphrates I halted; I withdrew from those mountains and halted at Bit-Sabaya near the town of Haridi

[3.15] situate on the nearer bank of the Euphrates. From Bit-Sabaya I withdrew; at the commencement of the town of Anat

[3.16] I made a halt. Anat is situated in the midst of the Euphrates. From Anat I withdrew. The city of Zuru the fortified city of

[3.17] Sadudu of the land of Zuhi I besieged: to the numerous warriors of the spacious land of the Kassi he trusted and to make war and battle to my presence advanced;

[3.18] the city I besieged; two days I was engaged in fighting; I made good an entrance: (then) through fear of my mighty arms Sadudu and his soldiers

[3.19] for the preservation of his life, into the Euphrates threw himself: I took the city; 50 *bit-hallu* and their soldiers in the service of Nabu-bal-idin King of Kardunias;

[3.20] Zabdanu his brother with 300 of his soldiers and Bel-bal-idin who marched at the head of their armies I captured, together with them

[3.21] many soldiers I smote down with my weapons; silver, gold, tin, precious stone of the mountains, the treasure of his palace,

[3.22] chariots, horses trained to the yoke, trappings for men and horses, the women of his palace, his spoil,

[3.23] in abundance I carried off; the city I pulled down and razed; ordinances and edicts I imposed on Zuhi; the fear of my dominion to Kardunias reached;

[3.24] the greatness of my arms overwhelmed Chaldaeia; on the countries of the banks of the Euphrates my impetuous soldiers I sent forth; an image

[3.25] of my person I made; decrees and edicts upon it I inscribed; in Zuri I put it up, I Assurnasir-pal, a King who has enforced his laws

[3.26] (and) decrees and who to the sword hath directed his face to conquests and alliances hath raised his heart. While I was stationed at Calach

[3.27] they brought me news that the population of Laqai and Khindanu of the whole land of Zukhi had revolted and crossed the Euphrates

[3.28] on the eighteenth of May I withdrew from Calach, passed the Tigris, took the desert to Zuri:

[3.29] by Bit-Halupi I approached in ships belonging to me which I had taken at Zuri: I took my way to the sources of the Euphrates;

[3.30] the narrows of the Euphrates I descended, the cities of Khintiel and Azriel in the land of Laqai I took; their soldiers I slew; their spoil

[3.31] I carried off; the cities I overthrew, razed, burned with fire. In my expedition marching westward of the banks of the Chaboras to

[3.32] the city Zibate of Zuhi, cities on the other side of the Euphrates in the land of Laqai I overthrew, devastated and burned with fire; their crops I seized 460 soldiers

[3.33] their fighting men by (my) weapons I destroyed; I took 20 alive and impaled them on stakes; on ships which I had built -

[3.34] in 20 ships which were drawn up on the sand at Haridi I crossed the Euphrates. The land of Zuhaya and Laqai

[3.35] and the city of Khindanai to the power of their chariots armies and hands trusted and summoned 6,000 of their soldiers to engage in fight and battle.

[3.36] They came to close quarters; I fought with them; I effected their overthrow; I destroyed their chariots 6,500 of their warriors I smote down by my weapons; the remainder

[3.37] in starvation in the desert of the Euphrates I shut up. From Haridi in Zukhi to Kipina and the cities of Khindanai

[3.38] in Laqai on the other side I occupied; their fighting men I slew; the city I overthrew razed and burned. Aziel of Laqai

[3.39] trusted to his forces and took possession of the heights of Kipina; I gave them battle; at the city of Kipina I effected his overthrow; 1,000 of his warriors I slew;

[3.40] his chariots I destroyed; spoil I carried off in plenty; their gods I took away; for the preservation of his life he took refuge on a rugged hill of Bizuru at the sources of the Euphrates;

[3.41] for two days I descended the river in pursuit: the relic of his army with my weapons I destroyed; their hiding place by the hills on the Euphrates I broke up;

[3.42] to the cities of Dumite and Azrnu belonging to the son of Adini I went down after him; his spoil, his oxen, his sheep,

[3.43] which like the stars of heaven were without number I carried off.

In those days Ila of Laqai, his swift chariots and 500 soldiers

[3.44] to my land of Assyria I transported; Dumutu and Azmu I captured, overthrew, razed and burned; in the narrows of the Euphrates I turned aside in my course and

[3.45] I outflanked Aziel, who fled before my mighty power to save his life. Ila, the Prince of Laqai, his army his chariots his harness,

[3.46] I carried off and took to my city of Assur: Khimtiel of Laqai I made prisoner in his own city. Through the might of Assur my Lord, (and) in the presence of my mighty arms and the formidable attack

[3.47] of my powerful forces he was afraid, and I received the treasures of his palaces, silver, gold, tin, copper, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool, his abundant spoil; and tribute

[3.48] and impost in addition to what I had previously fixed I laid upon them; in those days I slew 50 buffaloes in the neighborhood of the nearer side of the Euphrates: eight buffaloes I caught

alive;

[3.49] I killed 20 eagles, and captured others alive: I founded two cities on the Euphrates; one on the farther bank

[3.50] of the Euphrates which I named Dur-Assur-nasir-pal; one on the nearer bank which I named Nibarti-Assur. On the 20th of May I withdrew from Galach;

[3.51] I crossed the Tigris; to the land of Bit-Adini I went; to their strong city of Katrabi I approached, a city exceedingly strong, like a storm rushing from heaven,

[3.52] the soldiers confided to their numerous troops, and would not submit and accept my yoke: in honor of Assur the great Lord, my Lord, and the god the great protector going before me, I besieged the city

[3.53] by the warlike engines on foot and strong, the city I captured; many of their soldiers I slew; 800 of their fighting men I dispersed; their spoil and property I carried off, 2,400 of their warriors

[3.54] I transported away and detained them at Calach; the city I overthrew razed and burnt; the fear of the approach of Assur my Lord over Bit-Adini I made good.

[3.55] In those days the tribute of Ahuni son of Adini of Habini, of the city of Tul-Abnai, silver, gold, tin, copper, vestments of wool and linen, wood for bridges,

[3.56] cedar wood, the treasures of his palace I received; their hostages I took, *rimutu* I imposed upon them.

In the month April and on the eighth day I quitted Calach; the Tigris

[3.57] I passed; to Carchemish in Syria I directed my steps; to Bit-Bakhiani I approached; the tribute due from the son of Bakhiani, swift chariots, horses, silver,

[3.58] gold, tin, copper, *kami* of copper, I received; the chariots and warlike engines of the officer of the son of Bakhiani I added to my magazines;

[3.59] I menaced the land of Anili: the tribute of Hu-immi of Nilaya, swift war chariots, horses, silver, gold, tin, copper,

[3.60] *kami* of copper, oxen, sheep, horses, I received; the chariots and warlike instruments of the officer I added to my magazines. From Anili I withdrew; to Bit-Adini I approached;

[3.61] the tribute of Ahuni son of Adini, silver, gold, tin, copper, wood of *eruru*, and *rabaz*, horns, *sai*-wood, horns

[3.62] of thrones horns of silver, and gold, *sari*, bracelets of gold, *sahri* fastenings for covers of gold, scabbards of gold, oxen, sheep, goats as his tribute I received;

[3.63] the chariots and warlike engines of the officer of Ahuni I added to my magazines. In those days I received the tribute of Habini of Tul-Abnai, four maneh of silver and 400 sheep;

[3.64] ten maneh of silver for his first year as tribute I imposed upon him: from Bit-Adini I withdrew; the Euphrates, in a difficult part of it, I crossed in ships of hardened skins:

[3.65] I approached the land of Carchemish: the tribute of Sangara King of Syria, twenty talents of silver, *sahri* gold, bracelets of gold, scabbards of gold, 100 talents

[3.66] of copper, 250 talents of annui *kami*, *hariate*, *nirmakate kibil* of copper, the extensive furniture of his palace,

[3.67] of incomprehensible perfection different kinds of woods, *ka* and *sara*, 200 female slaves, vestments of wool,

[3.68] and linen; beautiful black coverings, beautiful purple coverings, precious stones, horns of buffaloes, white chariots, images of gold, their coverings, the treasures of his Royalty, I received of him;

[3.69] the chariots and warlike engines of the General of Carchemish I laid up in my magazines; the Kings of all those lands who had come out against me received my yoke; their hostages I received;

[3.70] they did homage in my presence; to the land of Lebanon I proceeded. From Carchemish I withdrew and marched to the territory of Munzigani and Harmurga:

[3.71] the land of Ahanu I reduced; to Gaza the town of Lubarna of the Khatti I advanced; gold and vestments of linen I received:

[3.72] crossing the river Abrie I halted and then leaving that river approached the town of Kanulua a royal city belonging to Lubarna of the Khatti:

[3.73] from before my mighty arms and my formidable onset he fled in fear, and for the saving of his life submitted to my yoke; twenty talents of silver, one talent of gold,

[3.74] 100 talents in tin, 100 talents in *annui*, 1,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 vestments of wool, linen, *nimati* and *ki* woods coverings,

[3.75] *ahusate* thrones, *kui* wood, wood for seats, their coverings, *sarai*, *zueri*-wood, horns of *kui* in abundance, the numerous utensils of his palace, whose beauty

[3.76] could not be comprehended: . . . *pagatu(?)* from the wealth of great Lords as his tribute

[3.77] I imposed upon him; the chariots and warlike engines of the land of the Khatti I laid up in my magazines; their hostages I took.

In those days (I received) the tribute of Guzi

[3.78] of the land of Yahanai, silver, gold, tin, . . . oxen, sheep, vestments of wool and linen I received: from Kunalua the capital of Lubarna I withdrew,

[3.79] of the land of the Khatti, crossed the Orontes, and after a halt left it, and to the borders

[3.80] of the land of Yarak and of Yahturi I went round: the land . . . had rebelled: from the Sangura after a halt I withdrew;

[3.81] I made a detour to the lands of Saratini and Girpani . . . I halted and advanced to Aribue a fortified city belonging to Lubarna of the land of the Khatti:

[3.82] the city I took to myself; the wheats and barleys of Luhuti I collected; I allowed his palace to be sacked and settled Assyrians there.

[3.83] While I was stationed at Aribua, I captured the cities of the land of Luhiti and slew many of their soldiers; overthrew razed and burned them with fire;

[3.84] the soldiers whom I took alive I impaled on stakes close by their cities.

In those days I occupied the environs of Lebanon; to the great sea

[3.85] of Phoenicia I went up: up to the great sea my arms I carried: to the gods I sacrificed; I took tribute of the Princes of the environs of the sea-coast,

[3.86] of the lands of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Maacah Maizai Kaizai, of Phoenicia and Arvad

[3.87] on the sea-coast - silver, gold, tin, copper, *kam* of copper, vestments of wool and linen, *pagutu* great and small,

[3.88] strong timber, wood of *ki* teeth of dolphins, the produce of the sea, I received as their tribute: my yoke they accepted; the mountains of Amanus I ascended; wood for bridges,

[3.89] pines, box, cypress, *li*-wood, I cut down; I offered sacrifices for my gods; a trophy of victory I made, and in a central place I erected it;

[3.90] *gusuri*-wood, cedar wood from Amanus I destined for Bit-Hira, and my pleasure house called Azmaku, for the temple of the Moon and Sun the exalted gods.

[3.91] I proceeded to the land of Iz-mehri, and took possession of it throughout: I cut down beams for bridges of *mehri* trees, and carried them to Nineveh; (and)

[3.92] to Istar Lady of Nineveh (on) my knees I knelt. In the eponym of Samas-nuri in the honor of the great Lord Assur my Lord on the 20th of April

[3.93] from Calach I withdrew - crossed the Tigris - descended to the land of Kipani, and there, in the city of Huzirana, received the tribute of the governors of its cities.

[3.94] While stationed at Huzirana I received the tribute of Ittiel of Nilaya, Giridadi of Assaya, in silver

[3.95] gold, oxen, sheep. In those days I received the tribute in beams for bridges, cedar wood, silver, gold of Qatuzili

[3.96] of Commagene - withdrew from Huzirina and took my way upward along the banks of the Euphrates; to Kubbu.

[3.97] I crossed over into the midst of the towns of Assa in Kirkhi over against Syria. The cities of Umalie and Khiranu

[3.98] powerful cities centrally situated in Adani I captured; numbers of their soldiers I slew; spoil beyond reckoning

[3.99] I carried off; the towns I overthrew and demolished; 150 cities of their territory I burned with fire; then from Khiranu

[3.100] I withdrew; I passed over to the environs of the land of Amadani; I went down among the cities of Dirrie, and the cities within the lands of

[3.101] Amadani and Arquanie I burned with fire: Mallanu which is in the middle of Arquanie I took as my own possession; I withdrew from Mallanu

[3.102] to the cities of Zamba on the sandy outskirt, which I burned with fire: I passed the river Sua, proceeding up to the Tigris whose cities

[3.103] on those banks and on these banks of the Tigris in Arkanie to a heap I reduced: its waters overflowed all Kirkhi: my yoke they took;

[3.104] their hostages I exacted; a Viceroy of my own I appointed over them: in the environs of the land of Amadani I arrived: at Barza-Nistun

[3.105] To Dandamusa the fortified city of Ilani son of Zamani I drew near and laid siege to it: my warriors like birds of prey rushed upon them;

[3.106] 600 of their warriors I put to the sword and decapitated; 400 I took alive;

[3.107] 3,000 captives I brought forth; I took possession of the city for myself: the living soldiers, and heads to the city of Amidi the royal city, I sent;

[3.108] heaps of the heads close by his great gate I piled; the living soldiers I crucified on crosses at the gates of the town;

[3.109] inside the gates I made carnage; their forests I cut down ; from Amidi I withdrew toward the environs of Kasyari; the city of Allabzie

[3.110] to whose rocks and stones no one among the Kings my fathers had ever made approach, I penetrated; to the town of Uda the fortress of Labduri son of Dubuzi

[3.111] I approached and besieged the city with *bilsi*(?) strengthened and marching; the city I captured: . . . soldiers . . . with my weapons I destroyed; 570 soldiers

[3.112] I captured; 3,000 captives I took forth; soldiers alive I caught; some I impaled on stakes; of others

- [3.113] the eyes I put out: the remainder I carried off to Assur and took the city as my own possession - I who am Assur-nasir-pal mighty King, King of Assyria son of Tuklat-Adar, (Tuklat-Ninip)
- [3.114] great King, powerful King, King of legions, King of Assyria son of Vul-nirari great King, mighty King, King of legions, King of Assyria, noble warrior, who in the service of Assur his Lord proceeded, and among the Kings of the four regions,
- [3.115] has no equal, a Prince (giving) ordinances, not fearing opponents, mighty unrivalled leader, a Prince subduer of the disobedient, who all
- [3.116] the thrones of mankind has subdued; powerful King treading over the heads of his enemies, trampling on the lands of enemies, breaking down the assemblages of the wicked; who in the service of the great gods
- [3.117] his Lords marched along; whose hand hath taken possession of all their lands, laid low the forests of all of them, and received their tributes, taking hostages (and) imposing laws
- [3.118] upon all those lands; when Assur the Lord proclaimer of my name, aggrandizer of my Royalty, who added his unequivocal service to the forces of my government
- [3.119] I destroyed the armies of the spacious land of Lulumi. In battle by weapons I smote them down. With the help of the Sun-god
- [3.120] and Yav, the gods in whom I trust, I rushed upon the armies of Nairi, Kirkhi Subariya and Nirbi like Yav the inundator;
- [3.121] a King who from the other side the Tigris to the land of Lebanon and the great sea has subjugated to his yoke the entire land of Lakie and the land of Zukhi as far as the city Rapik;
- [3.122] to whose yoke is subjected (all) from the sources of the Zupnat to the frontiers of Bitani; from the borders of Kirruri to Kirzani;
- [3.123] from beyond the Lower Zab to the town of Tul-sa-Zabdani and the town of Tul-Bari beyond the land of Zaban as far as the towns of Tul-sa-Zabdani and
- [3.124] Tul-sa-Abtani; Harimu, Harutu in Birate of Kardunias to the borders of my land I added; (the inhabitants) of the territory of Babite
- [3.125] with Khasmar among the people of my own country I accounted: in the countries which I held I established a deputy: they performed homage: submission
- [3.126] I imposed upon them; I, Assur-nasir-pal, great, noble, worshipper of the great gods, generous, great, mighty possessors of cities and the forests of all their domains, King of Lords, consumer of
- [3.127] the wicked *taskaru* invincible, who combats injustice, Lord of all Kings, King of Kings, glorious, upholder of Bar (Ninip) the warlike, worshipper

[3.128] of the great gods, a King who, in the service of Assur and Ninip, gods in whom he trusted, hath marched royally, and wavering lands and Kings his enemies in all their lands

[3.129] to his yoke hath subdued, and the rebels against Assur, high and low, hath opposed and imposed on them impost and tribute - Assur-nasir-pal

[3.130] mighty King, glory of the Moon-god worshipper of Anu, related to Yav, suppliant of the gods, an unyielding servant, destroyer of the land of his foes; I, a King vehement in war,

[3.131] destroyer of forests and cities, chief over opponents, Lord of four regions, router of his enemies in strong lands and forests, and who Kings mighty and fearless from the rising

[3.132] to the setting of the sun to my yoke subjugated.

The former city of Calach which Shalmaneser King of Assyria going before me, had built -

[3.133] that city was decayed and reduced to a heap of ruins: that city I built anew; the people captured by my hand of the countries which I had subdued, Zukhi and Lakie,

[3.134] throughout their entirety, the town of Sirku on the other side of the Euphrates, all Zamua, Bit-Adini, the Khatti, and the subjects of Liburna I collected within, I made them occupy.

[3.135] A water-course from the Upper Zab I dug and called it Pati-kanik: timber upon its shores I erected: a choice of animals to Assur my Lord and (for) the Chiefs of my realm I sacrificed;

[3.136] the ancient mound I threw down: to the level of the water I brought it: 120 courses on the low level I caused it to go: its wall I built; from the ground to the summit I built (and) completed.

[Additional clauses are found on the monolith inscription in the British Museum. They are not, however, of any great importance and amount to little more than directions for the preservation and reparation of the palace, with imprecations upon those who should at any time injure the buildings. On this same monolith is found an invocation to the great gods of the Assyrian Pantheon: namely, to Assur, Anu, Hea, Sin [the Moon], Merodach, Yav Jahve, Jah[?], Ninip, Nebo, Beltis, Nergal, Bel-Dagon, Samas [the Sun], Istar.]

End of Translation

Note: The comment above is the translator's published remarks, not mine. Unfortunately, I can only provide what was published. BJB

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I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People* ***Predystoriia armianskogo naroda***

Excerpts

**Erevan, 1968, English Translation by Lori Jennings
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* This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

[41]

Chapter 2.

The History of the Armenian Highlands in the Middle Bronze and Early Iron Ages

1. The Armenian Highlands and the Hittite Empire

It was only the western and southwestern outskirts of the Armenian Highlands that from time to time entered into the structure of the Hittite and Mitannian Empires. We have but very limited information from the written sources about the areas that were directly contiguous with the borders of these empires. We are therefore compelled to consider events in the outside world before we can attempt to understand what was happening in the Highlands.

1.1. The Political Situation in the Middle of the 2nd Millennium B.C.

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the Hittite Old Kingdom arose in the 19th-17th centuries in central Asia Minor to the west of the Armenian Highlands. In the 17th-16th centuries B.C. it began its advance to the south, into Syria, but beginning from the second quarter of that century it experienced a serious decline and lost its peripheral possessions. In the 16th century the Mitannian Empire was advancing from northern Mesopotamia, gradually subjecting to its control the small kingdoms of Syria (Halpa [formerly Yamhad]), Carchemish, Mukise-Alalakh, and others). It also probably came to control the Cilician Taurus (Kizzuwadna) (1), as well as part of the valley of the Upper Euphrates and the area to the south of the Armenian Taurus. Temporarily it also dominated the areas along the central Tigris and beyond the Tigris (Assur, Arrapkhe) (2). Attacks by Egyptian forces in the middle of the 15th century led to a weakening of Mitanni, which lost its possessions to the west of the Euphrates; nevertheless, around 1400 B.C. Mitanni was still flourishing. Its king at this time was Dushratta, who maintained friendly relations with--indeed was an ally of--the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhetep III (3).

[42] In the meantime the period of weakness in the Hittite Empire came to an end, and it again consolidated in the central part of Asia Minor. From this time on we also have written data on that area of the Armenian Highlands which was involved in the stream of historical events determined by the actions of the great powers.

1.2. The Society of the Armenian Highlands in the 2nd Millennium B.C.

The society of the Armenian Highlands during this period apparently stood on a level of development similar to the condition of the society of Asia Minor at the time when the merchant-colonists from Assur penetrated there, and when the process of forming the first city-states was underway. As shown by the magnificent tombs of the tribal chiefs in Transcaucasia (in Trialeti and Kirovakan) dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C., economic and social stratification of the communities, which had begun to split up into a military aristocracy and rank-and-file community members, was already far advanced here (*1). The further development of animal husbandry, and the accompanying growth in wealth of the individual tribes and clans must have led to a greater significance of war for the economy, while the development of specialized types of agriculture (gardening as opposed to farming) must have led to the appearance of intercommunity exchange, credit in the form of money and grain-lending, and to social inequality.

The tombs of the tribal chiefs in Lchashen near Lake Sevan, dating from the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., with their ritual of cremation, wooden funeral chariots, and rich funerary gifts, are similar in type to the tombs of Trialeti and Kirovakan, but present new features which show the further development of society. Even greater numbers of slaves were buried with the tribal chiefs to accompany them to the other world. On the one hand this bears witness to a rise in the number of slaves, but on the other hand it means that the slavery was economically of a most primitive type; in the future slaves would represent a value which could not be squandered in the form of human sacrifices. We must not forget, however, that mass extermination of captives was still practiced in Assyria and Urartu as late as the 9th-8th centuries B.C. (4)

In Trialeti and Kirovakan we observe stylistic similarities between handicraft objects there and comparable objects from Asia Minor and the Hurrian territory. In Lchashen (14th or 13th centuries B.C.) there appear articles which were either imported directly from these countries or are exactly like the articles used among the Hurrians of the south (5). The chariots and arms of Lchashen (as, e.g., the characteristic combed helmet), were analogous to the [43] Hurrian. Seals of the Mitannian elaborate style have been found not only in Lchashen but also in one of the burial grounds of the Greater Caucasus (6). This indicates that by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia were beginning to be involved in international exchange. As we have seen, such exchange played a very important role in accelerating the formation of class society in Asia Minor. For the Armenian Highlands the beginning of exploitation of copper and other metal deposits in Transcaucasia were also probably of vital importance.

We may imagine the society of the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. as being similar to that of the Hittites and the southern Hurrians some centuries earlier (as described in the preceding chapter). Patriarchal clans must have been divided into separate extended-family economies subject to the authority of the patriarch--*ewri* (this word is also preserved in Urartian) (7). There would be a technically inalienable and regularly reallocated land fund of the family commune, but the individual families must have begun to be economically differentiated. This latter development resulted in a need for credit, which inevitably led to the development of usury and debtor slavery.

This picture is not a mere supposition: however scant our information about the Urartian society of the Armenian Highlands of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. is, there do exist data which bear witness to the continued presence of large patriarchal families and familial or clan settlements, for instance, of settlements of the king's kinsmen (8).

We have seen that the Hurrian patriarchal families of the south were parts of territorial communities governed by a council of elders and a popular assembly. Some of them grew so large that they included several villages, organized either according to familial or territorial principles, and inhabited both by related and unrelated

extended families. Judging by the data on the family settlements in the Urartian state, similar phenomena also existed in the Highlands. We know about councils of elders and popular assemblies among the population of the Armenian Highlands also from Hittite sources.

Among the Hurrians of the south the territorial communities constituted the backbone of an essentially new organization, that of the city-state, headed by a prince ruling conjointly with a council. Later the city-states were sometimes subordinated to a loose, larger unity which we term a kingdom. However in the Armenian Highlands in the 2nd millennium B.C. matters had not yet gone so far.

We have been accustomed to think about the social organization [44] of the Armenian and Iranian Highlands at the time preceding the creation of the great empires of Urartu, Media, Persia, etc., as being one of tribal organization. However we must not ignore the fact that the most ancient Oriental sources, particularly the Hittite and the Assyrian, only extremely rarely mention "tribes" in these territories. References to ethnic groups actually appear in these sources only when they deal with general appellations referring to areas not confined to one particular thstrict. Such terms are, e.g., *Kaska* in the Hittite sources, and *Madai* ("Medes") in the Assyrian sources. Sometimes the Assyrian inscriptions also speak about "the countries of the Subareans," about the "countries of Nairi," about the "countries of the Uruatri" (Urartians), or about the "countries (or country) of the Etio" (Etiuni). Only in two instances do they actually mean tribal units: the Hittite sources refer to the *Kaska* as a nonsettled population (*Akk suti*) (9), and mention "twelve" of "nine tribes of the *Kaska*," (10) and Herodotus informs us that the Medes constituted a federation of six tribes. Also in some other instances such appellations may stand for loose groups of independent tribes.

However in the overwhelming majority of cases, ethnic designations do not appear in the sources. Instead they mention the small, organizationally compact territories--so-called "countries" (Hitt. *utne*, Urart. *ebane*, Assy. *matu* or *nagu*). A "chief" of such a "country" is not designated by any specific title but is given the epithet "(the one) of this or that country" with the determinative of person (11).

The very nature of the Highlands required a certain territorial subdivision of the population. The Armenian Highlands, just like the Zagros Mountains in Western Iran, consists of enclosed valleys and segments of valleys (Arm. *gawar'*). In antiquity the isolation of these valleys was even more pronounced because of dense thickets and forests which covered the mountain slopes and blocked up the ravines and the passes. Consequently a tribe which might have settled in two or three contiguous valleys would not have been able to maintain its organizational unity except in extraordinary circumstances, for example, during the formation of temporary military alliances (12).

Therefore, here, even before the original communal structure of society had broken down, territorial formations ("countries" in the terminology of the ancient sources) were being created. Each such "country" had its own council of elders, a popular assembly, and a chieftain (military commander and administrator). In case of military necessity it could join confederacies and enter alliances (which probably still had a tribal character), and act in concert with other "countries." Thus these were simultaneously both territorial and [45] tribal units, either coinciding with the tribe or constituting its subdivisions; in practice the "countries" had more real significance than the tribe itself.

Below we shall use the term "country" always in this specific sense, dropping the quotation marks.

The situation described makes it extremely hard for the historian to establish the moment of the changeover to class society and state, since the territorial division of society, which usually may be regarded as a trustworthy criterion for the appearance of state structure, cannot be applied as such in this case.

Other signs of the presence of class civilization and state (the existence of taxes, armed forces separate from the populace, governmental officials, and, first of all, the very class structure of society itself) cannot be discovered on the strength of the existing sources. We have to turn to less reliable secondary features, such as the presence of writing; though its emergence is not necessarily synchronous with the emergence of state, it usually is (13). Moreover we cannot always be sure that further excavations will not uncover written texts in places where we may not have expected them.

1.3. Political Units and Tribes of the Annenian Highlands in the Middle of the 2nd Millennium B.C.

The first historical data on the countries and tribes of the Armenian Highlands are contained in the Hittite sources. Unfortunately they give information almost exclusively about the regions which were directly contiguous with the eastern boundary of the Hittite state. From the 14th century B.C. this boundary was the Upper Euphrates. The northernmost country situated to the east of the *Kaska* tribal union and the Hittite Empire, was Haiasa-Azzi (14). It is still uncertain whether these two name--"Azzi" and "Haiasa"-- refer to two interconnected units, or whether they are different appellations for one and the same unit.

It has often been suggested that Haiasa should be sought on the upper reaches of the Euphrates around modern Erzincan and Erzurum. This, however, does not fit very well with the fact that, according to the data of the annals of the Hittite king Mursilis II, one of the most important fortresses of Azzi, Aripisa, was situated on the shore of the sea. There is no ambiguity in the text. In locating Haiasa-Azzi we must also take into consideration the fact that the ancient "countries" were situated along the valleys and not across the mountain ranges. In all probability the dual name "Haiasa-Azzi" is explained by the fact that this country consisted of two parts, situated in two adjacent valleys. Moreover judging [46] by the sources, Azzi was located nearer to the original core of the Hittite kingdom, and Haiasa farther from it. If we do not assume along with G. A. Kapantsjan that the sea on which Aripisa was located was a little swampy lake near Erzurum (which seems barely likely), then we must acknowledge that Azzi was located in Pontus, extending to the Black Sea, lying probably in the valley of the river Harsit. In that case we can place Haiasa in the valley of the river Choroh, near modern Bayburt. From there its power could temporarily extend as far as the Euphrates (15).

Haiasa-Azzi should be viewed as a tribal confederation, even though the Hittite source calls its ruler a "king." At any rate the "king" of Haiasa appears, in the treaties with the Hittite king, on an equal footing with the "people of Haiasa" (in all probability the tribal assembly). The conditions of the treaty also extend to a certain person whose title is not specified, presumably the chief of Azzi. Later we will dwell on the data about the social structure of Haiasa in more detail. In Chapter Three we will examine the question of the ethnic affiliation of the Haiasans. For the time being we will only note that the small number of proper names of men and deities, as well as place names, which have come down to us from Azzi and Haiasa, cannot be assigned with complete certainty to any of the languages known to us. Attempts have been made to etymologize them from Hurrian (16) (Kapantsjan) (17) or from an unknown Indo-European language (G. B. Djahukyan) (18) but in view of the extreme scarcity of material, all of the proposed etymologies are very unreliable. If we place Azzi in Pontus, the most plausible vernacular which the Haiasans might have spoken would be a language of the Hat tic or Northwestern Caucasian group (19). Also the Hurrians are a not improbable source of Haiasan culture and possibly of their language. One way or another the problem of the Haiasans' linguistic affiliation has not been solved. Not a single scholar has been able to present any well-founded data in favor of their speaking any sort of Armenian, and, as we shall see, their having done so is highly unlikely. We will return to this question in more detail later.

South of Azzi, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, were situated Pahhuwa on the right and Zuhma (or, in Akkadian, Suhmu) (20) on the left bank of the river. To the south of Zuhma, along the left bank of the Euphrates in the regions where the river Aratsani (Arsanias, Muratsu) flows into it, lay Isuwa (in Akkadian, Ishua), the most important country in this region. Further to the south, in the valley of the river Tohmasu, from modern Gurun to a certain point east of the Euphrates, lay Tegarama (21); the part of Tegarama on the right bank was considered subject to the Hittite Empire. Maldia [47] (Ass. Melid, Melidu, Melidia; Urart. Melitia, modern Malatya) (22) was considered a separate area. Somewhere to the west of this region we should probably seek the country of Armatana. Several small semi-independent areas, which played no great political role, were situated to the south of Maldia on both sides of the Euphrates between the mouth of the Arsanias and the place where the Euphrates flows into the plain (23). A little further south began the lands belonging directly to Mitanni. Until the 14th century B.C. the influence of Mitanni probably extended somewhat further to the north (24).

To the southwest of these countries, in the Cilician Taurus, was located the important kingdom of Kizzuwadna (Cataonia), with its capital Kummanni (the Cataonian Comana). After the collapse of Mitanni, Kizzuwadna seems to have been enlarged by the Hittites at the expense of Mitanni (25). It is probable that all these tribes and countries were Hurrian-speaking (as for Kizzuwadna, its population was Hurro-Luwian) (26). However the Hittite sources usually do not refer to all these tribal units and countries as the "country of the Hurrians" (probably for the reason that to them the "country of the Hurrians" was a synonym for Mitanni) (27). Characteristic is the ending *-(u)wa*, *-ua* in the place names; we find it both in these and especially in the more eastern areas. In all probability we should regard it as the Hurrian suffix of the genitive case, *-we* (28). Thus Salua means "(land) of the men of Sala," Hemmuwa means "(land) of the (men of) Hemme," and Ishua may mean "(land) of those on the other side (of the river)," cf. Urart. *isha-ne* "on the other side" (29). Of the few proper names that have come down from this region, part are Hurrian and part are Luwian; we get the impression that there was a gradual penetration of the Luwian element into the valley of the Upper Euphrates (30).

We know quite a few names of the countries which were situated to the east of the valley of the Upper Euphrates, but their location is uncertain. Apparently the most important of them were Hemmuwa (Hemme) and Salua (Sala), already mentioned above (we should also note that they were probably Hurrian by language), and also Mehri. The only important country of this region whose location is known precisely, is Alzi (in the texts it is also called A1se, Alzia (31), and possibly Assa). Alzi was located to the north of the sources of the Tigris, apparently in the valley of the Arsianias to the east of Isuwa.

The Assyrian annals of the 13th century mention the country or tribe (or, more likely, tribal league) of the Uruatri, or Uruatru. It is to be localized in the region of Lake Van. It included countries with names which correspond to some of the above-mentioned [48] tribal areas (Hemme, Salua). However, Melikisvili suggests that the text refers to tribes which were but namesakes of those mentioned above and that the league of the Uruatri was located not to the west but to the east of Lake Van (32). The question is *sub judice*.

The Assyrian sources name yet another important tribe in the valley of the Upper Zab: the Uqumanians, or Qumanians, whose center was the city Qumme (Urart. Qumenu), where the Thunder-god Tessub-Teiseba was worshipped (33). This tribe, as well as the Uruatrian tribal leagues, must have been Urartian-speaking.

In the cuneiform sources several terms of a more general nature are also often used: *Pabhi*, *Haphi*, and *Nairi*. The term *pabhe* (in the Urartian sources also *babanabe*) means simply "mountaineer" in both Hurrian and Urartian, and cannot be definitely localized. The term *Haphi* designates the inhabitants of all the mountain area in the Armenian Taurus and the Kurdistan mountains from the sources of the Tigris to the regions north of the Assyrian cities and indefinitely on to the north (34). The term *Nairi* designated the more remote mountain areas, including at times the eastern part of the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia, and at times all of the mountain areas of both the Armenian Highlands and of modern Iranian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. *Nairi* in a more narrow sense was apparently the valley of the Bohtansu south of Lake Van.

We must picture the population of all of the above-mentioned areas as being in the last stage of the pre-class society, not unlike Homer's Greece, or even less developed. The Hittites negotiated in these "countries" not with kings, but directly with tribal elders or popular assemblies. The "kings" of these countries are first mentioned by the Assyrian annals at the end of the 13th century B.C., but even then we must suppose that in most cases the annals mean the tribal military chieftains. However, as we have seen, the social and economic stratification even in the regions far removed from the class civilization of Western Asia, such as Transcaucasia, had already in the 2nd millennium B.C. advanced quite far, and it is possible that in some places there had already been attempts on the part of these chieftains to appropriate royal power. For the sake of comparison we may introduce the case of another tribal confederacy, that of the *Kaska*: one of their chieftains, who in the 14th century B.C. had successfully seized several northern Hittite strongholds, did, as the Hittite sources inform us, for the first time assumed royal power among the *Kaska*, at a time when individual rule was as yet unknown to them (35). Probably the ruler of Azzi-Haiasa, who also was officially glorified as "king," had done the same.

Be that as it may, the degree to which the societies of [49] Transcaucasia and the Armenian Highlands had advanced toward the level of class civilization should not be underestimated. Thus we cannot assert that in the

14th-12th centuries B.C. such a level of civilization had not yet been achieved anywhere in the Armenian Highlands.

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I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People

(Continued from Previous Page [49])

Chapter 2.

The History of the Armenian Highlands in the Middle Bronze and Early Iron Ages

1.4. Hittite Wars in the Armenian Highlands until the 14th Century B.C.

In the so-called "Autobiography" of the Hittite king Hattusilis III (c. 1275-1250 B.C.) (36) we are informed that in the period corresponding to the 16th-15th centuries B.C. according to our system of dating the neighboring tribes and kingdoms took advantage of the weakening of the Hittites and advanced deep into their territories. The *Kaska* penetrated especially far to the south, but the more eastern tribes also had been successful. Thus the people of Azzi invaded the Upper Country (the area of the upper reaches of the Halys River) and established the city Samuha as "their border," while the people of Isuwa, having advanced to the right bank of the Euphrates, invaded Tegarama.

We have more detailed data about the historical events of the 14th century B.C. Unfortunately the chronicle of the campaigns of Tuthalias III (c. 1400-1380 B.C.) and his son, Suppiluliumas I (c. 1380-1340 B.C.), compiled by order of the latter's son, Mursilis II, have come down to us in a fragmentary state (37) Nevertheless from the fragments we can tentatively establish the following course of events in the east of the Hittite Empire. Tuthalias III succeeded in temporarily bringing Haiasa to obedience. Samuha was not only reoccupied by the Hittites but also served as their base for further campaigns to the north. Shortly thereafter, however, Suppiluliumas, who was then still crown prince, decided to carry out a punitive campaign against Haiasa. However having started on the campaign, he collided with the large tribal militia of twelve united tribes of the *Kaska*, which led to a long war with the latter. Although by that time the *Kaska* had already been ousted from central Asia Minor, they remained a dangerous and mighty enemy of the Hittites, who were constantly on the offensive. Only after having achieved a certain success against the *Kaska* did Tuthalias III again move against Haiasa and fight with their king, Karannis or Lannis (the reading of the name is uncertain). The text says that the battle took place "below Kummaha." However Tuthalias III evidently did not gain a decisive victory over Haiasa, especially since the *Kaska* were still far from being pacified, and the struggle with them required many more campaigns both under Suppiluliumas and after (38).

[50] The most important event during Suppiluliumas I's rule was the war with Mitanni. In the course of preparation for this war there apparently occurred another confrontation of the Hittites with Haiasa, and probably it was after this that a treaty was concluded between Suppiluliumas and the king Hukkanas of Haiasa (39). By the terms of this treaty the king of Haiasa swore an oath of allegiance to the Hittite king and was in future obliged to render him military aid, as well as to keep the Hittite state secrets which might have become known to him (it is possible that this refers to the preparations for the campaign against Mitanni). In addition he was to turn over, then and in the future, persons who had fled from the Hittite Empire to Haiasa. The Hittite king gave Hukkanas his sister in marriage. In this connection the following curious conditions are stated:

This my sister, whom I, the Sun, have given to you in matrimony, has many sisters, both of one womb (?) with her, and of one seed with her, but now they are also yours, for you have received their sister. But in the country of Hatti there is an important law: a brother may not know his sister, it is not right. And whoever acts in this manner shall die! But your country is barbaric, in it it is customary that a brother know his sister and cousin, while in Hattusas this is not permitted. And when a sister of your wife, by womb (?) or by seed, comes to you, then give her to eat and to drink, and eat and drink and be happy; but do not dare to wish to know her, this is punishable by death. And if anyone else incites you to such an act, do not listen to him and do not act thus: this be a sworn responsibility for you. And beware of a palace woman, whether she be free or a concubine (?), do not approach her and do not come near to her and do not speak a single word to her; and do not let your male slave or female slave come near to her, be very cautious of her. When a palace woman goes by, flee discreetly out of the way and free the path for her.

The text also relates how a certain Marias (*2) was executed because a Hittite king had seen him looking at a palace woman.

And when you set off for Haiasa, in the future you may not know the wife of your brother (or) your sisters--in Hattusas this is not permitted. And when you come to the palace (of the Hittite king), such an act is not permitted. And do not any more take a wife from the country of Azzi, and the one [...] whom you have, must by right be considered your secondary wife, do not make her your chief spouse. And take away your daughter from Marias and give her to the brother.

The Marias mentioned here is not, of course, the same one who was executed for his conversation with the harem woman (40); [51] apparently it is the co-ruler of Hukkanas, since later it is said: "If you, the people of Haiasa, will defend me (the Hittite king) as a friend in the coming days, then I will defend you, the people of Haiasa and Marias, as friends, and the other relatives (by marriage, Hitt. LU2*kaenes*) of Haiasa, and (also) Haiasa I will defend as friends." Further on the treaty says that if they do not want their country plundered, this treaty is an obligation for "the people of Haiasa and for Marias."

If we consider, in the first place, that the king of Haiasa had up to that time taken his wife from the country of Azzi and in the second place, that Marias is apparently viewed as the head of "the relatives (by marriage) (of Haiasa)," we may conclude that Marias was the chieftain of Azzi, and that Azzi and Haiasa, or at least their royal clans were connected by sororal polygyny. And it is not only that Haiasa takes wives from Azzi and vice versa, but there still prevails the system whereby a husband receives marital rights to all the sisters of his wife and other women of the same age category of that family with which he is connected through matrimonial relations (41). It is precisely to this custom that the Hittite king objects. He is afraid to create a popular misapprehension that the king of Haiasa, by receiving his daughter in marriage, is entitled to other women of the Hittite royal family and harem. The Hittite wife is to be the chief spouse, i.e., the queen of Haiasa. Why is it necessary to dissolve the marriage of Marias with the daughter of the king of Haiasa? Probably to disrupt a probable reciprocal right of Marias to marry his daughter into the royal family of Haiasa and thus to endanger the position of the new queen. To which "brother" Marias's former wife should now be given is unclear; the publisher of the text, J. Friedrich, suggests that it was the brother of Marias who was meant here. However what the point of such a measure would be is not understandable. Perhaps the king of Haiasa is supposed to give his daughter in marriage to the brother of the Hittite king in order to establish between the Haiasan and the Hittite royal families the same kind of matrimonial relations which formerly existed between Haiasa and Azzi (42)?

It is characteristic that in the text of the treaty Suppiluliumas addresses not only Hukkanas, the king of Haiasa, but also the "people of Haiasa." Probably he means the popular assembly or the council of elders.

In the light of what has been said above, we may conclude that Haiasa, in spite of the presence of a "king," was still on the level of pre-urban (pre-class) society. It is clear from the text that the Haiasans were an agricultural tribe, since in case of a breach of the treaty on their part, the king threatens to destroy "you [52] yourselves, your wives, your children, your brothers, your sisters, your clans, your houses, your fields, [your villages], your vineyards, your meadows, your cattle, your sheep. ..." From another text it is known that Azzian warriors subsequently served as charioteers in the Hittite army; thus the horse and chariot were also known to them.

1.5. The Fall of Mitanni and Its Consequences

For Suppiluliumas the war and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Haiasa were only a secondary episode in his main design for the conquest of Mitanni. As far as we can judge from the damaged text of the annals and from some other sources, the events were as follows: after the death of King Dusratta in the first quarter of the 14th century B.C., there began in Mitanni a civil struggle between two pretenders to the throne, Suttarna, son of Artadama, and Sattiwasa (43). Sattiwasa (44) first tried to flee to Babylonia via the kingdom of Arrapkhe (*3); when the Babylonian king failed to receive and help him, he fled to the Hittite Empire. Using this as a pretext, Suppiluliumas started a war against Mitanni. He attacked from the north, through the valley of the Upper Euphrates. Apparently the base for this offensive was Tegarama.

First there was a confrontation of the Hittites with Isuwa, the pretext being that the NAM.RA captured by the Hittites and forcibly settled in their territory had fled to Isuwa. The Hittite army followed them there, and the fugitives had to continue on their way to Haiasa, which led to the above-mentioned war with that country.

Suppiluliumas having conquered Isuwa, its people fled to Mitanni. The Hittite king then demanded their return, and when Mitanni refused, began an attack down along the Euphrates towards the major Mitannian centers, Carchemish and Wassukanne. The Hittites also allied themselves with the king of Alzi, Andaratis, which allowed them to enlarge the front of their military activity. The fortress Kutmar (either Isuwian or Mitannian) (45) was occupied by the Hittites and surrendered to Alzi (46). This opened the way for the Hittites to the Mitannian plains.

The war with Mitanni was a long one and led to the complete defeat of that empire, which became a vassal of the Hittites. After the Hittites occupied Carchemish, Kizzuwadna was surrounded and soon became merely a self-governing ict of the Hittite Empire. This made it unnecessary for the Hittites, as they penetrated further into Syria and Palestine, to use the detour "corridor" which Suppiluliumas had laid through the valley of the Upper Euphrates. From that time the countries of the Upper Euphrates valley [53] apparently were only technically "allies" of the Hittite Empire (with the obligation of supplying military contingents), or perhaps they even maintained complete independence.

The Assyrians also took part in the civil war in Mitanni, on the side of Artadama's son. The defeat of Mitanni allowed the ruler of the city of Assur, Assurballit I, to expand his own possessions. One of the Hittite texts informs us that "Mitanni no longer exists, the people of Assur and Alse (i.e., Alzi) have divided it " (47). Apparently Alzi acquired the areas of the lower part of the Upper Euphrates valley and the foothills of the Armenian Taurus Mountains along the left bank of the Tigris, while the Assyrians acquired the eastern part of northern Mesopotamia and the right bank of the Upper Tigris. Of Mitanni there remained only a small nucleus. Later the Assyrian king Adadnerari I (c. 1310-1280 B.C.) not only secured the valley of the Upper Tigris (the province of Kadmuhi or Kudmuhi) and the important strongholds of Taith and Irrith to the north and south of its upper reaches, but he also captured in Irrith the family of the Mitannian king (Wasasatta); he also occupied the capital Wassukanne. At one time he reached the Euphrates near Carchemish. In this way Assyria turned into a major power, presenting an even greater danger to the surrounding tribes than the Mitannian Empire before it (48).

1.6. The War between Mursilis II and Haiasa

Although the subjugation of Mitanni was a great victory for the Hittites and opened up the opportunity for them to conquer Syria and to compete with Egypt, the prolonged absence of Suppiluliumas and the main Hittite forces from Asia Minor led to the loss of its peripheral areas. Not only does the son of Suppiluliumas I, Mursilis II (c. 1339-1306 B.C.), complain about this in his annals, but so, too, does Hattusilis III in his "Autobiography." The *Kaska* again began their raids into Hittite territory, and the Hittites had to waste many more years in order to get over the consequences.

In the beginning the Hittites' main enemy was one Pihhunias, the chieftain of the *Kaska* country of Tibia, a neighbor of Haiasa. This Pihhunias was the one who "ruled. ..not in the manner of the *Kaska*, but suddenly, while there never had been a one man's power in the community (lit. 'city') of *Kaska*, this Pihhunias began to rule according to the custom of royalty" (49). Under these circumstances the people of Haiasa again began to shelter the fugitive NAM.RA from the Hittite territory, and, while Mursilis II was occupied with the struggle against Tibia, Annias (son of Marias), the chief of Azzi, attacked the Hittite district of Tankuwa and took captives and cattle from there to Haiasa (50). Annias refused [54] Mursilis's request to return them, so the Hittites began a war and laid siege to the impregnable Azzian fortress of Ura. The major military operations unfolded in the following years. The Hittite troops were commanded by the king's brother, because Mursilis himself was engaged in a war on the other borders. The people of Haiasa had promised to turn over the captives, but they did not fulfill their promise, pointing out that neither had the Hittites turned over the Haiasan captives. Military activity dragged on, and the Haiasans captured the Hittite fortress of Istitina and laid siege to the fortress of Kannuwara. The Hittites sent reinforcement troops of 10,000 infantry and 700 chariots, but their main forces were pinned down near Carchemish on the Euphrates, which was threatened by the Assyrian king. On the Haiasa front the Hittites had to retreat to Tegarama, and they lost a number of districts in the Upper Halys valley. It goes without saying that the Hittites also lost control of the Euphrates valley above Tegarama.

Only in the fourth year of the war (in the tenth year of his reign) was Mursilis II able to personally set off against Azzi; the Haiasans took cover in the mountain strongholds, planning to attack the approaching Hittite forces by night. But Mursilis, leaving most of the mountain strongholds in the rear, reached Aripisa (probably passing over the Pontus Mountains to the Black Sea) and took it, and then immediately turned toward Tukrama, which seems to have been the center of Azzi. The inhabitants of Tukrama surrendered to the mercy of the conqueror, and Mursilis recruited 3,000 men of Azzi into his own troops as infantry and charioteers. Negotiations were conducted not with the "king," but with the council of elders of Azzi; the country was annexed to the Hittite Empire. Further negotiations were also conducted with a certain Mutti, the ruler of the fortress of Haliman, through whom Mursilis succeeded in gaining the release of 1,000 Hittite captives from the people of Azzi (51).

The Hittites were not successful, however, in maintaining Azzi and Haiasa under their rule (52). Their influence in Isuwa and the other countries of the Euphrates valley was also very precarious. Judging by a letter which has come down to us (to the kings of Carchemish and Isuwa from an unknown person--Forrer suggests that it may be from a former king of Mitanni), (53) a country allied with the Hittites (probably Alzi--its king is called "a Subarean"--*Shubriu*) continued its attack on Mitanni, and at one point the king in question even seized the Mitannian throne.

We also have the text of a treaty between an unknown Hittite king (Hattusilis III?) and the king of the country of Mehri, which lay in the neighborhood of or perhaps was identical with the [54] country of Alzi. In the treaty are mentioned the Hittite-Mehrian campaign from Neheria and a second Hittite campaign from Alatarne in Isuwa, both apparently against Assyria. The king of Mehri was obligated in the future to fight against Assyria on the side of the Hittites (54).

From these documents we see that the countries of the Armenian Highlands at the end of the 14th and in the 13th century B.C. were allied with the Hittite Empire but were not included in it.

1.7. Assyrian Aggression in the 13th Century B.C.

Beginning with the 13th century B.C. it is Assyria that becomes the chief danger for the tribes of the Armenian Highlands. Having fortified their position in northern Mesopotamia, the Assyrians now started their raids into the mountains for the purpose of capturing slaves and cattle. The first large-scale raid of this type about which we know from the inscriptions happened in the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I (Shulmanashared, c. 1280-1260 B.C.). It was directed toward the southeastern or south-central regions of the Armenian Highlands, against the tribes of the Uruatri; from them he received tribute, and he turned some of the captives into slaves (55). After that the campaign continued into Musri on the Upper Zab, where the fortress of Arinna was destroyed. The inscription of Shalmaneser passes this entire campaign off as punitive. It is difficult to say

whether this assertion should be considered as false or whether Shalmaneser's campaign was actually preceded by other Assyrian raids into these regions to impose tribute upon the local tribes--"for all times," as the Assyrian inscriptions usually assert--and which the Assyrians had not received in full.

Just like his predecessor, Adadnirari I, Shalmaneser I conducted a campaign against Mitanni and reached Carchemish on the Euphrates. Apparently the Assyrian threat forced the Hittite king, Hattusilis III, to conclude a treaty of peace with Egypt about 1250 B.C. after more than a century of war with Egypt for the possession of Syria and Palestine. Palestine went to the Egyptian pharaoh, Ramesses II, and the greater part of Syria went to Hattusilis III (56).

Subsequently Shalmaneser I again campaigned in the Armenian Highlands, apparently in regions further to the west than the first time: "from the borders of Uruatru to Kadmuhi" [the valley of the Upper Tigris]. The next Assyrian king, Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1260- 1230 B.C.), also raided the Highlands. His inscriptions, like those of Shalmaneser I, are very brief, but apparently there were three or four campaigns against the mountaineers.

It seems they did not remain in debt to the Assyrians, because one of the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta (57) speaks about a war in [56] the beginning of his rule against the Uqumanians, and another against the mountaineers (the inscription uses the Hurrian term *pabhi*). It seems that the campaign against the mountaineers started to the south of the upper Tigris and continued into the Taurus.

Another (or the same?) campaign was threhted against the *pabhi* of "the country of the Subareans" (i.e., the Hurrian mountaineers). For Tukulti-Ninurta I these included Kadmuhi, Pusse, Mumme, Alzi (an Alzian king with the Hurrian name Ehli-Tessub is mentioned), Madani, Nihani, Alaia, Teburzi, and Purulumzi. Kadmuhi is the upper valley of the Tigris; Madani and Nihani were probably situated in the mountains near the western sources of the Tigris; we already know Alzi as an important country reaching from the valley of the Arsanias to the sources of the Tigris and the mountains of Sasun; Purulumzzi bordered on Alzi, and "Teburzia" is named by a Hittite source (58) as a "town" near Isuwa. It seems to have lain on the right bank of the Euphrates. Thus the Assyrians penetrated into the valley of the Upper Euphrates to a point where the Hittites also claimed power.

Apparently in yet one more of his campaigns Tukulti-Ninurta I traversed the Armenian Taurus Mountains and fought with a coalition of forty tribal chieftains ("kings") of the Nairi, whose "countries" are not indicated more precisely. It is curious that one of the inscriptions (59) perhaps refers not only to "kings," but also to "queens" (cf. the role of the queen-*tawanannas* among the Hittites and the role of the "women-kings" of the town communities in Arrapkhe). The Assyrian king succeeded in capturing some of the chieftains and imposing tribute upon them. It is here for the first time that the term "Nairi" appears in the Assyrian texts as a general name for the Highlands.

It is possible that Tukulti-Ninurta also conducted other campaigns into the mountains, but the information of his inscriptions on this point is unclear.

1.8. The Hittites and the Countries of the Upper Valley of the Euphrates at the End of the 13th Century B.C.

In the middle of the 13th century B.C. the Hittites apparently did not wage war in the Armenian Highlands. Probably in the face of the danger from Assyria the tribes of the Upper Euphrates valley preferred to ally themselves with the Hittite Empire.

A treaty of the Hittite Empire with Pahhuwa, Isuwa, and other countries of this region has come down to us (60). Unfortunately the name of the Hittite king who concluded this treaty is not preserved in the document, but on circumstantial evidence from the text it can be concluded that he was one of the last kings of the [57] Hittite state--perhaps Arnuwandas III (c. 1220-1190 B.C.). This treaty is an important source which gives us insight into the relations between the Hittites and the Armenian Highlands on the eve of the fall of the Hittite Empire. The text draws the following picture.

The Azzi-Haiasa confederacy had apparently fallen apart (it is last mentioned under Tuthalias IV), and the text does not make any reference to it; the towns and thstricts of Tukrama, Kummaha, and Patteiarikka(?), formerly subject to Haiasa, now act independently. The countries of Pahhuwa and Isuwa are connected by an alliance with the Hittite Empire; as its vassals they are obliged to supply the Hittites with military forces upon request.

But when the Hittite king conducted a campaign against Kummaha, a king of Pahhuwa, Mitas, who was related by marriage to the enemy chief, not only did not fulfill his treaty obligations, but sheltered fugitives hostile to the Hittites and seized people and cattle from the territory of Isuwa, which was an ally of the Hittites. A certain Kalimunas, another chieftain, acted in conjunction with Mitas. However the Hittite successes forced the "people of Pahhuwa" (its popular assembly?) to conclude peace with the Hittite Empire. The Hittite king stipulated that the people of Pahhuwa turn over to him Mitas and Kalimunas with all their relatives and property and that they also return the fugitives and make restitution to Isuwa for the seized property. If the people of Pahhuwa did not carry out these conditions, the Hittite king ordered Pahhuwa's neighbors to secure their fulfillment by force. Among these neighbors, dependent on the Hittites, is one named Arihpizzi, the ruler of Tukrama. Simultaneously, in accordance with the treaty, the Hittites make the following countries their subjects: Pahhuwa, Isuwa, Zuhma, Maldia, [Pattea]rikka (or [Isme]rikka?), and one more country, possibly Hurri (i.e., either the northern remains of Mitanni or Alzi?). The Assyrian threat must be considered the reason that these countries were willing to be subject to the Hittites. The treaty was concluded not with the "kings" but with the councils of elders of these countries, although the chieftains of the fortresses are named inthvidually. It is not clear whether they are listed as representatives of these countries or as witnesses in guaranty of the treaty. Several of these persons have Luwian names (61).

1.9. The Armenian Highlands toward 1200 B.C.

Thus by the end of the 13th century B.C. in the Armenian Highlands there existed many small Hurro-Urartian tribes (in the valley of the Upper Euphrates they were also mixed with the Luwians). They were in the last stage of the primitive community structure (so-called "military democracy"). It is not impossible that in some [58] places class society had begun to emerge, as well as the first state formations. These may have been city-states (as, e.g., Arinna, Qumme-Qumenu in the countries of Mudru and of the Uqumanians on the Upper Zab, and perhaps some towns in the upper reaches of the Tigris), or small kingdoms (Alzi). However tribal ties were still so strong that extensive temporary military unions or tribal confederations could emerge from time to time ("the forty kings of Nairi" in the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Uruatru, etc.). The population practiced agriculture, sheep- and cattle-breethng, and warfare. In all probability, just as in the more southerly Hurrian regions, there existed patriarchal extended family communes and other communal units, and certain archaic customs characteristic of primitive societies survived. Slavery was already well known, but economically little developed. In the regions where the traditions of Mitanni were preserved, cuneiform writing was no doubt well known, and thus the Hittite-Hurrian scribal and annalistic traditions could subsequently be adopted by the later kingdom of Urartu. We can also date the creation of the so-called "Urartian hieroglyphics" to roughly this or a somewhat later period. From the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. they are attested on Urartian utensils and clay tablets. They were possibly invented under the influence of the Luwian hieroglyphic writing.

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The Pre-history of the Armenian People

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Chapter 2. The History of the Armenian Highlands in the Middle Bronze and Early Iron Ages

2. The Fall of the Hittite Empire. The Advance of the Thraco-Phrygian and Kartvelian Tribes.

2.1. The "Peoples of the Sea"

The last documents of the state archives in Hattusas (Bogazkoy), the capital of the Hittite Empire, date from the first decade of the 12th century B.C. Sometime after that the city was stormed and destroyed by an enemy, and the Hittite Empire perished along with it. We have only indirect evidence about the circumstances of its fall.

In the middle of the 13th century B.C. Egyptian sources begin to refer to the so-called "Peoples of the Sea," who were troubling the Mediterranean coast. They apparently included some inhabitants of the shores of Asia Minor and, as many scholars suggest, Achaean Greeks ('*kwsh*, '*kywsh*) (62).

The invasion of the Peoples of the Sea during the reign of Ramesses III (beginning of the 12th century B.C.) had the nature of a catastrophe. An inscription of this pharaoh states (63): "Not a single (country) remained standing before their right hand; beginning with Hatti, Qede (64), Carchemish, Arzawa (65), and Alasia (66), were destroyed. They pitched camp in the middle of Amurru (67) they wiped [59] out its people as though they (never) had existed. They ...moved on to Egypt. Their main support were the *prst*, *chkr*, *shkrsh*, *dyny* (?), and *wsh*. They laid hands on the countries to the ends of the earth, their hearts were full of hope and (they said): our plans will succeed." Among the tribes or nations mentioned here are *dyny* (a variant of *dynyn*), probably the Danai, i.e., the Achaean Greeks, and the *prst*--the Philistines, whom biblical tradition considered to have originated from the island of Crete (Caphtor) (68). Actually, their homeland could have been any of the various islands of the Aegean Sea or the coastlands of the mainland of Greece and Asia Minor. They might have been the Pelasgi of the Greek tradition. The *shkrsh* are called *Shikulai* in a text from Ugarit in Northern Syria, and it has long been suspected that they are identical with the Siculi, later known to classical tradition as the predecessors of the Greeks in Sicily. In the text the native land (or town) of the *Shikulai* is called *Shikila*. The other Peoples of the Sea are unidentified (*4).

As is clear from the Egyptian sources, the Peoples of the Sea destroyed the Hittite Empire and then moved, with women and children and a great number of carts, on land across Syria and Phoenicia to the south. At the same time their naval units, acting in conjunction with the Libyans, made raids on the shores of Palestine and Egypt. Thus their confederation involved all the shores of the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea (69).

The Egyptian army of Ramesses III succeeded in halting the invasion. The Philistines and the *chkr* settled on the coast of Palestine (a name which preserves their tribal appellation to this day); the Danai(?)--*dynyn*--in all

probability settled in Cilicia, on the southeastern coast of Asia Minor (70), while the fate of the others is unknown.

It is about this time (the first quarter of the 12th century B.C.) that Greek epic tradition dated the great seaborne campaign of the warriors from the city-states of mainland Greece against Troy (otherwise known as Ilion), in the northwestern corner of Asia Minor near the entrance to the Hellespont, today known as the Strait of the Dardanelles. After the destruction of Troy some of the Greeks were said to have settled in a number of places on the coast of Asia Minor, the island of Cyprus (71), etc.

2.2. The Political Situation in the West of Asia Minor in the 14th-13th Centuries B.C.

In order to make at least a plausible hypothesis about what actually happened, and in what manner the Hittite Empire, which for centuries had no equals in power, finally perished, it is necessary to turn to the situation which existed from the 14th to the [60] 13th centuries B.C. in the west of the peninsula. Unfortunately many of the geographical names mentioned by the Hittite sources have not yet been reliably located; indeed there exist extremely contradictory theories.

The main role in the west of Asia Minor belonged to a group or confederation of Luwian states, called Arzawa, which at certain periods seems to have been a unified state and at others was divided into four or five autonomous parts: Hapalla, Mira, Arzawa proper, the Land of the river Seha, and Wilusa. The culture of these areas was akin to that of the Hittites; thus both the Luwian hieroglyphics and the cuneiform script were well known here and so was the Akkadan language. The exact localization of all these countries remains debatable (72). The relations of Arzawa with the Hittite Empire were sometimes hostile, but more often the states of Arzawa were allied to it as vassals.

The Hittites were only temporarily and partially successful in subjugating the coastal country of Lukka, which was evidently a mountainous area inhabited by the classical Lycians, although at that time they seem to have lived somewhat farther to the west of the later Lycia, opposite the island of Rhodes and up to the city of Miletus.

2.3. Ahhiawa. The Achaeans and the Trojans

Further to the west the kingdom of Ahhiawa was a strong power with which the Hittites stood on an almost equal footing (73). In spite of considerable difficulties of a philological nature (74) most scholars agree that Ahhiawa is a form of the ancient name of the country of the Achaean Greeks (**Akhaiwia*). However the problem of its location is still unsolved. Some identify Ahhiawa with the Mycenaean kingdom in Greece, or with Achaean Crete, or with Rhodos; others consider it to be an Achaean or Achaeanized kingdom in Asia Minor itself, somewhere in the west of the peninsula, perhaps even Troy. But still another group of scholars considers it to be a kingdom somewhere in Asia Minor, having no relationship with the Achaeans at all (75).

We know that the Hittites communicated with Ahhiawa proper through Arzawa and Lukka, perhaps by a sea route, except for the period when the contacts were via Milawatas, at that time belonging to Ahhiawa, and the periods of direct Ahhiawan attacks on Asia Minor. We know that Ahhiawa was somehow connected with the country of Lazpas, which perhaps is the island of Lesbos, and that, according to the archeological data, in the 14th and 13th centuries there were few real Achaean settlements in Asia Minor, except perhaps Miletus (76) (although certainly Troy was also strongly [61] Achaeanized in its culture). On the grounds of the archeological and written data it is not easy to imagine a state in Asia Minor at that time which could have approached the Hittite Empire in power. Note that it is very difficult to interpret the proper names which have come down to us from Ahhiawa as Greek ones (77).

Nevertheless it seems rather plausible that Ahhiawa is simply the Achaean Mycenaean kingdom in Greece, although this can by no means be considered as proven (78) Among the Mycenaeans, especially those who were active in Asia Minor, there would quite likely have been any number of non-Greeks (79).

Greek tradition considered Troy in Asia Minor to be the chief rival of Mycenae; this city was long ago identified with the modern site of Hissarlik which had certain archeologically confirmed ties with the Mycenaean culture (the culture of 'Troy VI' and 'Troy VIIa'). It seems improbable that the Hittites should not have had contacts with the Mycenaeans, and it is completely improbable that they did not have contacts with Troy. Moreover a contemporary Egyptian source actually names the Dardani (the edonym of the inhabitants of Troy in Homer's poems; Egyptian *drdny*) among the allies of the Hittites in the battle of Kades against the forces of Pharaoh Ramesses II (in the beginning of the 13th century B.C.) (80). And in Homer's *Odyssey*, among the allies of the Trojans are named the Keteioi (Cetii), who could hardly be anyone else but the Hittites (actually *k* is the common reflex of Hittite *h* in Anatolian languages of the 1st millennium B.C.). But nevertheless neither the name Troy (or Ilion, or Ilios--the most ancient form must have sounded like **Wilios*), nor the names of the Dardanians have been identified in the Hittite sources. We can only presume that the Hittites called the kingdom of Ilion by some other name, which we have not yet identified. It is quite probable that this name was *Wilusa* (81), and that it corresponds to the *drdny* of the Egyptian texts, although this identification has been contested.

From a treaty with the Hittite king Muwattallis (82) (or Muttallis, c. 1306-1282 B.C.) we know the names of two kings of Wilusa-- Kukkunnis and his adopted (?) son, Alaksandus. The latter name can, with a great degree of probability, be identified with the Greek name Alexandros (83). According to the Homeric epic this was another name of the Trojan prince Paris, the one who was to blame for the Trojan war. In Greek legend Paris-Alexandros, when returning to Troy from Sparta, where he had abducted King Menelaus's wife Helen, was at one point the guest of king Motylos (84). One scholar (85) has suggested that this is a reminiscence of the name Muwattallis, who actually received Alaksandus when he fled from Wilusa (86). However there is no doubt that it is quite impossible to [62] *identify* Alaksandus, king of Wilusa, with Paris. The Homeric epic, which was created in the 8th century B.C., might have preserved certain typical genuine names of famous Trojans who had lived some four hundred years before, but by this time the memory of the true royal line of Troy could hardly have been preserved (except for the last king, the one with whom the Greeks fought, i.e., Priam), nor could the memory of the sequence of the kings have been preserved. In addition, according to the epic, Paris was never king at all, and he lived, not at the beginning of the 13th century, but at the end of the 13th century B.C.

At any rate there is no doubt that Troy was an important center ('Troy VI' according to archeological nomenclature, but 'Troy VIIa' after the destruction of the city as a result of an earthquake around 1350 B.C.). The city blocked the entrance to the Hellespont and the Black Sea and connected the Balkans and the Aegean Sea with northern Asia Minor. It certainly had close cultural, commercial, and perhaps political contacts with Achaean (Mycenaean) Greece. According to archeological data, 'Troy VI-VIIa' was a city of local Anatolian culture, but in the course of the 14th-13th centuries it was exposed to strong Mycenaean cultural influence. There can hardly be any doubt that Troy had some sort of ties, possibly political, with the Hittite Empire as well. 'Troy VIIa' was destroyed by a conflagration, apparently not long before 1200 B.C., i.e., roughly the time when, according to the Homeric epic, the Mycenaean Greeks captured and burned Troy-Ilion (87). For the Greeks the Trojan War was the central event of the heroic age, making a tremendous impression on the minds and imaginations of many generations, and we cannot doubt that such a war against Troy, led by a coalition of Achaean princes, the vassals and allies of the king of Mycenae, actually took place.

Until the beginning of the 13th century B.C. the relations of the Hittite Empire with Ahhiawa (Mycenae?) were peaceful and even friendly. Under Mursilis II and Muwattallis, Ahhiawa had a bridgehead on the coast of Asia Minor in Millawandas, or Milawatas (Miletus?), and although at one period there were misunderstandings between Ahhiawa and the Hittites regarding their zones of influence (88), this did little damage to their friendly relations. Thus Ahhiawa turned over to the Hittites the sea pirate Piamaratus (89), who had been plundering the western coasts of the peninsula. However in the reign of Tuthalias IV (c. 1250-1220 B.C.) the king of Ahhiawa himself apparently invaded the coast of Asia Minor. From the seriously damaged annals of Tuthalias IV (90) it may be inferred that the entire west of Asia Minor fell from Hittite control at that time. The annals inform us of three or four Hittite campaigns [63] toward the west-against the land of the river Seha, which was occupied by the king of Ahhiawa, against the same country, Arzawa, Wallarimma (in Lycia?), and others, and apparently two (?) campaigns against Assuwa. Assuwa was apparently a powerful kingdom since, according to the annals, the Hittites took 10,000 infantrymen and 600 charioteers captive there. It is possible that "Assuwa" is the prototype of our term "Asia" (91) Among the localities in Assuwa are named several places which undoubtedly lay in the .

northern part of the Aegean coast of Asia Minor (92). Also mentioned are Wilusia (the kingdom of Ilion?) (93) and Taruisa, which may actually be the city of Troy (94).

According to the Homeric epic, a few decades before the Trojan War the Trojan king Priam had fought as an ally of the Phrygians (who had come from Europe into Asia Minor over the Hellespont) against the "Amazons" on the bank of the river Sangarius (modern Sakarya) (95). The later Greeks attributed the Hittite culture (cf. the role of the queen among the Hittites?) to the "Amazons" (96). But actually, in the 13th century B.C., the future territory of Phrygia was held by Assuwa.

According to Greek tradition, about this time or a little later (but still before the Trojan War) the Cretans (i.e., Achaeans?) Sarpedon and Rhadamantys invaded Lycia and created a kingdom there (97). A Hittite source mentions similar raids of one Attarissias of Ahhiawa, who had penetrated deep into Asia Minor and also made attacks on Cyprus. The same source apparently mentions Muksas, i.e., Mopsus of the Greek legend (98) whose campaign into Asia Minor Greek tradition envisaged as taking place immediately after the Trojan War.

2.4. Ethnic Movements at the End of the 13th and the Beginning of the 12th Centuries B.C. The Trojan War

Thus the extant data speak about attacks on Asia Minor and the other coastal countries beginning in the middle of the 13th century B.C. The attackers were probably Achaeans from mainland Greece and from the islands of the Aegean Sea, and possibly also the Thraco-Phrygians from the Balkan peninsula. However other peoples also took part in this movement, e.g., the Philistines (perhaps the same as the Pelasgi), the Lycians, etc. The position of the Hittite Empire was made even more difficult owing to a new wave of raids by the *Kaska* from the opposite direction (the annals of Tuthalias IV speak about this in connection with a campaign against Assuwa).

One, and perhaps the most important, episode of this movement of the Peoples of the Sea was the Trojan War. According to [64] tradition, all the city-states of Aegean Greece participated, as allies and vassals of Agamemnon, the king of Mycenae, who was avenging the Trojan prince Paris's insult to his brother Menelaus, the king of Sparta.

According to the Homeric epic, quite a number of kingdoms of western Asia Minor took part in the war on the side of the Trojans. Territorially these kingdoms correspond to regions belonging to the confederation of Arzawa of the Hittite sources, right up to Lycia in the southeast of the peninsula (99); in one place, as we have already mentioned, among the allies of Troy are mentioned the Cetii, who are probably the Hittites (100). According to the epic, several tribes from the European side of the Hellespont and Bosphorus were also allied with the Trojans. This information of the epic is, however, most unreliable, and the ethnonyms must belong to the early 1st millennium B.C. (101)

The Greek tradition knew of different wanderings of the heroes of the war both on sea and on land immediately after the fall of Troy.

2.5. The Invasion of the Thraco-Phrygian Tribes and the Fall of the Hittite Empire

The fall of Hissarlik had important consequences which can be guessed at from archeological data and ancient Oriental texts. After a short-lived attempt by the local population to regenerate its city ('Troy VIIa'), there emerges on the ruins of 'Troy VIIa' the settlement VIIb, which had an entirely different population. This is attested by the appearance of the so-called *Buckelkeramik* of central European and Danubian derivation: no longer restrained by the might of the kingdom of Ilion near the Strait of the Hellespont, new tribes poured into Asia Minor from Europe.

These tribes, as we shall see below, belonged linguistically, without any shadow of a doubt, to a new branch of the Indo-European family not yet in evidence in the East. This branch was the Thraco-Phrygian, to which,

according to a plausible linguistic theory, the Proto-Armenian language also may have been close (see Chapter III).

If we are to believe Greek tradition, the infiltration of the first Thraco-Phrygians from the Balkan peninsula into Asia Minor began before the Trojan War (probably across the Bosphorus). But after the fall of Troy their invasion became so massive that they expelled many earlier inhabitants of Asia Minor from their homes. The Hittite Empire fell about the end of the first decade of the 12th century B.C., probably under pressure from the vanguard groups of the Thraco-Phrygian tribes, and under conditions of [65] disorderly movements among the Anatolian peoples themselves at a time when Asia Minor was being raided by the Achaeans. It was, at least in part, the tribes of Asia Minor, ousted from their places, whom we encounter in Syria as mentioned by Ramesses III's inscription. The Thraco-Phrygians, being an inland people, stayed in the hinterland and did not occupy the sea coast. It was the seafarers, the Achaeans, Cretans (102), and Pelasgi, that now streamed into the coastal city-states and kingdoms which formerly had also been protected by the strength of the Hittites. At the same time the movement of the tribes of the Balkan peninsula displaced the Greeks there, the last of whom to move were the Dorians; settled in the mountain regions of northern Greece, they had no part in the Mycenaean culture. The latter culture perished as a result of inner processes, but tribal incursions followed in the next two centuries. Greek colonies began to appear on the Aegean coast of western Asia Minor, beginning with the Aeolians in the north and then later the Ionians in the center.

At the beginning of the 12th century B.C. the Thraco-Phrygian tribes already controlled the center of Asia Minor, and by 1165 B.C. their vanguard military detachments reached the valley of the Upper Euphrates. These were apparently the tribes speaking Proto-Armenian. The Phrygians who came after them assimilated the local population in parts of Asia Minor, but did not form their own states, except perhaps in Phrygia Minor on the coast of the Sea of Marmara. Independent fragments of the Hittite Empire were preserved in the outlying Luwian districts, where they tried to continue the Hittite traditions.

The appearance in Asia Minor and the Armenian Highlands of the Thraco-Phrygian ethnos means that all the basic components from which the Armenian people were ultimately formed were now present.

2.6. The Movement of the Kartvelian Tribes

A countermovement of the Kartvelian tribes from Transcaucasia into northeastern Asia Minor apparently took place about the same time or somewhat later. The Homeric poems speak of the Halizones in this area (103), who apparently lived in Pontus. The Halizones can, with some plausibility, be identified with the later Chaldaei, or Chaldeans (Urat. *Halitu*, not to be confused with the Chaldeans of Babylonia!) (104). The Chaldaei are first mentioned by Xenophon in the late 5th-early 4th century B.C., and in the early Middle Ages, if not before, the term was applied to the Western Georgian ethnic group of the Ch'ani (Lazi), which still dwells in parts of the Pontus to the present day (105). Thus a Georgian-speaking [66] population can be presumed to have existed in this region from roughly the 8th century B.C. (the approximate date of the Iliad). However it is not impossible that they appeared here even earlier. We shall leave aside the possibility, which is conceivable but not provable, that there existed a Georgian-speaking or kindred element already among the Kaska. But the advance of the Georgian tribes to the west may have been connected with the disintegration of the confederation of Azzi-Haiasa by the end of the 13th century B.C., and perhaps precisely this advance provoked a reviving of the Kaska raids not only into central Asia Minor in the late 13th century, but also into the valley of the Upper Euphrates in the first half of the 12th century B.C., about which we shall speak below. For the time being we shall only note that the Assyrian sources refer to the tribe which invaded this valley first as Kaska "of the Hittite country," and then as Apeshlaians. We have already noted in Chapter I that their name may be identical with that of the present-day Abkhazians. Such a displacement of Abkhazo-Adyghian tribes to the south might be connected with an advance of the Georgian tribes into Colchis, and from Colchis into Pontus (106).

At the end of the 12th century B.C. there is evidence of the existence of an important new kingdom (or tribe?) in the valley of the Choroh, namely, the *Daiene* (Urat. *Diauhe*). They are to be identified with the Taochi of the later Greek sources. The linguistic affinity of the Daiene is not completely clear; Melikishvili (107) considers

them to be a Hurrian tribe, and this is quite plausible for a number of reasons. But since the Daiene existed on the Choroh as early as the 12th century B.C., the Georgian-speaking tribes attested to farther to the west of this river in the 8th century B.C. must have arrived there before the Daiene emerged on the Choroh, i.e., in all probability as early as the beginning of the 12th century B.C.

From the 6th century on the tribe of the Moschi, usually thought to have been Georgian-speaking (108), is in evidence in Pontus. Their name perhaps bears witness to the tribe's ancient contacts with the Phrygians (we shall speak about this in detail in the next chapter). It is possible also that the Moschi appeared here before the formation of the Daiene kingdom, if the term is not simply to be identified as another name for the Chalybes (cf. Chapter III).

Greek tradition has preserved a legend about the Achaean heroes sailing in the ship Argo to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece a generation before the Trojan War. The Georgian linguistic affiliation of the Colchi is probable (109). The legend of the Argonauts must have become popular in the period of Greek penetration to [67] the Black Sea, i.e., not earlier than the 8th-7th century B.C. It is much to be doubted whether the Colchis as such actually existed as early as the 13th century B.C., when the legend places the voyage of the Argo, but it definitely did exist in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. And as Melikisvili has shown, at the time this term (in the broad sense) included not only the valley of the river Rioni, but also eastern Pontus and the valley of the river Choroh (110). However the penetration into Pontus of the Colchi, as well as various other small tribes (the Macroni, the Mosynoeci (111), the Bizeri, and perhaps the Moschi) (112), if they actually were Georgian-speaking, must be dated to a time after the destruction of the kingdom of the Daiene (Diauhe) in the valley of the river Choroh, i.e., after the second half of the 8th century B.C. (113)

Thus it can be regarded as proved that a movement of the Thraco- Phrygian tribes from the west to the east (from the Balkans to the Upper Euphrates) took place between the end of the 13th--beginning of the 12th centuries B.C. through the 10th or 8th centuries B.C. (114) But there is also a whole set of indications, albeit indirect, which seems to point to a countermovement of Georgian- speaking tribes into Colchis and Pontus during the course of the 12th (?) through the 8th centuries B.C. In any event by the period on which Greek sources throw light, i.e., the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., the geographical and edinical map of Asia Minor had completely changed, and, in particular, the tribes and inhabited places in Pontus, etc., were completely different from those in the Hittite period (115).

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The Pre-history of the Armenian People

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Chapter 2. The History of the Armenian Highlands in the Middle Bronze and Early Iron Ages

3. The Armenian Highlands during the Age of the Assyrian and Urartian Wars and Conquests

The Mushki, the Apeshlaians, and the Urumeans The fall of the Hittite Empire, the downfall of the lesser states of Syria, and the weakening, for internal reasons, of Egypt and Babylonia which occurred at that time, left Assyria from the middle of the 12th century on, as the only great power in the Near East. At the end of this century begin the campaigns of conquest of king Tiglath-pileser I (*Tukulti-apal-Esharra*, 1115-1077 B.C.). His annals and inscriptions are our main source on the history of the Armenian Highlands for the period which followed the fall of the Hittite Empire.

3.1. The Mushki, the Apeshlaians, and the Urumeans

Fifty years before Tiglath-pileser came to the throne, i.e., around 1165 B.C., the tribes of the Mushki (this was the Assyrians' name for the Thraco-Phrygian tribes) crossed the Upper Euphrates and, [68] having penetrated deep into the valley of the river Arsanias (Muratsu), occupied the countries of Alzi and Purulumzi. Simultaneously the Kaska and the Urumeans also advanced into the valley of the Upper Euphrates. It is to be understood that the term "Kaska" is a very general one, but some inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I specify the tribal name of these particular "Kaska"--they were Apeshlaians, a tribe which apparently was not known to the Hittite sources (116). It is therefore probable that this is not simply a case of the same Kaska tribes who long had troubled the Hittite Empire resuming their raids to the south and using the empire's fall to enlarge the field of their military activities. It is more likely that here we witness a new ethnical movement in which new tribes were involved. As far as the Urumeans are concerned, we have no information about this tribe at all; we shall dwell on some hypotheses about it below. By 1115 B.C. the Mushki resumed their advance and, numbering twenty thousand men under five chieftains, they descended into the valley of the Upper Tigris (Kadmuhi), creating a serious threat to the Assyrian possessions. One may infer from the text of the annals that the Mushki must have been in alliance with the local inhabitants. This is understandable: in the first half of the 12th century the Assyrians had more than once forced the Kadmuhians, Alzians, and Purulumzians to pay heavy tribute, and the Mushki could get more booty plundering the Assyrian villages than the more humble habitations of the Hurrian mountaineers.

Having come to the throne, Tiglath-pileser I moved into Kadmuhi, inflicted a defeat on the Mushki, and, according to his own assertion, took 6,000 captives. However this did not finish the matter, since the Kadmuhians refused to pay tribute to the Assyrians and received support from the *pabhi* (the mountaineer Hurrians). Tiglath-pileser defeated the Kadmuhians and their allies in the battle of Name (one of the lesser tributaries of the Tigris), and a "king" of the mountaineers, one Kili-Tessub (117), was captured along with his family, his household gods, and the gold, silver, and bronze utensils from his treasury. Later Tiglath-pileser laid

siege to the Hurrian mountain fortress of Urrahinash on the upper reaches of the Tigris; its king, Shadi-Tessub, son of Hattuhe (118), surrendered to him and was taken captive.

In the next year (1114 B.C.) Tiglath-pileser advanced to the even more remote "country of the Subareans" (i.e., of the Hurrians), namely, to Alzi and Purulumzi, which had also refused to pay tribute to Assyria. As the reader may recall, these regions had already been occupied by the Mushki for two generations. During this campaign a detachment of four thousand Kaska (Apeshlaians) and [69] Urumeans, "recalcitrant warriors of the country of the Hittites, who had captured the towns of Subartu by their own strength," entered Assyrian service (119). On his way back, the king again ravaged the country of Kadmuhi.

3.2. The Assyrian Offensive into the Heart of the Armenian Highlands at the End of the 12th Century B.C. (*15)

Information about two different campaigns is apparently combined under the third year in the annals (1113 B.C.). One of the campaigns was probably not commanded by the king in person, but by one of his generals. Some of the countries mentioned, judging by the type of their names (120), were probably located in the area of the Quti, to the east or northeast of Assyria. Separately named are some of the countries of the Upper Euphrates valley--Isua (Isuwa) and Daria (121), then again certain eastern areas somewhere beyond the Lower Zab (122), and finally the tribal league (?) of the Sugi in the land of the Haphi.¹²³ The names of the countries included in this league partly coincide with those which had been included in the alliance of the Uruatri. One of them, the country of Alamun, can be identified with the valley of the Upper Zab.

The most important campaign into the Armenian Highlands took place in 1112 B.C. Its goal was the "countries of the far away kings, on the shore of the Upper Sea," i.e., the Black Sea (124). According to the information of Tiglath-pileser's annals, the Assyrians crossed sixteen mountain ridges with clearly Hurro-Urartian names and finally passed over the Euphrates by a bridge which they laid (125)--obviously in its upper reaches, otherwise it would be difficult to imagine sixteen ridges on the way there (126). A tribal coalition consisting of 22,000 warriors (as the annals assure us), headed by the "kings" of twenty-three "countries" which are listed by name (127), came to battle against the Assyrians. The names of many of these countries in all probability are Hurro-Urartian, but none of them belong to the well-known countries of the Upper Euphrates valley. Probably the route lay to the east of that valley, over the central passes of the Highlands. When Tiglath-pileser defeated this coalition, he was met by another, headed this time by "sixty kings of Nairi," not counting those "who had come to their aid." However this greater coalition also retreated before the Assyrians, and Tiglath-pileser states that "I drove them as far as the Upper Sea at arrowpoint." Apparently the retreat of the "kings of Nairi" took place down the valley of the river Coroh in the direction of present-day Batumi (128). It is clear from this general picture that Haiasa no longer existed at this time (*6).

[70] Tiglath-pileser's annals characterize the result of the campaign in the following manner:

I conquered their large temple (or trading) towns, I seized their captives, I carried away their property, their wealth; their villages I burned in flames, I destroyed them, demolished them, turned them to ruins. I drove their extensive herds of horses, countless mules and hinnies, the livestock of their meadows, without number. My hand captured alive all the kings of Nairi; I had mercy on them, spared their lives, freed them from their fetters and bonds before (the god) Shamash, my lord, and made them swear allegiance in (their) slavery by my great gods for the future, forever. I took their sons, the scions of their royalty, as hostages, I imposed upon them a tribute of 1,200 horses and 2,000 cattle. I allowed them to return to their lands. I brought Seni, king of Daiene, who had not been submissive to (the god) Assur my lord, in bonds and fetters to my city Assur. I had mercy on him and let him leave my city Assur alive. (Thus) I became lord of the complete extensive lands of Nairi. ...

On his way back into Assyria along the valley of the Upper Euphrates, Tiglath-pileser I besieged "Milidia of Hatti," i.e., probably Hittite *Maldia*, Luwian **Malzi*, Aramaic *Ml̥z*; present-day Eski Malatya. (One of the

variants has Milidia of "Hanigalbat," i.e., Mitanni, but this is now regarded as a scribal mistake.) The city surrendered and was not destroyed; the Assyrian king limited himself to a tribute of about one ton of lead ore annually.

It goes without saying that the intention of this campaign was not the subjugation of the Armenian Highlands; its real goal was only to terrorize the mountain dwellers and to plunder.

In 1110 B.C. Tiglath-pileser conducted a campaign in the valley of the Upper Zab. Assyria's enemies here were the same ones as during the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I--Musru, the Qumanians, Arinna, and others. Tiglath-pileser's opponents were of considerable strength: the Assyrian annals assert that the Qumanians presented a force of 20,000, and their fortress Hunusa had a triple wall of baked brick; there were also towers made of baked brick in the neighboring fortress of Kipshuna, "their royal town" (129). As Melikisvili has shown, it was precisely here in the valley of the Upper Zab that one of the main centers of the future Urartian civilization was in the making. It is not impossible that the society of the Qumanians had reached the state level as early as the end of the 12th century B.C. or even before that.

Summing up the results of the campaigns of the first five and one-half years of his rule (1115-1110 B.C.), Tiglath-pileser I says in his annals: "From the beginning of my reign to the fifth year my hand subjected a total of forty-two countries and their rulers from [71] the far side of the Lower (Lesser) Zab, to the far side of the Euphrates and (to) the Upper Sea of the sunset" (130).

The series of campaigns into the Highlands ended with this, and the Assyrian king declares: "I cut off the path of my enemies into my land," from which it is evident that the Assyrians not only made attacks on the mountain dwellers, but that the mountain dwellers also made attacks on Assyria.

In the future Tiglath-pileser's campaigns were directed mostly against Syria. During one of them the Assyrian king, according to his inscription, reached the Phoenician coast, and on his way back he "took possession of the entire country of the Hittites," imposed a tribute of cedar beams on Ini-Tessub, the "king of the great Country of the Hittites," and occupied his city of Milidia (Milide). Apparently the Assyrians also imported "Kanes oak" from here (131). At this time Milidia must have been the center of a state continuing the traditions of the Hittite Empire. This must have been a kingdom with a considerable territory, since it extended to the cedar mountains of Syria and the oak forests north of the Cilician Taurus, or had close trading ties with them.

Continuing his march upwards along the valley of the Euphrates, Tiglath-pileser conquered the countries Isua and Suhmu (Isuwa and Zuhma of the Hittites).

With the beginning of the 11th century B.C. a massive penetration of the new Western Semitic tribes--the Aramaeans--into Syria and Mesopotamia started. This led to a significant weakening of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser I and his successors were now occupied with a continual struggle against the Aramaeans. However Tiglath-pileser's son Assurbelkala (1074-1057 B.C.) again waged war in the country of the Mushki (Alzi?), and, during another campaign, in Musru, as well as in Hanigalbat, from which places he deported a number of inhabitants. The mountains of Kashiari (modern Tur-'Abdin) and the country of the Haphi are mentioned; later in the same year there was one more warlike expedition, in which this king "during the campaign against the country of *Areme* fought in the town Murar [...] of the country of Shubre." *Areme* is here the oblique case of *Aramu*, i.e., the country of the Aramaeans (132). But the "country of *Areme*" might also be the country *Arme*, later mentioned in the Urartian inscriptions and apparently lying between Shubria, Amed, and the sources of the Tigris. From the time of Assurbelkala until the end of the 10th century plundering raids into the Armenian Highlands occurred very seldom. This situation, which was a happy one for the mountain dwellers, is an unlucky one for the scholars, since the sources of information about the Armenian Highlands run dry.

[72]

3.3. States and Tribes of Asia Minor and the Armenian Highlands by the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.*7

The political situation with which the great Assyrian and Urartian conquerors of the following centuries had to deal was gradually formed during the 11th-9th centuries B.C. During this time Asia Minor was apparently slowly recovering after the shock of the fall of the Hittite Empire, and in the Armenian Highlands two centuries of development almost without invasions allowed for the crystallization of a class and state civilization.

In Asia Minor the 11th-10th centuries were a time of decline, from which society began to right itself only toward the 9th century B.C. During this time towns existed on the old sites, but their areas had markedly diminished; the emerging kingdoms were apparently unstable and small. Except for some seals with Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, few texts from this period have come down to us. The so-called "Old Phrygian" culture took form to the southwest of the Halys, in the region of modern Konya and Nigde, and east of the bend of the Halys, from Bogazkoy to Malatya. The ethnic affiliation of the creators of this culture has not, however, been established. Its typical pottery is ornamented by concentric circles, rays, and stylized silhouettes of trees and deer. To the northwest of the area of the "Old Phrygian" culture, in the center of future Phrygia proper, another, monochrome pottery was in use.

More than three centuries passed after the fall of the Hittite Empire before the Phrygian Empire was created. There is no ground to suppose that the Phrygians who founded this empire were the people who destroyed the Hittite Empire; it was ruined by the onslaught of many different tribal groups, among which the Phrygians proper, if they were actually already on the spot, were probably neither the leading, nor the main military force. A. Goetze has suggested that the creation of the Phrygian Empire should be dated in the 8th century B.C; however it is likely that its nucleus was formed earlier (133). The Assyrians and Urartians called this empire Mushku or Mushki. Its capital was the city Gordion on the river Sangarius. According to tradition, it was named for its founder, the first great king of Phrygia, Gordias I. Actually an inscription of one Gordias (Luw. *Kurtis*) has been found at the southernmost point of the bend of the Halys, i.e., far outside the original territory of Phrygia, which lay further to the northeast. The inscription is in Luwian hieroglyphic (a special script for the Phrygian language probably was not introduced until the reign of Midas I). Gordias calls himself "King of the West and East" (the Luwian princes, unless they claimed the Hittite imperial inheritance, mostly styled themselves as kings of the local valleys). The legends and the [73] historical sources preserve for us only two names of the kings of Phrygia --Gordias and Midas--(134) (Assyr. Mita); presumably there were several other Phrygian kings, successively bearing these names (135) The wealth of Midas has become proverbial. An earlier king was Ascanius, a predecessor of Gordias, but he ruled Phrygia Minor near the Sea of Marmara.

In the second half of the 8th century B.C. Phrygia achieved its greatest might; its domain extended in the southeast to the ridges of the Cilician Taurus, and Midas even made attempts to penetrate into Cilicia (136)

Phrygian inscriptions of the 8th-6th centuries are found not only in the valley of the Sangarius, but also in the bend of the Halys and to the east of it. In the west, Phrygia apparently controlled Lydia and had contacts with the city-states of mainland Greece; the influence of post-Achaean Greek culture on Phrygia begins to be strongly felt especially after the fall of its empire. The "Neo- Phrygian" ceramics are characteristic of the period of Phrygia's acme, This appears to be a development of the Old Phrygian ceramics, painted with geometric design. This type of pottery was popular throughout the entire territory of Phrygia and even abroad, right up to Pontus and Malatya. Burial mounds were characteristic for the Phrygians (*8).

The excavations of Gordion have shown many ties between Phrygia and Urartu. Common to both kingdoms is the custom of hewing niches in the rock--so-called "doors of the god"--in front of which the deity was worshipped. The most important cult in Phrygia was that of the Mother of the gods, Cybele (*Kubele*, *Kubebe*), who was known by the name of *Kubaba* as far back as before the Hurrians and the Hittites. Connected with her cult was that of Attis, who castrated himself in order to escape from the love of the goddess, thus, as it were, dying and being reborn to a new and purer, blissful life. The self-mutilation of the priests of Cybele and Attis was, as far as we know, a new custom in Asia Minor, although orgiastic feasts connected with their cult had their prototype in the earlier periods of ancient Oriental history (137). A god of the moon, Man or Men, was also worshipped. His cult was perhaps a continuation of the old Asianic cult of the god of the moon, Armas. Another important goddess was Angdistis. The god Sabazius, often mentioned as Phrygian, was actually a Thracian deity. The early Phrygians thd not have particularly close ties with the Greek West (138), but during the 8th century B.C. an alphabet of Phoenician derivation very similar to the Greek was introduced in Phrygia. It has few

affinities with other alphabets of ancient Asia Minor--those of Lydia, Caria, and Lycia. Only the Greek and [74] Phrygian alphabets are quite clearly Phoenician; the Phrygian seems to be an adaptation of the western variant of the Greek alphabet, which reached Aeolis by the middle of the 8th century B.C.

To the southeast of Phrygia several small kingdoms with Luwian dynasties existed. An important confederation was Tabal, in the upper part of the valley of the Seyhun and Yenice-Irmak rivers, where in the 8th century the dynasty of Parwatas ruled (Assyr. *Purutash*), to which several smaller "kingdoms" were subjected. Between Phrygia and Tabal was situated the kingdom of Tyana.

The kingdom of Kammanu (Comana) can be located to the northeast of Tabal: its capital was Melitia, or Melid (Milidia, Hitt. Mardia, modern Arslantas--Eski Malatya). The domain of this kingdom extended to the Euphrates, possibly even to the sources of the Tigris. There was a period when the kingdom of Melid had a king in common with Carchemish on the Euphrates (139); at other periods the power of the kings of Melid stretched far to the east, and officially the kingdom was evidently called "Hatti," thus claiming to continue the traditions of the Hittite Empire.

The kingdom of Qummuh (Commagene) was situated south of Malatya, while the small kingdom of Gurgum, with its capital of Markasu (modern Marash), was wedged in between Tabal and Melid- Kammanu, in the valley of the river Ceyhan.

The fertile lowlands on the lower reaches of the rivers Seyhun and Ceyhan and near the gulf of Iskenderun (Alexandretta) were occupied by the kingdoms of the Danunians and Que, or Qawe (it is possible, however, that both are two names of one and the same kingdom). In the 8th century B.C. the kingdom of Cilicia (Hilakku) is mentioned to the west of them (it is the "Cilicia" of classical antiquity).

All these kingdoms had Luwian dynasties (140), as was also the case in several of the states of Northern Syria (Carchemish, which was another claimant to the official name "Kingdom of Hatti"; the kingdom of Unqu, or Pattina on the lower Orontes); the other dynasties were Western Semitic (Samaal, or Yaudi; the kingdom of Arpad --now Tell Erfad--with the dynasty of Agusu; the kingdom of Hatarikka) (141). Luwian ("Hittite") hieroglyphics and the Luwian language were used for official inscriptions in all of the enumerated states, right up to Hamath on the upper Orontes, but Phoenician or the Aramaic dialects, and the Semitic alphabetic writing were also used in some of them (the land of the Danunians, Samaal, Arpad, and others). Almost all these minor kingdoms considered themselves to be descendants of the Hittite Empire (142). For the Assyrians and Urartians of the 9th through the 7th centuries B.C. the term *Hatti* (in Assyrian) or *Hate* (in Urartian) was either the [75] designation of all the lands to the west of the Euphrates and their population as a whole regardless of their ethnic affiliation, or the designation specifically of Melid (in Urartian) or of Carchemish (in Assyrian) (143).

A "North Syrian alliance" was constituted toward the 9th century B.C. It included the kingdoms of Kammanu-Melid, Qummuh, Gurgum, Carchemish, Arpad, and Pattina; at various times the hegemony in this union belonged to Melid, to Carchemish, or to Arpad. Its rival was the "Southern Syrian alliance" headed by Damascus or Hamath (144).

To the north of the Luwian states, somewhere on the upper reaches of the Halys or in the valley of the river Kelkit (Lycus), there existed the important state of Kasku (Aramaic *Ktk*), named for the Kaska tribe which settled there.

The country of Daiene (Urart. *Diauhe*) is mentioned to the east of Kasku and to the north of the upper reaches of the Euphrates (in the valley of the Choroh) from the 12th to the 8th century B.C. In all probability it was already a state, although it included the territories of a number of separate tribes. The union of Haiasa-Azzi, which had existed here earlier, had by this time disappeared without a trace; the population here seems to have been Hurrian. According to the annals of Tiglath-pileser I, Seni, the king of Daiene, occupied a leading position among the rulers of the "Nairi" as early as the 12th century B.C. By the 8th century B.C. Daiene was one of the richest kingdoms of the Highlands. The main trade route from Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean Sea to the coast of the Black Sea (145) passed along the Upper Euphrates valley and across the pass leading into the valley of the Choroh toward present-day Barbut (Baberd) and into the valley of the Lycus. The route acquired

particular significance by the 8th-7th centuries, especially after the emergence on the Black Sea coast of the Greek colonies of Sinope, Trapezus, and others, which constituted the federation of the Pontus (the biblical Phut). The Greek cities exported iron and silver ore (146).

To the northeast of Daiene (where Tiglath-pileser I had met the coalition of the "sixty kings of Nairi"), the country of Qulha (more accurately /Qolxa/ (147), Greek Colchis) certainly existed in the 8th century B.C., but possibly even earlier. When the kingdom of Diauhe was destroyed by the Urartians, the valley of the Choroh was probably acquired by Colchis. It is significant that the Urartian sources note gold as part of the received tribute only in the countries situated along this route (Qummuh, Melid, Diauhe) (148). It apparently came from Colchis.

In the valley of the Upper Euphrates the earlier "countries" were [76] partially preserved, and some new ones formed. In the north is mentioned the country of Suhmu (Hitt. Zuhma), lying from the valley of Erzincan to the valley of the Arsanias (Muratsu), and Alzi is recorded in the lower valley of the Arsanias. As we have seen, the kingdom of Alzi was occupied by the Mushki (*Muska-* in Luwian). Alzi is thus apparently identical with the "Country of the Mushki" of the early Neo-Assyrian texts. Later the term went out of use since Alzi in the 8th century had been conquered by Urartu. The term "Mushki" was transferred to Phrygia (*Musa-* in Luwian). Alzi under the Eastern Mushki was a rather important country, which included not only the former territory of Alzi proper, but also the former territory of Isuwa (the Assyrian sources seem to use the term "Isua" as a synonym of Alzi) (149). It also possibly sometimes embraced the regions directly contiguous to the south: viz., Enzite (Anzitene; Andzit of the Middle Ages) and the sources of the Tigris (Angegh-tun of the Middle Ages). The Urartian sources mention the country of Supa (Sophene, Cop'k') to the north (?) of Alzi; it is not quite clear whether this was an independent kingdom or part of Suhmu (150). The texts also mention several smaller "countries" south of the Upper Euphrates valley (Daria, or Dirria, Urart. Dirgu; Nirbu, Urart. Niriba, or Niribai-hube; Mallanu, Nirdun, etc.).

The Aramaic kingdom of Amed (Amida, modern Diyarbakir), with its dynasty ("house") of Zamanu, was located in the upper reaches of the Tigris. The kingdom of Shubria, with its Hurrian dynasty, was situated farther to the northeast in the Sasun mountains. Separate from it (apparently on the northern slopes of the Sasun mountains in the direction of modern Mush) the Assyrian and Urartian sources mention the country of Urumu (in Assyrian) or Urmie (in Urartian), which was probably a settlement of the Urumeans; this country is not to be identified with Arme, mentioned by the Urartian inscriptions (cf. n. 151).

Further to the east the centers and tribal groups known to us as far back as the 13th century B.C. are still mentioned up to the end of the 10th century B.C.: the Uruatri, the Haphi, the Qumanians with their city of Qumme, etc. But in the course of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. a new formation takes shape here: the kingdom of Hubushkia, or, as it was officially called, "the kingdom of the Nairi," in the valley of the river Kentrites-Bohtan and spreading at times further to the east, towards the watershed of Lake Urmia. By the 8th century in the valley of the Upper Zab there existed the kingdom of Musasir (Urart. *Ardine*; possibly the same as the earlier Musru). In this valley there were rich temples: in Qumenu (Qumme) (152)--the temple of the god Teisheba, and in Ardine--the temple of Haldi (Khaldi), where the Urartian treasury was kept, [77] although Musasir was not technically part of Urartu (153). The Hurro-Urartian robber tribes of the Ukkians and others lived in the mountains surrounding Hubushkia and Musasir (154).

In the fertile valley near the eastern coast of Lake Van was founded the kingdom of Urartu (Akkadian, Assyrian dialect, *Ur'artu*; Babylonian dialect, *Urashtu*, pronounced *Oralt*; biblical Ararat, the Urartian *Biainele*, probably pronounced *Vanele*, which, strictly speaking, means the "Biaian countries," whence the modern city name *Van*). The date of its foundation is not clear. In 859 B.C. the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III was already fighting with its king Aramu, but it is likely that Urartu as a state was formed earlier. It is apparently mentioned as a kingdom in the later inscriptions of Assurnasirpal II (884-859 B.C.); there is no way to decide whether the "Uratru" of the inscription of the Assyrian king Adadnerari II (911-890 B.C.) is the tribal federation of Uruatru or the kingdom of Urartu (155).

It is difficult to say whether Gilzan, which may have been situated near the western bank of the Lake Urmia, was actually a kingdom, although Assyrian inscriptions of the 9th century B.C. refer to its "kings" (156). Later it

seems to have become part of Urartu. Mana (the Assyrians called it "The Land of the Manneans"), in the hilly plain to the south of this lake, was undoubtedly a kingdom. It was formed at the end of the 9th century on the Lullubian territory of the country of "Inner Zamua" as a result of the merger of many thriving city-states, which probably had existed there as early as the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. (157) Possessing an archaic socio-political structure (autonomy of its individual districts, participation of a council of elders in the government) (158) Mana nevertheless grew into a major force, which successively rivaled Urartu and Assyria, and was conquered only by Media at the end of the 7th-beginning of the 6th centuries B.C., almost simultaneously with these two empires (159).

North of the center of the Urartian kingdom, including central Transcaucasia, there do not seem to have existed states in the proper sense of the word. The Urartian inscriptions refer to a great number of "countries" and tribes here, including the Etio (160), which apparently formed an extensive but loose tribal confederacy. All of them dwelt mainly in the territory of the modern Armenian Republic and the adjacent regions to the south of the Araxes. To the west of them lived the tribes of Witeru, Lusha, Katarza, Iya (Igane), Zabahae, etc.(161) (on the upper reaches of the Araxes and Kur, and around Lake Caldir). They may have been Georgian-speaking, just as their neighbor Qulha (162).

With respect to the ethnic affiliation of the other "countries" [78] listed, we can say that part of them were Hurrian (Daiene, Shubria, perhaps Gilzan and Mana), and part were Urartian (Urartu, Musasir). In the valley of the Upper Euphrates and Lower Arsanias the population must have consisted of those Hurrian tribes which were linguistically closest to the Urartians; the population there was also mixed with the Luwians and the new arrivals--the Mushki and the Urumeans.

(Continued on Next Page)

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Diakonoff's *Bibliography* appears as an attachment to the present pdf document

I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People

(Continued from Previous Page [78])

Chapter 2. The History of the Armenian Highlands in the Middle Bronze and Early Iron Ages

3.4. The Economy of the Armenian Highlands at the Beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C.

The economy of the Armenian Highlands and Transcaucasia during this time had advanced appreciably. The archeological cultures do not show any of the uniformity which was characteristic for the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. A thousand years of internal wars led to a somewhat greater cultural isolation of the individual regions, while at the same time it preserved a typological homogeneity. We will not dwell on the characteristics of the cultural sub-areas, referring the reader instead to archeological works (163). We shall only point out some of the more important features common to the entire territory under study.

As Piotrovsky has shown, semi-nomadic stock-rearing based on mountain pastures dominated in the field of production, but metallurgy began to acquire an increasing significance. The end of the 2nd millennium B.C. is here the acme of the Bronze Age. Development of the Transcaucasian deposits of copper ore and realgar probably accounts for the rich growth of the local cultures. An alloy of copper with arsenic was used instead of bronze proper (copper and tin). The beginnings of the industrial use of iron (164) date from the 11th to 9th centuries B.C. The iron was acquired primarily in the mountains west of the Upper Euphrates valley and in Pontus (165). As the late S. M. Bacieva has shown (166), the iron trade route was controlled by the princes of the Northern Syrian alliance, bringing them enormous wealth. In her opinion the offensive of Urartu against Northern Syria during the 8th century B.C. should be explained by the desire to intercept iron, so necessary for the equipping of the Assyrian army. According to Greek authors, another route of iron export was through the Mosynoeci, who got the ore from their dependents the Chalybes, i.e., probably the Georgian-speaking tribe of Chaldians (or Moschi?) in Pontus (167). The Mosynoeci sold the iron to the Greek colonies.

Right up to the 8th century B.C. (when a strong Assyrian influence begins to be felt in Urartu) the material culture and the way of life in the Highlands, including the type of clothing and weapons, continued to be half Hurrian, half Luwian ("Hittite") in its [79] nature (168). The Aramaean and Luwian Northern Syria, the Luwian (or mixed) regions of the Cilician Taurus, and the valleys of the Upper Euphrates valley, where Hurrians were mixed with the Mushki, Urumeans, and Luwians, remained the leading area culturally.

By the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. the mountain regions had achieved a relatively high level of development. Under the conditions of a prevailing nonmarket economy this made them comparatively independent of the importation of goods from the more developed south, except for luxury articles. The mountaineers exported iron, but the proceeds of this trade went to the Northern Syrian princes (who were in a position to dictate high prices for the metal on the external market) or to the Greek colonies, and the trade barely influenced the economy of the Highland's population as a whole. At the same time the development of handicrafts and agriculture in Mesopotamia required a constant influx of cheap raw materials (not only of iron, but also of copper, timber, etc.) from the mountain regions. Since natural exchange was not available, Assyria changed to forced seizure of raw materials and handicraft articles (mainly metallurgical) by conquering the

peripheral areas and systematically plundering them for tribute (169). Military campaigns also supplied the economy of Mesopotamia with labor force.

Urtu was the one area of the Highlands which was least accessible to enemies, and it therefore found itself in more favorable conditions for development. But in order to survive alongside of powerful and bellicose Assyria, Urtu had to catch up quickly. It had to rival its threatening southern neighbor's level of military and administrative development and its important conquests. Therefore in relation to its periphery Urtu played a role analogous to that of Assyria in relation to its own, with the difference that, being economically more backward, the northern kingdom apparently devoted more attention to the quick development of its agriculture (particularly of gardening) by introducing extensive irrigation measures (170). We know very little about the society of the Highlands at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., but we have some information for the 8th-7th centuries on the social structure of Urtu (171) and of Mana (172). It is probable that the same general features were also typical of the other states of the Armenian Highlands. One such feature was the active political role of the free community members (Urt. *shurele*, plural of *shure*, "sword"; "arms" seem to have had the connotation of "tribes" and also "freemen" generally). These freemen were liable for military and other services and lived in communities of extended families. Such communal villages, apparently with dwelling towers, surrounded the fortress-settlements (E.GAL) or the self-governing "towns" [80] (Urt. *patare*) (173). Among the royal personnel, the *mari* (cf. Hurrian *marinna*) and the royal kinsmen (more particularly, the latter) were prominent.* In Mana it is particularly clear that the state was dominated by a tribal or clan oligarchy. The tribal division of society was still preserved here (as also in Daiene); along with the king there existed in Mana a council of elders, comprised of royal kinsmen, councillors, provincial governors, and possibly the elders of the different townships, as well as tribal chieftains (174). Such councils of elders also existed presumably in the other "countries" of the Highlands in the pre-Urtian period.

Assyrian-type artifacts and Assyrian customs began to penetrate the Urtian aristocracy only toward the end of the 9th century B.C. The Urtian royal court with its thousands of eunuchs (175) was organized according to the Assyrian pattern, however no large royal field economies arose in the Highlands even during the dominion of Urtu. Rather, the palaces, both in the capital and in the provincial administrative centers, were usually places where tribute from the local population was stored and processed by artisans. Nor did any field estates belong to the sanctuaries. These were both regular temples and holy sites where the cult was practiced before a "door" carved in the rock or before a stele or stone slab. Their wealth consisted of the sacrificial cattle which the kings would present to the temple and of the obligatory, expiatory, and votive offerings which the population would bring. The rank-and-file community members would consume part of the meat offered during the sacrifices, and they also apparently received cattle from the temple by way of loan or purchase (176).

In the beginning, slavery was little developed, probably less so than in the Hittite Empire. The royal inscriptions continually mention massacres of the males captured by the Urtian army. When the Urtian kings began to bring captives by the thousands from their campaigns, those whose lives were spared were frequently settled on land and were even recruited into the army (177). We have already referred to the curious fact that the cuneiform heterogram LU2.A-SI, which in Hittite designated the *hippares*, captives settled in groups on the land, is in the Urtian cuneiform used in the meaning of "warrior of the (tribal) militia."

Both the Assyrians and the Urtians introduced a centralized administration by "provincial governors" (*bel pehate*) in the subject territories. But in the pre-Urtian period there must have been preserved a more patriarchal type of government, most likely similar to that in Mana, where provincial governors and tribal chieftains were practically independent rulers--probably assisted by their own councils of elders. The organized settlements and [81] villages ("towns") seem to have had, under the domain of Urtian kings, their own kind of self-government (council, popular assembly?). With respect to some "countries" and tribes the Urtian inscriptions do not mention individual rulers, and here a type of "military democracy" probably still prevailed. But even in some of the "countries" which had already reached the level of state, there probably existed comparatively democratic conditions. This can be seen from the fact that slaves and impoverished community members attempting to free themselves from obligatory services, and even rebellious members of the aristocracy, sought refuge here. Such areas of refuge were Shubria (178) and Melid-Kammanu (179). With respect to Shubria, which was situated high up in the mountains, this is not very surprising. But it seems strange

for commercial Melid, which claimed in addition the role of a major political power. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that here among the population there was a considerable percentage of comparatively recently settled tribes, which may have brought with them the traditions of tribal democracy--viz., the Proto-Armenians.

The narrative of Xenophon about the Mosynoeci in the end of the 5th century B.C., analyzed in detail by M. I. Maksimova, gives a certain notion of the life of the tribes of the Highlands which still were on the level of primitive communities. A clan aristocracy had already formed among them, distinguished by tattooing and a fat appearance (they were specially fattened on roasted chestnuts). Multi-storied towers served as the dwellings of the Mosynoeci (just as they did the Hurrians and the Urartians, except that the Mosynoecian towers were wooden). Each tribe seems to have had two chieftains: a ritual "king," who never left his tower, and an "archon," who conducted administrative and military matters, apparently along with a council of clan chieftains (180).

What has been said about the society of the Armenian Highlands, beginning with its more developed areas which had a stable governmental structure (Urartu), and ending with the backward tribes (Mosynoeci), allows us to imagine also those social conditions which prevailed here on the eve of the Urartian conquests of the 8th century B.C.

3.5. Assyrian Aggression into the Armenian Highlands during the 11th-9th Centuries B.C.

The historical events of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. are known from a number of sources; one may expound them in considerable detail. But this has already been done in many monographs dedicated to the history of Assyria (181) and Urartu (182), and we shall not encumber our account by repeating this varied [82] information. We shall concentrate primarily on the fate of the Upper Euphrates valley and the regions directly contiguous with it, since it is unanimously considered that the Armenian nation was formed precisely here, and we have already approached the period of its formation.

We know that the Assyrian king Assurbelkala made an inroad into the Highlands in 1076 and 1074 B.C.--first against the federation of Uruatri, and then a second time against Hemmu (Hemmuwa). Somewhat later there was a campaign against the Mushki and again later against Musru. In his inscription, fortresses and "countries" are listed whose names partly coincide with those mentioned by Adadnerari I (183). No Assyrian campaigns into the Highlands are known to have taken place from that time to the reign of Adadnerari II. In 911 he waged war against Iluia, the king of the Qumanians, and the tribes of Haphi "unto the countries of Mehri, Salua, and Uratru"; then the king was active in Kadmuhi and marched four times against the Highlandss of Nairi, including Alzi. In 895 and 894 he came to the assistance of the city of Qumme, which was fighting with the mountain tribes (184).

Tukulti-Ninurta II also invaded Nairi at least twice (889-884 B.C.) (185). His most important campaigns were, however, in northern Mesopotamia, which he again tried to subject to Assyria, attempting to seize it from its Aramaic dynasts. The Aramaeans had founded a number of small kingdoms there, which bore the traditional name of Hanigalbat (i.e., Mitanni). One of the most important enemies of Assyria in the eighties of the 9th century B.C. was 'Ammi-Ba'al, the king of the Aramaean kingdom which had its center in the city of Amed (Amida, now Diyarbakir). In connection with his campaigns against Amed, Tukulti-Ninurta apparently made a detour through the Highlands. In addition, in his last campaign he went up along the Middle Euphrates and the river Habur to Nasibina (Mtsbin of the Armenian sources of the Middle Ages) and Huzirina (now Sultan-tepe) and, passing over the mountains (apparently over Kashiari--Masius--Tur-'Abdin), attacked the country of the Mushk (186), where, according to his annals, he destroyed the crops, seized cattle and sheep, and imposed a large tribute on the inhabitants. From this we may conclude that at this period the kingdom of the Eastern Mushki had again spread from Alzi into the valley of the Tigris. In the conclusion to his annals Tukulti-Ninurta II boasts that he "captured the region of the high mountains, from the country of the Subareans [i.e., the Hurrians] to the countries of Gilzan and Na[iri ...] ...; in all 2720 horses I brought into harness for the forces of my land."

The might of Assyria was restored by his son [83] Assurnasirapal II (884/3-859 B.C.). Like his father, he made campaigns mainly into northern Mesopotamia and into the valley of the Upper Tigris (Kadmuhi, Amed). He brutally wiped out the local population, subjecting it to the most cruel tortures and executions; the descendants of the Assyrians who had settled there in earlier years, and who by this time had lost their connection with Assur, were also mercilessly slaughtered. Entire districts were completely laid waste. Assurnasirapal's campaigns touched only the outlying regions of the Highlands. In 879 and 866 (187), with the intent of coming up on hostile Amed from the rear, he twice made detours: the first time along the left bank of the Upper Tigris (the country of the Ulluba) and from there through the area between the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates (Dirria, Nirbu) (188); the second time along the Euphrates "to the towns of the countries of Assa (Alzi?) and Haphi, which are opposite the country of Hatti" (here "Hatti" stands for "Melid"), and then across the western source of the Tigris near Lake Sua (Golcik) and the mountains of Amadani, and again through the land of the Dirria, as well as Mallanu (near modern Ergana). Although for the time being the Assyrian raids did not bring much harm to the mountain dwellers, who, when their enemies appeared, hid themselves and their cattle in inaccessible mountains, the evil fame of growing Assyria forced some "countries" to try and buy Assurnasirapal off with gifts. Among those who acted in this way were the Eastern Mushki, Gilzan, and Hubushkia in 883, during the Assyrian campaign in Kadmuhi, as well as Shubria, Inner Urumu, and a series of other thstricts in 882, during a campaign which led roughly into the same region. It is important to note that among the gifts of the Mushki, apart from domestic animals, there were bronze utensils and wine; this indicates that in the interval between the 11th and beginning of the 9th centuries they had changed to a settled way of life and had taken up farming and hanthcrafts. The annals of Assurnasirapal also mention that certain Assyrians had fled to Shubria "because of hunger and famine" but were returned to be settled in one of the conquered towns.

According to the information of the later inscriptions of Assurnasirapal (189), he subjugated the countries "from the river Subnat (i.e., the eastern source of the Tigris) to Urartu." However what is meant here is apparently only plundering in the outlying districts of the mountains and reception of gifts from the countries named above.

By the time of the next Assyrian king, Shalmaneser III (859-821 B.C.) (190), almost all of Mesopotamia had already been firmly subjugated. Shalmaneser made several serious raids into the heart of [84] the Armenian Highlands. In 859 he fell on Hubushkia from the east and then clashed with the forces of Aramu, king of Urartu, and reached Lake Van (191). In 856 he conducted a large campaign up along the Euphrates, through the countries of Amed, Isua-Alzi (the land of the Eastern Mushki), and Suhmu, where he occupied the fortress of Uashtal and captured the ruler of the province, a person named Sua; he then crossed into the valley of the Choroh and made a raid into the kingdom of Daiene. On his way back he crossed the Highlands up to the point where at the time the Urartian territory began. After defeating the army of Aramu (accorthng to the Assyrian assertions, 3,400 Urartian warriors fell in battle), he captured the Urartian fortress and administrative center of Arashkun (medieval Artske?) and set off for Lake Van by a roundabout way, from the east, across the province of Aramale (Armarele). Shalmaneser then returned to Assyria through Gilzan, Hubuskia, and the valley of the Upper Zab (192). The result of this campaign was the inclusion of the entire Upper Euphrates valley, incluthng Alzi and Suhmu, into the new Assyrian province of Na:iri (with its center at Amed) (193). As usual, the unassailable Sasun Mountains allowed Shubria to remain independent; Shalmaneser III's attempt in 854 to besiege Anhitte (or Anhitteshe), the king of Shubria, in his fortress of Uppumu ended in a compromise--the Shubrian king paid a one-time propitiatory gift, and the Assyrians wididrew the siege and left (194).

In 845, using a bridgehead in the Upper Euphrates valley, the Assyrians struck a blow at Melid (195) and the country of Suhmu (196), which evidently had been able to throw off the yoke, and started a new campaign against Aramu the Urartian. We are told that at this time the Urartian possessions extended to the source of the Euphrates (Karasu). At this spot the king of Daiene, Asia, appeared before the Assyrian king expressing his submission (197). In 832 Daian- Assur, a general of the ageing Shalmaneser, made one more campaign along the right bank of the Arsanias against the Urartian king, this time Sarduri I (198). In addition there were other Assyrian campaigns under Shalmaneser III against Haphi, Hubuskia, Musasir (touching on the outlying districts of Urartu), as well as Gilzan (199).

Shalmaneser III tried to subjugate Syria and the provinces to the west of the Euphrates. In 858 he defeated the coalition of the Northern Syrian alliance and received tribute from it in 854, but in the same year he suffered a

defeat by the Southern Syrian alliance at Karkar (200), and had to retreat back beyond the Euphrates. After a while he again started a series of almost yearly campaigns to the west, both into Syria and into southeastern Asia Minor (Melid, Tabal, Gurgum, Pakarhabuna, Que) (201); however he did not [85] succeed in firmly tying these provinces to Assyria.

After 827 periodic internal troubles began in Assyria, strongly limiting its aggressive possibilities. Except for a few casual campaigns (in 805 and 759 B.C., against Arpad in Syria; in 801 and 795 B.C., against Hubuskia) (202), Assyria did not undertake any major attacks to the west or north until the second half of the 8th century B.C.

3.6. The Creation of the Urartian Empire. Urartians in the Valley of the Upper Euphrates

In the meantime the period of Urartian expansion began. We have seen that already under Aramu (c. 865-845 B.C.) and Sarduri I (c. 835-825 B.C.) (203), the territory of the Urartian kingdom included the upper reaches of the Arsanias and even the sources of the Euphrates. Under Ishpuine (c. 825-810 B.C.) (204), Urartu captured the territory between lakes Van and Urmia (205), Musasir became dependent on Urartu (206), and, passing through Mana, the Urartian forces outflanked Assyria (207) in the region to the south of Mana (208).

Unfortunately the chronology of most of the Urartian campaigns of the 8th century B.C. either has not been established at all (for the rule of Minua), or established very unreliably (for the rule of Sarduri II). Only the chronology of the campaigns of Argishti I is more or less reliable.

The beginning of the decisive offensive against Assyria by the Urartian king Minua (c. 810-786 or 780 B.C.) apparently should be dated to the years 800- 790. As far as we can understand from the fragments of this Urartian king's annals (209), the attack proceeded in two directions: on the right flank the Urartians marched from the region of present-day Bitlis, crossed the pass of Marma (in the Armenian Taurus) and, passing through Uliba (Ulluba) and Dirgu (Dirria), descended into Mesopotamia to the west of the source of the Tigris. Here they invaded Ishala (Assyr. Isalla), between Commagene and the upper reaches of the river Habur). On the left flank they penetrated along the valley of the Upper Zab to the border of Assyria proper, to the south of the city of Qumenu (Qumme).

Somewhat later, during Minua's next invasion of Mana, another detachment of his forces made one more campaign in the valley of the Upper Euphrates (210). This campaign apparently ended in bringing Alzi and the other surrounding "countries" under the control of Urartu (211). As Melikishvili presumes, the "provincial governor," Titia, installed here by Minua, was in fact an autonomous ruler (212), and the position of Alzi must have therefore improved in comparison with the period of Assyrian control. The seriously [86] damaged inscriptions of Minua from the Mush valley (213) refer to one of his campaigns into the mountains of the Armenian Taurus (mentioned are the country of Urmie and the city of Qulmeri, which is Assyrian Qullimmeri in Shubria). It is possible that the king of the province in question (i.e., Urmie-Shubria?) was not removed by the Urartian conqueror (214). Minua's further successes are related in his inscription from Palu (215). From the inscription it is evident that he conquered the country of Supa (Sophene; here probably part of Suhmu or Alzi) and reached the "Hittite country" (here the kingdom of Melid-Kammanu), receiving tribute from the king of the city of Melitia (Melid).

Thus the left shore of the Upper Euphrates was placed under the domain of Urartu. Further to the north Minua reached Diauhe (Daiene) and imposed tribute on its king Utupurshi (216). He also expanded the Urartian possessions beyond the mountain of Masis-Ararat to the river Araxes (217).

However more campaigns were required for the firm subjugation of the Upper Euphrates valley. Thus the next Urartian king, Argishti I, in 783 (according to Melikishvili) or in 777 (according to I. M. Diakonoff) (218) again carried out a campaign against the "Country of the Hittites" with its capital of Melitia (219), and to where the dynasty of one Tuata ruled (220), and further against the country of Niriba (Nirbu) and down along the Euphrates (221). In all almost 30,000 inhabitants of both sexes were captured here and led away, and 6,000

"warriors of the country of the Hittites and of Supa" were displaced and settled as a garrison in the new city of Erbune, built by Argishti I in the following year at the site of present-day Erevan in the Ararat valley, which he had recently conquered (222). In 773 (767) Argishti's warriors raided the country of Urmie, from which it is evident that this country was no longer subject to Urartu as it may have been previously.

Argishti marched against Diauhe (Daiene) at least twice. In the first campaign, of 785 (779) (223), he inflicted a heavy defeat upon the kingdom: about 30,000 inhabitants were taken captive and driven away, extensive regions were turned into Urartian governorships, and a heavy tribute was assessed for the remaining part of the Daiene kingdom. Subsequently (according to Melikisvili--in 768 or 762; the date is unreliable) Utupurshi, the king of Daiene, rebelled against Urartu for the third time (224). The fate of the kingdom is unclear, since the text of Argishti I's chronicle is damaged here, but the name of Daiene disappears from history from this time on (225). In any event there is no doubt that it no longer existed after the Cimmerian invasion in the second half of the 8th century B.C. (about which see below).

[87] In the east Argishti I continued to bypass Assyria in a flanking maneuver and almost got to the borders of Babylonia in the valley of the Diyala (226).

By the time of Sarduri II's accession (c. 760 B.C.?) the Upper Euphrates was indisputably recognized as the western frontier of the Urartian Empire (227), and the Urartians tried vigorously to make their way into Syria. At the beginning of his rule (228) Sarduri II defeated Hilaruandas, the king of Melid, who up to this time probably had been the leader in the Northern Syrian Alliance, and apparently acquired from him some fortresses on the right (western) shore of the Euphrates (229).

Around 745 Sarduri II invaded Commagene (230) (which was about to take advantage of the defeat of its neighbor, Melid, to seize part of its territory) (231) and forced its king, Kushtashpili (232), to submit.

Thus the Northern Syrian alliance was now opposed not by one powerful enemy, Assyria, but by two, who, although they were rivals, were equally dangerous. In addition to this there appeared the threat of Phrygia from the west, where it may have had, about 750 B.C., reached the northwestern slopes of the Cilician Taurus. Such a danger forced Mattiel, the king of Arpad, to whom the hegemony within the alliance had passed, to try and find an independent power upon which he could lean. In 754 B.C., after the Urartians had already defeated Melid, Mattiel had to swear an oath of allegiance to Assurnerari IV, the king of Assyria (233). But seeing that Assyria, which was engaged in civil strife, did not have the strength to act, the king of Arpad, representing the Northern Syrian alliance, turned to Bargaia, the king of the country of Kasku (Aramaic *Katak*) (234). However it turned out that this was an unreliable or insufficiently powerful support, so after the Urartian invasion of Commagene, Mattiel and the entire Northern Syrian alliance (235) considered it best to ally themselves with Sarduri II; apparently the Southern Syrian alliance also supported Urartu.

At this moment Urartu may have surpassed Assyria in power. The Urartian administrative system was so perfect that it possibly served as the pattern for an administrative reform in Assyria as well (236). Already in Minua's time the Urartian army was reequipped after the Assyrian fashion. At the beginning of his rule Sarduri II felt it was possible to drastically reduce the obligatory military service of freemen in his kingdom, obviously relying now more on a standing army, maintained at the expense of the wealthy royal treasury, which had been replenished by collecting taxes and tribute (237). The entire Armenian Highlands (with the exception of the kingdoms of Shubria and Hubushkia) and a big part of central and western Transcaucasia were now subject to Urartu. The Urartians [88] had not yet managed to become firmly established on the right shore of the upper Euphrates, but they were readily acknowledged as protectors by the Northern Syrian alliance.

(Continued on Next Page)

I. M. Diakonoff

The Pre-history of the Armenian People

(Continued from Previous Page [88])

Chapter 2. The History of the Armenian Highlands in the Middle Bronze and Early Iron Ages

3.7. A New Period of Assyrian Advance (from the Middle of the 8th Century to the Middle of the 7th Century B.C.)

Meanwhile, as a result of Tiglath-pileser III's (745-727 B.C.) reforms, which aimed at a complete restructuring of the governmental and military organization of Assyria (238), this empire again became strong and was able to resume its conquests. In 743 Tiglath-pileser III routed in Commagene the coalition of Urartu, Melid, Qummuh, Gurgum, and Arpad. Not only the Northern Syrian but also the Southern Syrian alliance headed by Damascus had to recognize the supremacy of Assyria. Some districts on the left shore of the Upper Tigris (Ulliba, the fortress Penza in an outlying district of Shubria, and others) were joined to Assyria, although the Assyrians wisely did not set foot in the valley of the Upper Euphrates (239). Subsequently (the date of this event is not clear, probably 735), Tiglath-pileser III invaded the heart of Urartu, right up to its capital of Tuspa (medieval Tosp, modern Van), but was unable to hold the territory to the north of the Armenian Taurus Mountains (240).

From this time on the Assyrians began a gradual conquest of all Syria and Palestine, ending with the capture of Carchemish (as punishment for its intrigues with Phrygia) under Sargon II in 717 B.C. By that time this city had long been an independent enclave surrounded by Assyrian provinces.

The history of the relations between the Urartian king Rusa I (c. 735-713 B.C.) and the Assyrian king Sargon II (Sharrukin, 722- 705 B.C.), the defeat of Rusa I in 714 in the battle on Mount Uaush to the east of Lake Urmia, the campaign of Sargon II through Urartu and the routing of Musasir by the Assyrians, with its consequences, have been worked out in detail in other monographs and special articles (241). Here we will note only that the frontier of Urartu along the Upper Euphrates, as well as the independence of Shubria, Hubushkia, and the mountain tribes around the upper reaches of the Upper Zab, remained inviolate (242).

The right shore of the Upper Euphrates valley also remained independent for a while. However Sargon II now tried to drive a wedge between Urartu and Phrygia (Western Mushki), whose king Midas (*Mita*) became an ally of Rusa I and later apparently of his successor, Argishti II. Assyria needed such a wedge in the Cilician Taurus Mountains and on the right shore of the Upper Euphrates [89] to safeguard the Assyrian possessions in Syria and the uninterrupted conveyance into Assyria of iron and other raw materials from Asia Minor. Therefore Sargon II decided to undertake a series of campaigns into this province. They began in 718 B.C.,²⁴³ and in 715 Sargon II collided in Que with the forces of Midas, the king of Phrygia (*Mita*, the king of Mushku), who obviously had undertaken a counteroffensive.

Sargon attempted to create a devoted ally for himself in Tabal; to do this he put on its throne his own man, Hulli (244). Hulli extended his territory at the expense of the neighboring mountain region of Cilicia Trachaea (Hilakku). Sargon also gave his own daughter to Hulli's son Ambaris in marriage. However shortly thereafter Ambaris, as well as most of the other neighboring rulers (245) entered into an alliance with Phrygia and Urartu

and seceded from Sargon. As a result of the Assyrian campaign of 713, Ambaris was taken captive and Tabal was turned into an Assyrian province.

Sargon acted in the same manner in the neighboring areas. In 713 he deposed king Gunzinanu in Melid-Kammanu and put his son Tarhunasis on the throne. When Tarhunasis turned out to be unreliable, the Assyrian king sent his troops against him in 712; they captured the cities of Melid and Tilgarimmu and turned the kingdom of Melid into an Assyrian province (246). At the same time Sargon penetrated northward right up to the country of the Kasku and occupied a series of fortresses both along the border of Urartu and along that of Phrygia. In the next year, 711, the same fate befell Mutallu, the king of Gurgum (247). In 708 the king of Qummuh, another Mutallu, after killing his own father, an Assyrian supporter, was about to enter an alliance with Argishti II, the king of Urartu (248) but he too shared the fate of his namesake.

Sargon II made a peace with Midas of Phrygia in 709 B.C. However his conquests west of the Upper Euphrates turned out to be unstable--perhaps because in these and the following years all of Asia Minor lived in greater fear of raids by the Cimmerians (249) than of Assyrian conquests. So Sargon II's son Sennacherib (705- 681 B.C.) in 698 B.C. had to undertake a new campaign in this region. It was directed against the inhabitants of Cilicia Trachaea (Hilakku), who had managed to capture Ingira (Anchialae) and Tarsus and who threatened the Assyrian possessions near the Gulf of Alexandretta (250). A second campaign, in 685 B.C., was provoked by the fact that a certain person had made himself ruler in Tilgarimmu (a town of the former kingdom of Melid, now Assyrian), by virtue of his having once already been installed here by Gurdi (251) i.e., by Gorthas I of Phrygia(?). The town was stormed by the Assyrians, and its inhabitants were recruited into the Assyrian army (252).

[90]

3.8. The Cimmerian Invasion

Coming from the steppes north of the Black Sea, the Cimmerians invaded Transcaucasia not later than the second half of the 8th century B.C. They rode over the passes of the Western Caucasus, and their first base south of the Caucasus was apparently in modern Georgia (253). From there they inflicted a heavy defeat on the Urartians. But then the Urartians threw back the Cimmerian cavalry to the west, and they fell upon Asia Minor. From their new bases the Cimmerians ventured to attack Assyrian territories in 679 B.C., but were beaten off (254). This provoked a counter campaign from the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon (Assurhaddin, 680-669 B.C.) into Tabal and Hilakku; he even crossed the Taurus Mountains, defeating the Cimmerians at Hubushna (Hitt. *Hupesna*; classical Cybistra). Their leader Teushpa fell in battle (255) but apparently the others made peace with Assyria (256).

Melikishvili believes (257) that the Urartian king Rusa II, who maintained friendly relations with his Assyrian neighbor (258) concluded an alliance with the Cimmerians in 676-675 B.C. At the head of the Cimmerians was one Lygdamis (Assyr. *Tugdamme*) (259). Together with them (as Melikishvili suggests) Rusa II conducted his large campaign into Asia Minor beyond the Euphrates--against "the Mushki, Hate and Halitu," (260) i.e., (1) against Phrygia, (2) probably against Melid, and (3) against the tribe of the Chalybes--the Chaldians of Byzantine sources, the Xalghtik' of the Armenian texts of the Middle Ages. It is a fact that Melid had regained its independence--this is definitely shown by the Assyrian texts, as, e.g., in Esarhaddon's inquiries to the oracle, where we find references to military activities against Cilicia, Tabal, Melid, and "Mitta," i.e., Midas I, king of Phrygia (261). It is not impossible that Assyria, too, was involved, along with the Cimmerians, in the Urartian campaign of 675(?) B.C. (262)

It seems to have been precisely this campaign that led to the downfall of the Phrygian Empire, an event which was remembered in Greece (263) and far-away Palestine (264) long afterwards. The arbitrary rule of the Cimmerians was now established in Asia Minor; but a generation later they were routed by the Scythians, and the survivors settled in the eastern part of the peninsula. The Phrygian kingdom continued its existence in some form, but the hegemony in Asia Minor was transferred to Lydia in the far west of Asia Minor.

3.9. The Fall of Shubria

In the meantime Shubria, which was still independent, was a thorn in the flesh of the Assyrians. Tactfully avoiding taking sides in its politics between Urartu and Assyria, it provided refuge in its [91] inaccessible mountains to the freemen trying to evade their obligatory community services, the slaves who were fleeing from either empire, and sometimes even to the rebels from among the aristocracy. In order to end this situation (265) and taking advantage of the peace which had been established with the Cimmerians and Urartu, Esarhaddon undertook a decisive campaign against Shubria in 673 B.C., which is very vividly depicted by his court scribe in a detailed war report--"Letter to the god Assur " (266). Besieged in the city of Uppumu, the Shubrians tried in vain to destroy with burning oil the Assyrian siege works and mechanical contrivances; the Assyrian king finally took Uppumu, Qullimeri, and other Shubrian fortresses. The king of Shubria was deposed, the old Hurrian dynasty was brought to an end (267), and the country itself was turned into two Assyrian provinces (Uppumu and Qullimeri). Esarhaddon recruited some of the inhabitants into his own army; others he sent into slavery, giving them to his palace household, to temples, and to private citizens of the privileged cities, while the fugitive Assyrians and Urartians he returned (having first disfigured them) to their masters. Apparently Shubria was then resettled by captives from regions west of the Upper Euphrates.

From this time on Shubria was considered a possession of Assyria, but Assyrian control remained weak. In the Assyrian annals for the year 664 B.C. the inhabitants of Qullimeri appear in a rather independent role: being on their own, they ward off a raid by the Urartian military commander Andaria without any participation of the Assyrian administration or army, and apparently not under the direction of any local prince. Nevertheless after killing Andaria, they sent his head to Nineveh as a sign of formal submission to the Assyrian king (268).

3.10. The Invasion of the Scythians

At the beginning of the 7th century B.C., following the Cimmerians, new nomadic cavalymen appeared in Transcaucasia (this time through Daghestan in the eastern Caucasus). These were the Scythians (269). Having founded their own "kingdom," in the territory of modern Azerbaijan, the Scythians raided Urartu and the northeastern Assyrian possessions (270). Their leader Partatua (Greek *Protothyes*) participated in a revolt of the Medes against Assyrian domination in 674-672 B.C. Later he almost certainly went over to the side of the Assyrians. (Piotrovsky has suggested that in the Old Armenian legendary tradition his memory is preserved in the figure of Paruyr, son of Skayordi, i.e., "descendant of a Saka," the Iranian name for a Scythian.) (271) Madyes, the son of Protothyes, probably participated on the side of the Assyrians in the great war [92] between king Assurbanipal of Assyria (669-635? B.C.) (272). Madyes, with his Scythians, either traversed the Urartian possessions or bypassed them in the north through Transcaucasia, and invaded Asia Minor, where he put an end to the Cimmerian dominion (273). Urartu was so weakened by the Scythian invasion that its king, Sarduri III, acknowledged the Assyrian king as "father" in 643 or 639 B.C. Thus for the first time Urartu gave up its position of equality with the Assyrian power, which even the Assyrians had acknowledged up to this time (274).

The account of the history of the Armenian Highlands from the beginning of the Assyrian and Urartian offensive in the 9th century B.C., makes it evident that in spite of the great strength of both Assyria and Urartu, as well as that of Phrygia, independent buffer zones were maintained between them, which these empires could not subjugate at all or subjugated only for short periods and could not maintain stably under their dominion. These were Tabal in the mountains of the Cilician Taurus, Melid-Kammanu on the right shore of the Upper Euphrates, Shubria in the Sasun Mountains, and Hubushkia in the valley of the river Kentrites-Bohtan (275). These areas, and in particular Melid-Kammanu and Shubria, undoubtedly played a great role in the emergence of the later Armenian state and nation. To these should be added Arme, apparently the Urartian name for the Aramaic-Proto-Armenian border zone between Amed and the Upper Euphrates.

3.11. The Fall of Assyria and Urartu. "The House of Togarmah"

Beginning roughly with 635 B.C., our sources on ancient Oriental history temporarily dry up: a civil war (276) began in Assyria, while the Scythians continued their raids on Assyrian territory, possibly as far as the border of Egypt (277). At this time peripheral areas were being lost both by Assyria (278) and Urartu (279), and in the prevailing conditions of general rebellion it is quite probable-- as Moses Xorenac'i (280) assures us and as many scholars believe today (281)--that the Armenian people also played their role in the events which led to the downfall of Assyria and Urartu.

Between 616 and 605 B.C., as a result of the joint action of Nabopalassar, the king of Babylonia, and Cyaxares, the king of the new Empire of Media (about the participation of the Scythians here nothing positive is known) (282), the Assyrian Empire was destroyed (283). In the course of the war the Medes acquired supremacy over Media and Urartu. The fate of the Urartian Empire in these last years of its existence is unclear. We know only that in 609 a campaign was carried out against Urartu (more likely by the Medes [93] than by the Babylonians), while in 608 another campaign was conducted in these regions, this time certainly by the Babylonians, against the country of the dynasty of Hanunia--"a province of Urartu" (probably modern Hinis on the road from Mush to Erzurum). The Urartian fortress of Teishebaini (modern Karmir-Blur in Erevan), the excavation of which by Piotrovsky yielded so much information about the culture of Urartu, fell, according to this archeologist, in the 590s B.C. (284) The "Ararat" of the Book of Jeremiah (285) seems still to be Urartu, which, along with Media and the Kingdom of the Scythians, thus still lingered on in 593 B.C. as vassals of Media. But in 590, when a war broke out between Media and Lydia for the control of Asia Minor (286) Urartu must have ceased to exist. Herodotus presents the destruction of the Scythians by the Medes as the pretext for the war between Media and Lydia (he obviously means the Scythian kingdom; other Scythians returned about that time to the steppes north of the Black Sea). The Medes could not have left Urartu in the rear while starting a major war to the west of it.

Some notion of the course of the war can be gleaned from the text of Ezekiel, the Jewish prophet living in Babylonia at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. (287) According to information reconstructed from his text (288) Lydia dominated over the territory of Phrygia (Moshech) and Tabal (Tubal); Egypt (289) the remainders of the Cimmerians (Gomer), and the "House of Togarmah," a state about which we will speak in more detail below, were allied to Lydia (290).

The war between Media and Lydia ended with the peace treaty of 585 B.C. According to Herodotus, the mediators were the king of Babylonia and Syennesis, the king of Cilicia-Hilakku (his kingdom by this time had turned into a large state, which, judging from data from the time of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian Empires, finally included also the former territories of Tabal, Que, [Bab. *Hume*], etc.). The river Halys was recognized as the frontier of Media, so the eastern part of Asia Minor was subjected to it (291).

3.12. The Kingdom of Melid and the Question of the First Armenian Kingdom

We can make some suggestions about the "House of Togarmah" and its fate. Old Hebrew *Togarmah* corresponds to the Hittite *Tegarama*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *Lakarama*. Tegarama is sometimes identified with Tilgarimmu of the Neo-Assyrian sources, a town in the kingdom of Melid-Kammanu. It has also been identified with Gauraene of the classical authors, which is topographically possible, although very far-fetched from the linguistic point of view (292). [94] However there is in any case no doubt that the region in which Tegarama was situated in the 2nd millennium B.C. was a part of the kingdom of Melid-Kammanu at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.

Let us sum up the history of this kingdom in brief. It is indisputable that the Mushki, as well as probably the Urumeans and the Apsheilaian Kaska tribe, must have crossed the territory of Melid into the valley of Arsania after the destruction of the Hittite Empire at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. However shortly after this event, between the 12th and 11th centuries B.C., we encounter in the texts the king of "Milide," or "Milidia," or "Melitia," as the "king of the Land of the Hittites." Thus in this period of general political collapse in Asia Minor, Melid became the center of an important state, claiming the continuance of the traditions of the Hittite Empire. At the same time, in spite of Melid preserving these traditions, it is quite probable that some of the Mushki settled not only east of the Euphrates, but to the west of it as well, which means they must have also

settled in the area of the so-called Old Phrygian culture, hence also in Melid. Perhaps it was precisely the settling of the Mushki here that gave an added vigor to the young Melidian kingdom.

Between the 11th and 9th centuries B.C. a whole series of small kingdoms emerged in the mountains of the Cilician Taurus--Qummuh, Gurgum, Tabal, and other even smaller ones. However Melid continued to maintain the traditions of the Hittite Empire, and when the Urartian sources speak of the "kingdom of Hate (Hittites)," they mean, as we saw above, Melid-Kammanu (sometimes also the Assyrian sources adopted this usage). The power of the "Tu(w)atian" dynasty, with which Melid was connected in the 8th century B.C., stretched as far as modern Kayseri and Nigde. Along with the kingdom of Daiene and Alzi (the "country" of the Mushki), the "new kingdom of Hatti" was one of the most important cultural and political, enters of the Highlands right up to the rise of Urartu. We know of a number of kings who reigned in Melid in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. (Lalla, at least one Sulumel, Tuatē, Hilaruandas, Gunzinanu, Tarhunasis, and others), and some of those who reigned there earlier. With the formation of the Northern Syrian alliance, Melid acquired hegemony in it. Only after the serious defeat brought upon Hilaruandas, the king of Melid, by Sarduri II the Urartian around 760, did the role of the leader in the alliance devolve upon Arpad and then upon Carchemish; the latter's kings also were named "kings of Hatti." Trade in metal brought wealth to Melid and also to the other kingdoms along the main road through the Upper Euphrates valley. At the same time there must have [95] existed some sort of very special social conditions in Melid which allowed this important and rich country to become later apparently the nucleus of an ethnically entirely new state organism, that of the Armenians, which we shall treat in more detail below. We have suggested that this might be explained by the presence in Melid of tribal masses new for this region, which tended to make the local society somewhat more democratic.

Melid was temporarily conquered in 712 B.C. by the Assyrian king Sargon II, who installed his governor there, but in 685 an attempt was undertaken to free at least the city of Tilgarimmu from the Assyrian Empire. The head of the rebellion was installed by a certain Hidi (or perhaps the better reading is Gurth, which, if correct, is the Phrygian name Gorthas). Although the fortress of Tilgarimmu was taken by Sennacherib, Melid nevertheless regained its independence, and around 675 we find *Hate* in an alliance with Phrygia and the Chaldeans as the object of an attack by Rusi II the Urartian and probably the Cimmerians (possibly also the Assyrians). However while the Phrygian Empire suffered a decline as a result of this campaign, the "Hittite kingdom" of Melid did not perish. Thus although in the 670s the Assyrians scornfully call Mugallu, the hostile ruler of Melid, a "fugitive," between 669 and 652 Melid is again recognized by them as an independent kingdom. And in the 650s Melid extended its boundaries at Assyria's expense, since Mugallu (if it is the same man) had already become the king of Tabal (which had been an Assyrian province since 713) and conducted negotiations with Assyria--apparently on possible aid against the Cimmerians. The Cimmerian supremacy in Asia Minor was actually brought to an end with the help of Assyria's allies, the Scythians.

By the time of the war of Babylonia and Media against the Assyrians (625-605 B.C.), which led to the destruction of Assyria and the subjection of Mana and Urartu by the Medes, the kingdom of Melid not only continued to exist but had grown still stronger. It is quite possible that the Babylonian raid into the Highlands as far as "the House of Hanunia" had the aim of checking a possible interference with their destruction of Assyrian forces by either the kingdom of Cilicia or Melid.

The population of the region of present-day Malatya had been a mixed one already at the time of the Hittite Empire; its main part at that time were the Luwians; however the Hurrian element must also have been quite strong (293). The official court culture in Melid, as in the other "Late Hittite" kingdoms of eastern Asia Minor and northern Syria, was Luwian; the royal names, such as Hilaruandas and Tarhunasis are also undoubtedly Luwian. Melid is one [96] of the places from which numerous Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions have come down to us. But the earlier presence here of objects of the "Old Phrygian" archeological culture speak of the penetration of an ethnic element which may be identified as Proto-Armenian. We know next to nothing about what Proto-Armenian names were like; some certainly were Luwian, like Mushegh (Mursilis), a name which survived into the Middle Ages and is common to this day; others might have been Phrygian.

In the context of the history of Melid we must examine the testimony of Ezekiel about the "House (dynasty) of Togarmah," which seems to have been an important participant of the Lydio- Median War of 590-585 B.C. We can also compare some information of later writers.

Xenophon, the Greek writer of the end of the 5th--beginning of the 4th centuries B.C., mentions in his didactic novel *Cyropaedia* the existence in the 6th century B.C. of an Armenian kingdom, dependent on Media, but nevertheless relatively autonomous and self-sufficient (294). In spite of the untrustworthy nature of this source, it should be noted that Xenophon himself had been in Armenia and could have had access to some relatively trustworthy information on the history of the country. Of course it must be remembered that he did not know the Armenian language, that he passed through Armenia with a hostile armed military detachment, and that we do not know whether or not he made any notes referring to information not directly relevant for himself and his men. According to Xenophon's story, the Armenian king, whom he does not call by name, refused to pay tribute and to supply military contingents to Cyaxares, the king of Media (295). Cyrus the Persian, who at that time was in the service of the Median king, intended to force the Armenian king into submission. After penetrating Armenian territory on the pretext of a hunt, Cyrus sent an envoy to the Armenian king requesting submission. The Armenian king tried to hide in the mountains but meanwhile his family and property fell into the hands of Cyrus. Finally, after finding himself in a hopeless position, the Armenian king gave up and acknowledged that when he had been defeated by the father of the present Median king he did take on the obligation of paying tribute and supplying military contingents. But thanks to the protection of Tigranes (296), son of the Armenian king and friend of Cyrus, the matter ended in reconciliation, and Cyrus limited himself merely to occupying some of the strongholds in Armenia. Then Cyrus helped the Armenians in their war with the Chaldeans, achieved a stable peace between them, and thanks to this was able to obtain from both peoples a greater number of military contingents for the needs of [97] the Median Empire than was thought possible originally.

Of course this story, which has a didactic purpose and is part of a work of fiction, should not be taken at face value as a historical narrative. However it deserves attention, since it has certain features in common with the information of Ezekiel about a "House of Togarmah" which had existed in the Median period, and also with the legendary narrative of Moses Xorenac'i.

The latter, an Armenian historian of the early Middle Ages, makes use of a Syrian writer, Mar Abas Qatina, whose work has not come down to us. Relating the ancient history of Armenia, Moses attempts to bring it into agreement with the legendary tradition of the Bible, with the information of the early Byzantine historical sources, and with the Armenian and Zoroastrian traditions current in the Sasanian period. The outline of his narrative is taken mainly from Byzantine authors. The existence of Urartu remained unknown to him, and he begins the ancient history of Armenia with legendary genealogies, artificially connected with the genealogies of the mythical patriarchs of the Bible, with legends about the heroes of Iranian mythology, and with certain apocryphal names of Assyrian and Median kings, mostly invented by Greek authors (297). Parallel to a spurious list of Median kings, traceable to the Byzantine historian Eusebius, Moses Xorenac'i (I, 22) introduces a list of the legendary kings of the ancient Armenian kingdom, which is absolutely untrustworthy: nearly all the names are of Parthian origin and hence much later than the period with which he deals.

However into this artificial and completely misleading outline Moses also weaves data which he has drawn from some Armenian epic that has not come down to us (of course arbitrarily timing the events to coincide with real or imaginary periods of history). Here and there, although not necessarily belonging to the period in which it is placed by Moses, a grain of truth may have lingered (298). Thus his Tigran I, king of Armenia, is probably identical with the prince Tigranes of Xenophon (I, 24-30). Some details of Moses Xorenac'i's narrative allow us to assume that in his time the Armenians still preserved epic legends. One of them dealt with an alliance the Armenian kings had during the period of the first Armenian kingdom with certain foreigners, whom Moses more or less correctly identified with the Medes of the Greek sources. Another legend was about a battle of a hero with the monster Azhdahak (a purely imaginary figure, taken from Zoroastrian mythology) (299); and there was also a tradition about ancient Median settlements in the valley of the Araxes (300).

It seems probable that in Western Armenia of the 6th century B.C. there really did exist, not a Median satrapy, but an [98] autonomous kingdom, although one dependent upon Media (301). This is in complete agreement with what Herodotus tells us about the nature of the structure of the Median Empire (302). The creation of an Armenian kingdom in place of the Urartian one must have been connected with the activities of Cyaxares, king of the Medes (625- 585 B.C.). Xenophon speaks of an Armenian king who was now allied with Media, now in rebellion against it. Unfortunately the sources of his information are unknown, but the king is probably the same

ruler whom Ezekiel has in mind when he speaks about the "House of Togarmah." This Armenian king may have participated in the destruction of Urartu. Piotrovsky, supposing the historical validity of Moses Xorenac'i's Paruyr, son of Skayorth, thinks the first Armenian dynasty had a Scythian origin. But the term "House of Togarmah" and the historical role which the city of Melid played in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. makes us think rather about a historical succession between this hypothetical Armenian kingdom and the ancient kingdom of Melid-Kammanu. After the restoration of its independence at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. Melid, or "Togarmah" ("Torgom" in the terminology of Moses Xorenac'i), was surely ruled by a new dynasty, and it was not necessarily Luwian in its linguistic affiliation, but may have been descended from persons of another local population, viz., the Proto-Armenian. In any event the kingdom of Melid (Togarmah), as well as that of Hilakku (Cilicia), survived both Assyria and Urartu. When Urartu fell, this kingdom got an opportunity for expansion to the east, occupying first Alzi and Shubria, etc., then the other western Urartian provinces.

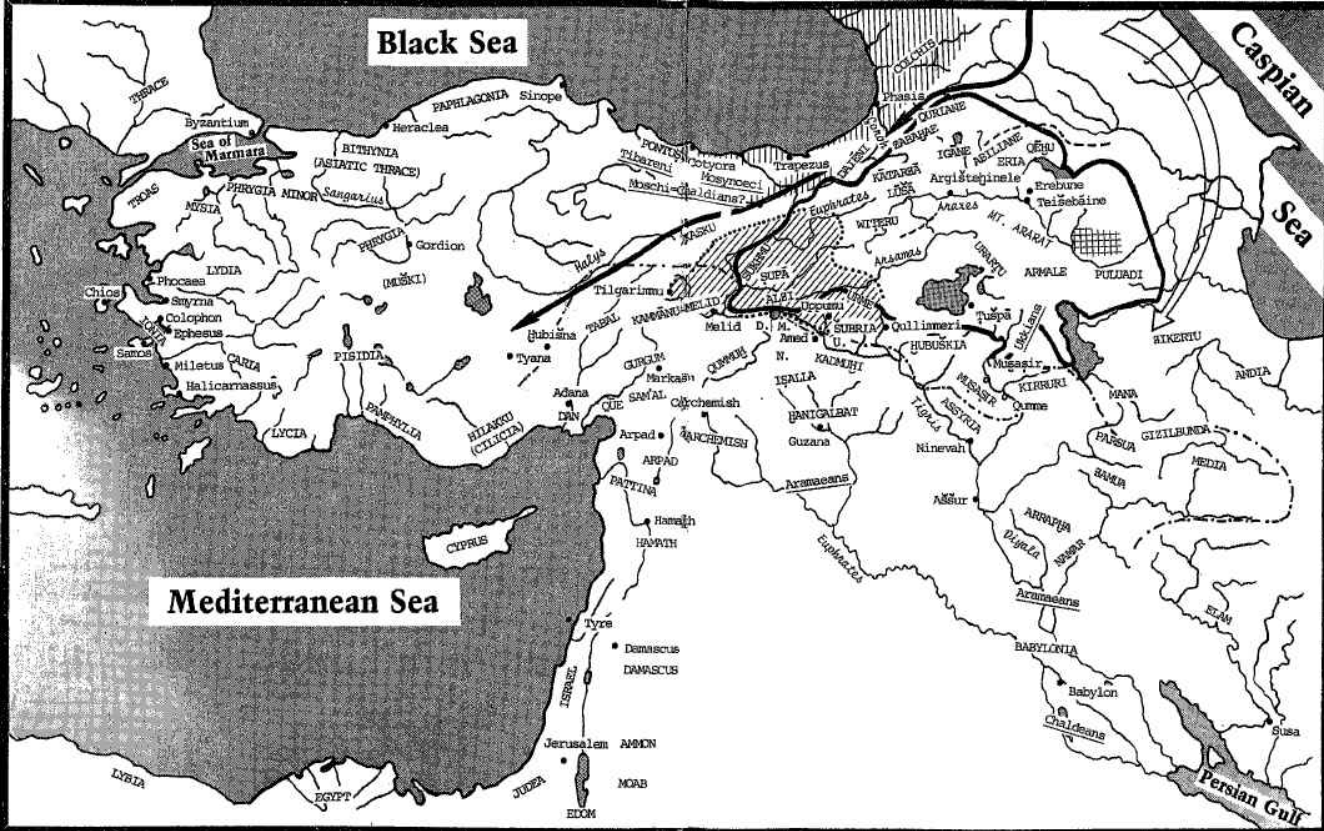
This kingdom probably ceased to exist under Cyrus, the first of the Achaemenian kings of the Persian Empire, which superseded the Median (553-529 B.C.) (303).

Darius I (525-485 B.C.) created two satrapies in what was called *Armenia* by the Greeks, *Armina* by the Persians, and *Urashtu* /Oralt/ by the Babylonians (304). The first (XIII satrapy of Herodotus, inhabited by people already speaking Armenian) was apparently called *Melittene* by the Greeks and certainly Melid by the Babylonians (305); the city Melid was probably its capital. The second (XVIII satrapy of Herodotus, on which see below, inhabited by Urartians, Hurrians, etc.) retained the name of Urartu (in its Babylonian form) (306).

Thus during the epoch of the downfall of the traditional great powers of the Near East--at the end of the 7th and in the 6th centuries B.C.--there apparently existed a state which was called Armenia (or Melittene), and of course the ancient Armenian nation had already come into existence (307). But from the sources which [99] we have used for our history of the preceding period it is not immediately apparent where and when it arose and became a clearcut ethnic unit. Obviously there are certain gaps in our information, or the forefathers of the Armenian people are disguised in our sources under some unidentified designation. The following chapter will be dedicated to an analysis of the available data, so that we may answer the question.

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Map 3. SCHEMATIC MAP OF WESTERN ASIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM B.C. (IX-VII CENTURIES B.C.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. This can be inferred from the Hittite annals, documents from Alalakh, and other sources.

2. King Dušratta sent a statue of the goddess Ištar of Nineveh to cure the pharaoh, who had fallen ill. This has usually been interpreted as a proof of his sovereignty over Nineveh. However Ištar of Nineveh was a very popular goddess who had sanctuaries in many different Hurrian towns. More important is the fact that there were Mitannian residents ("envoys," *sukkallu*) at Aššur; see Saporette (1974). The impression of the seal of the king of Mitanni was found on one of the letters in the official archives of Nuzi (in Arrapkhe). See Jankowska (1957), 18-19.

3. See his letters in the pharaoh's archives at Tell el-Amarna; Knudtzon (1915); Mercer (1939).

4. See, e.g., the annals of Aššurnāṣirapal and of other Assyrian kings (cf. the calculations in: Diakonoff [1949], 86). In the inscriptions of the Urartian kings the expression "some [captives] I killed, others I took alive" is a standard formula. About the blinding of captives by the Assyrians in the 13th century B.C., see above, Notes to chap. 1, n. 114.

5. Piotrovsky (1963), 11-12.

6. Ibid. The last publication: Flittner (1939), 21-43.

7. On the preservation of Hurro-Urartian social terminology also in Old Armenian, see below, Notes to chap. 3, n. 28.

8. Diakonoff (1952), 98, n. 2. From the history of the communities of Assyria, Arrapkhe, Babylon, etc., it is evident that rich family communes separated into individual families sooner than the poor ones, since in them greater property differentiation took place, and individual economies formed earlier.

9. Thus passim in the annals of the Hittite kings. Note that when the Hittite sources call the Kaska "swineherds and weavers," this does not say anything about their real occupations. Both herding swine and weaving were the lot of slaves, and the Hittite scribe simply wanted to say that the Kaska, being enemies of the Hittites, were a people of slave nature. Anyway the Kaska had their own strong fortresses, and it cannot be doubted that farming was known to them. But it is probable that semi-nomadic animal breeding based on mountain pastures was their basic occupation.

10. Güterbock (1956), 1:65-67 (fragm. 13, 6; 14, 16).

11. In cuneiform scripts we call

determinatives those signs that are not pronounced in reading and are added to a word for determining the semantic category to which it belongs (men, women, deities, countries, towns, professions, wooden objects, etc.).

12. A great shortcoming of many historical maps is precisely the placing of ancient "countries" across the mountain ridges.

13. Thus it is well known that runic writing was used by the Germanic tribes for magical purposes long before the formation of their states; on the other hand, many unquestionable states of Africa had no writing system. This depended to a considerable degree on whether there already existed neighboring states which had worked out a system of writing, and also whether the people in question were or were not acquainted with the fact of the existence of writing among their neighbors. In Ancient Western Asia of the period in question it is difficult to imagine a state which would not use a writing system or a primitive tribe which would have used one. Ancient Sumer had developed a primitive writing system probably as early as the end of the 4th millennium B.C. But the widespread notion that a class society and state emerged here only in the second quarter of the 3d millennium B.C. is probably mistaken; the texts read by A.A. Vaiman in his recent attempt at deciphering the archaic Sumerian hieroglyphic script seem to show that a class society already existed here in the Proto-Literate period. In any event, in a pre-class society, even when neighboring or "literate" civilizations, certainly only a primitive writing system was possible, to be used for magical and

perhaps for the simplest economic purposes, but not for elaborate economic accounts, for narrative texts, etc. It must be considered as a fact that there must have existed in the Armenian Highland some centers which could hand down the scribal traditions of the Hittite and the Mitannian kingdoms of the 14th-13th centuries to the Urartian kingdom of the 9th century (See chap. 1, n. 130). This should be considered as sufficient evidence for these centers being states and thus areas of class civilization.

14. For summaries of the data on Haiasa, cf. Forrer (1931); Kapantsjan (1948). Both of these summaries are in need of serious revision in the light of modern data.

15. It is impossible to locate Aripisa on the shore of Lake Van, as E. Forrer suggested. This stands in contradiction to the entire context of the source; just as completely implausible are the alternative suggestions of Kapantsjan (Lake Gölcik near the source of the Tigris, or some unknown small lake which is now dried up). Garstang and Gurney (1959) prefer the Black Sea, identifying Aripisa with modern Giresun. Not far from Aripisa lay another stronghold of Azzi, Tukrama, which at the same time was situated relatively close to the valley of the Euphrates: its king could wage war against Pahhuwa, which is evidently to be located east of modern Kemah (Ani-Kamah). If Azzi-Haiasa were situated near Lake Van or Lake Gölcik, then, contacting Pahhuwa, they could not bypass Alzi, Isuwa, etc., in the Upper Euphrates valley. Thus for Tukrama we should look north of Pahhuwa, probably in the valley of the Lycus or in the pass between the valleys of the Lycus and

the Haršit. In their attack on the Hittite Empire the people of Azzi and Haiasa penetrated the "Upper Country" (i.e., the area on the upper reaches of the river Halys) and made Samuha "their frontier." Alp (1956), 77-80, seeks Samuha on the Euphrates above the confluence with the Arsanias (Muratsu). This, however, would mean that the "Upper Country" also included the Euphrates valley, which is hardly plausible. Apart from this, it is known that the way from Kanis (near Kayseri) to Samuha did not lead to the east and northeast but to the north, through Kussar, which should be sought in the triangle Kayseri-Amasya-Ankara (at the site of Alaca-hüyük?). It is also known (KUB 33:79) that Samuha could communicate by boat with the neighboring areas, e.g., with Patteiarikka, which also at one time was included in Haiasa, and which S. Alp identifies with modern Pertek, north of Elaziğ, in the middle of what then was Alzi. This identification seems doubtful to me. One should look for a river navigable for boats. At present both the Upper Euphrates and the Lycus (Gayl-get, Kelkit) are not navigable except for certain stretches, but there was more water in the rivers when the forests still existed. The third fortress of Azzi, Ingalawa, which lay at the frontier, is absolutely impossible to identify with the later city of Anget in the upper reaches of the Tigris, as E. Forrer does [cf. S. T. Eremyan, *Atlas Armjanskof SSR* (1951), map on p. 102], since between that region and Haiasa-Azzi, no matter which location we choose for the latter, there must have been a great many other "countries." Finally, the annals of Suppililiumas I mention the city of

Kummaha (modern Kemah, or Ani-Kamah, west of Erzincan) as belonging to Haiasa. For Haiasa this was a period of expansion, and thus there is no need to think that Kemah on the Euphrates would be the center of this country; the opposite is much more probable. Taking all this into consideration, it seems that the most convincing location of Azzi is along the river Haršit and towards Pharnakia (Giresun) on the Black Sea, and of Haiasa along the river Çoruh with its center near modern Bayburt. This may be so, supposing that the Azzi-Haiasans in their heyday expanded to the west into the valley of the Lycus, and to the south over a mountain pass into the upper part of the Euphrates valley (above Zuhma). Manandyan (1965), chapter on "The data of Hittite, Assyrian and Old Armenian sources on Khayasa-Azzi," places Haiasa to the north and west of Lake Van, but his location is based solely on the superficial similarity of some toponyms, and it fits poorly with the data of the sources.

16. In any event the Hurrian linguistic area extended as far as the border of Haiasa. There is hardly any doubt that the name Arihpizzi is Hurrian. He was possibly the ruler of Patteiarikka, which at one time was dependent on Haiasa. In Samuha, a city neighboring on Haiasa, there was one of the chief centers of the cult of the Hurrian goddess Šawuška.

17. In his book Kapantsjan (1947) derives most of the Haiasan proper names from Hurrian, but in the conclusion to the book he speaks of the language of Haiasa as a "mixture" of Hattic, Hittite, Palaic, Luwian, and even Georgian elements (p. 247), and he also considers this

hypothetical hodge-podge language to be the ancestor of Armenian. It should be noted, however, that according to modern linguistics, a language may certainly include large strata of words borrowed from other languages, but its basic vocabulary and grammar can belong to only one linguistic family, not to several at once. Even if we concede the idea of such a linguistic "mixture," this mixture would not yield Armenian.

18. Djahukyan (1961), 353-405. Cf. especially 356-61.

19. Melikišvili (1954), 83-85. Cf. particularly the name Aripsa, which belongs to a very usual type of Abkhazo-Adyghian toponyms (Tuapse, Makapse, Shepsi, Gulripš).

20. On the historical map on p. 102 in *Atlas Armjanskoj SSR* (1961), Suhmu is placed too far to the south. It should be moved to the place marked as "Muşru," since at present it has been proven that Muşru was located not here but in the valley of the Upper Zab. Cf. Tadmor (1961), 145-50.

21. The term "Torgom," preserved by ancient Armenian authors, is not directly traceable to the Hittite Tegarama, but is borrowed from the Bible (Togarmah in the Masoretic and the English text; variant reading Torgomah). However in the Bible it does, in fact, correspond to Tegarama.

22. On the map on p. 102 in *Atlas Armjanskoj SSR* (1961), two countries known as Melidu are distinguished, the second being placed between the upper reaches of the river Arsaias and Lake Van. This is not supported by any facts. All the contexts in the ancient sources which mention Melid, Melidu, Maldiā, Meliṭia, etc., can be explained without difficulty if we identify these

names with modern Eski Malatya (Arslan-taş).

23. Here, in the later Commagene, were apparently situated Kalasma, Ismerikka, Arawanna, Urušše (Ursu). These areas were subject first to Mitanni, then to Kizzuwadna (and ultimately to the Hittite Empire).

24. On "Hanigalbatian Melidia," see above p. 76.

25. At any rate in the treaty of the Hittite king Arnuwandas with Ismerikka (Ranoszek [1939], 25-30), as far as we can understand the terse and fragmentary text, even the capital of Mitanni, the city of Waš-šukkanne, was assigned to Kizzuwadna. The majority of scholars identify this Arnuwandas with Arnuwandas III (c. 1220-1190 B.C.). See Goetze (1940), 45-46; Garstang and Gurney (1959), 54 ff.

26. Cf. Landsberger (1954), 50-51.

27. Mitanni, for the Hittites, was the land of the Hurri *par excellence*; however Hurri was a broader term than Mitanni (or Akkad. *Hanigalbat*) and could, in certain contexts, include any Hurrian-speaking countries, especially those which the Assyrians called Subarean, i.e., those north of the Upper Tigris and in the Upper Euphrates valley.

28. Toponyms in Hurro-Urartian were usually construed in the genitive (-*we*, -*ie*)—cf. the English *city of London*—or in the form of a possessive adjective (-(*i*)*ne*, -*nne*). A few names of this type (e.g., *Amkuwa*, *Assuwa*; cf. also *Zalpa* and *Zalpuwa*) are also found in the more westerly areas. However here the morph in question may prove to be of a different derivation. Ancient Anatolian (Luwian) toponyms in (-*assa*(s)) are typologically anal-

ogous with the Hurrian toponyms in *-uwa*; namely, they are possessive adjectives: *Tattassa(s)*, *Pitassa(s)*, *Pikkatnaressa(s)*, *Zazissa(s)*, *Nenassa(s)*, etc. However *Haiaša* does not belong to this type.

29. My earlier suggestion of an identification of the term *Isuwa-Išua* with the Hittite *Zuppa*, Urart. *Šupā* (Cop'-k', Sophene) is erroneous, since it does not correspond to what we know of Hurrian phonetics, even though geographically these areas overlapped, at least partially.

30. Thus the inhabitants of Ismerikka in the above-mentioned treaty bear Hurrian names, but about the same time persons from the valley of the Upper Euphrates, mentioned in the treaty with Pahuwa, bear Luwian names. A little later (11th century B.C.) the annals of Tiglath-pileser I refer in this region to a certain "king of the Land of the Hatti" with the Hurrian name Ini-Teššub (Schroeder [1922], no. 71-71a; Diakonoff (1951a), 2:278, no. 11; Grayson (1976), 72. In the Assyrian inscriptions from the 13th to 9th centuries B.C. this entire area is often called "Subarean," i.e., Hurrian. As Landsberger has shown (1954), 2:47 ff., during the period preceding the rise of the Hittite New Kingdom in a number of areas of Asia Minor there emerged dynasties with names containing the element *-muwa* (Luwian according to most scholars). Something of the same kind might also have occurred in the "countries" of the Upper Euphrates valley, but, in spite of the advent of Luwian speakers, there were also preserved Hurrian dynasties, and the mass of the population must have been Hurrian.

31. If, by analogy, we can compare the toponyms of the type Al-

zia, parallel to Alzi, with the forms Hemmuwa, Salua, parallel to Hemme. Sala, then it is possible that here we are entering the Urartian linguistic area, in which the genitive case ending *-ie* corresponds to the Hurrian *-we*, or perhaps an area of some transitory dialect. The Assyrians, however, counted Alzi (and its neighbors to the north, Teburzi, or Teburzia, and Purulumzi) as "Subarean," i.e., Hurrian countries. The sign *-lum-* can also be read *-kuz-*, hence the alternative reading Purukuzzi, which seems more natural in a Hurrian-speaking area (*-uzzi* is a frequent Hurrian suffix). However there exists also the variant with the sign *-lim-* (Purulimzi), hence the correct reading must be Purulumzi.

32. Melikišvili (1954), 150 ff. Melikišvili's argument is the fact that in another analogous list of regions dating from a somewhat later time, both the country of Hemme and the country of Luha (Luhi) (mentioned in the first list along with Hemme) are named together with the country of Alamun, which can be located in the Upper Zab valley with a high degree of probability. We may also add that Tumni of the second list (Melikišvili reads it erroneously as Nimni) is obviously the same as Tumme of the first list. Tumme lay not far from Lake Urmia, while another Tumme seems to have been situated not far from the upper reaches of the Euphrates. But it is not impossible that the confederation of Uruatri of the first list (or Sugi as it is called in the later list) may have included regions to the west as well as to the east of Lake Van, so that Hem(m)e and Salua of both lists may still be the Hemmuwa and Sala of the Hittite sources,

which were situated in the west of the Armenian Highland, although Alamun may have lain in the Upper Zab valley in the east.

33. See Melikišvili (1954), 165 ff. The town Qumme on the Upper Zab had a namesake, Q/Kumme or Kummanni, in Kizzuwadna (Cataonia), also a great center of worship of Teššub.

34. Melikišvili (1954), 22 ff. Hurr. *pabbe*, *pabanbe*, Urart. *babanabe* means "mountaineer" (suffix *-be*). As to **hapbe*, it might be Hurrian appellative adjective in *-phi*, perhaps from Hurro-Urartian *ba-* "to take, to seize," i.e., something like "the robbing ones, robbers, kidnappers?"

35. Goetze (1922), 87 ff.

36. Goetze (1925); idem (1930).

37. Güterbock (1956), 2-4.

38. E. Forrer hypothetically dates to about this time a fragment of a treaty between the Hittites and the people of Haiasa, museum number Bo. 966 (not published in any editions that I am aware of).

39. Friedrich (1930), 103 ff. Cf. also KUB 26:37 and 38. It is not clear to which treaty the fragment KUB 26:39, with its listing of deities belongs (museum nos. Bo. 866, 3793, 4747). One cannot be quite certain that this is a treaty with Haiasa, although in the text one of the gods is called *^dU.GUR ŠA Ha-ja-ta* — a scribal error for *Ha-ja-ša*?

40. However it is probably a kinsman of his.

41. D. A. Olderogge kindly pointed out to me that there is no need to see here a survival of a matrilineal clan system. Among a number of patriarchal tribes (as, e.g., in the Congo) there exists a custom whereby a husband has the right to a younger sister of his wife in case

the latter is childless. The custom is, of course, very archaic anyway.

42. Subsequently Marias apparently became the ruler of Haiasa; he was succeeded by one Annias. Cf. King (1920), no. 85.

43. This name was usually read "Mattiwaza"; however such a reading is very doubtful. After some discussion, it has been convincingly argued that the reading is *Šattiwaz(z)a*, or *Šattiwasa*, since Hurrian *-zz-* is to be read as *-s-*. Artadama seems to have been a sick man, who, although he lived all through the events narrated below, did not take a personal part in the civil war.

44. On *Šattiwasa* in Arrapkhe, see now Jankowska (1979), 24-37.

45. According to the identification of E. Forrer, this is modern Kunmar, 18 km. from Palu (to be distinguished from Assyrian Qullimeri in Šubria!).

46. Weidner (1923), no. 1, cf. no. 4.

47. Ibid.

48. Grayson (1972), secs. 381, 392-93.

49. Goetze (1922), 89. Rev. II, 73-75.

50. Ibid., 95-97, Rev. III, 2-9.

51. The fragment of a treaty between the Hittite king and the people of Haiasa, Bo. 3281, is evidently to be dated about this time (not published in any editions that I am aware of).

52. The text of an instruction to the Hittite provincial governors, apparently from the end of the 13th century B.C., has been preserved. Here Azzi, along with the country of the Kaska (in the north) and Lukka (Lycia in southwestern Asia Minor), is named among the foreign, hostile countries. Cf. von

Schuler (1957), 24.

53. KBo I, no. 20; Ebeling/Meisner (1928), 258 (E. Forrer).

54. KBo IV, no. 14; Ebeling/Meisner (1928) 1:263 (E. Forrer).

55. The text of the inscription of Shalmaneser I (Messerschmidt [1922], no. 13). Cf. Ebeling/Meisner/Weidner (1926), 114 ff., no. 1; Diakonoff (1951a), 2:266. Grayson (1972), 527-28, no. 2; states as follows: ". . . the Uruatri have rebelled against me . . . I marched up to the ridge(?) of their mighty mountains, I vanquished Hemme, Uatqun, Bargun (or Mashgun), Salua, Halila, Luha, Nilipahri and Zingun — eight countries and their forces; their fifty-one towns I destroyed, I burned, I robbed them of captives and property: I bent all the Uruatri to the feet of the god Aššur, my lord, in three days [i.e., in three battles]; I chose from their offspring, and took them for my service and work; the heavy tribute of the mountains I imposed upon them forever. The town of Arinu, a fortified place at a mountain ridge(?), which formerly had mutinied . . . this town . . . I vanquished, I destroyed . . . At that time I bent the country of Mušru to the feet of Aššur, my lord." The identification of some of the "countries" mentioned in the text is impossible. However, Hemme may be Hemua, or a namesake of this tribe situated to the east of Lake Van instead of to the west? Salua may be Sala; Luha is probably Luhi to the east of Lake Van; Zingun (a variant has Zinigun) is Urart. Ziuqune, modern Adilcevaz on the western bank of Lake Van. E. Forrer places Uatqun in the valley of the river Bohtansu. Mušru and Arinu (*Arinna*, Hurr. "sources, wells"; there

are at least two towns of this name known in Asia Minor) can be relatively reliably located as neighboring on the area of the Uqumanians, in the valley of the Upper Zab, possibly at or near the site of the later city of Muşasir (Urart. Ardine; the remote similarity of the names is probably accidental).

56. See a translation of the treaty (J. Wilson & A. Goetze) as well as the literature in the book: Pritchard (1955). See the important fragment of a more complete version in Šilejko (1921), 77-82.

57. Messerschmidt (1922), 2: no. 60; Diakonoff (1951a), 2: no. 6 (cf. nos. 3-5; Messerschmidt [1922], 2: no. 58; idem, 1: nos. 66 and 17); Grayson (1972), 689-819.

58. Weidner (1923), 5-7.

59. Messerschmidt (1922), 2: no. 61; Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 7. However Grayson (1972), 773, reads "leaders" for "queens."

60. KUB 23: no. 72; Gurney (1948), 32-47.

61. See above, chap. 1, n. 38, and this chap., nn. 26 and 30.

62. The Egyptian names cited here and below are not vocalized in the original. It is well known that the Egyptian writing system had no signs for vowels. The reader supplied the vowels from the context which he understood. But the vocalization of foreign proper names was a more intricate problem. For foreign names the Egyptians of the New Kingdom used a special system. In it, instead of the usual signs, each designating one or two consonants with an *arbitrary* vowel, they used for each name, on the rebus principle, groups of hieroglyphics denoting entire words, each word having, of course, a *definite* vocalization in spoken Egyptian. In this way the scribes

would indicate to the ancient Egyptian readers the true pronunciation of the proper names. Unfortunately, unlike the ancient Egyptians, we do not know the pronunciation of these words, and therefore a precise transliteration of the hieroglyphic signs used for the proper names in question would be useless. The best we can do is to cite the names by their consonantal skeleton; but even so, ancient Egyptian spelling does not distinguish between, e.g., *r* and *l*. The first mention of one of the "Peoples of the Sea" is found in the inscription by Ramesses II (first half of the 13th century B.C.; Breasted (1927), 3: sec. 307. This is to the *Šrdn*, who served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army. During the war of pharaoh Merneptah with the Libyans (the end of the 13th century B.C.), among the allies of the latter were the tribes *Šrdn*, *Škrs*, *3kwš*, *rk*, and *trš* (Breasted [1927], 3: secs. 574, 579, 588). Of these, *rk* have been more or less reliably identified with the Hittite *Lukka* (Lyicians). It has been suggested that *3kwš* or *3kywš* may be identified with the Achaean Greeks (their ancient name was apparently **Akhaiwoi*, where *kh* is Arm. *k'*, English *k* with aspiration, and not Armenian *x*, German and Scots *ch*). However note that, judging by the Egyptian source, the *3kywš* practiced circumcision, while such a practice is unknown among the later Greeks. Different explanations are given for the remaining names. One of the most widespread identifications has long been that of the *Šrdn* with the Sardi (inhabitants of Sardinia), the *Škrs* (now also known from a cuneiform text from Ugarit as the *Šikulāi*) with the Siculi (inhabitants of Sicily), and the *trš* with the

Tyrсени, or Tyrrheni, the forefathers of the Etruscans, whom an ancient tradition considered to have arrived in Italy from western Asia Minor. If these identifications are correct, then the Greeks must have lost their western contacts between the 12th and the 8th century. For the Homeric epic even Sicily (if that is what Trinacria means) is a land of fairy-tale with which the Achaeans have no constant ties. But there have been attempts at other identifications of these tribal names, namely, with later towns and regions in Asia Minor (e.g., *Šrdn* with Sardis in Lydia, Lyd. *Sfart*, *Škrs* with Sagalassus in Pisidia, etc.). However neither these nor other suitable toponyms have as yet been found in the Hittite texts of the 2d millennium B.C., and all suggested identifications remain more or less doubtful. The *trš* have also been identified with the **Thrasikoi*, i.e., Thracians.

63. Breasted (1927), 4: secs. 39-44, cf. secs. 77, 81, 403.

64. Kizzuwadna (Luwian *Kazuwanna*, Greek *Cataonia*)?

65. In western Asia Minor, see above.

66. The island of Cyprus.

67. Syria.

68. Jeremiah 47:4; Amos 9:7; Zephaniah 2:5; etc. The identification of Caphtor with Crete may now be considered certain. Some of the Philistines were called Cherethites; cf. also Cherethites and Pelethites—the appellation of the Philistine mercenaries in Israel (2 Samuel 8:18, 15:18, 20:7, 34; 1 Kings 1:38, 44; and others). The Philistine pottery in Palestine is identical with the late Mycenaean ceramics of Cyprus (LM III, C1b), which are similar to the late Mycenaean pot-

tery of Argos. Some scholars not implausibly identify the Philistines with the Pelasgi of the Greek tradition, who lived on Crete as well as in a number of places on the coast of continental Greece and Asia Minor. Cf. Albright (1954), 155 and 185. (*Pelasg-* from Thraco-Phrygian **Pelaz-k'*, cf. Greek *pelagos* "sea," which would yield **pelazos* in Thraco-Phrygian (and Pelasgian), plus the plural morph *-k'*, preserved in Armenian.

69. And perhaps also in the Western Mediterranean, if the *Šrdn* are the Sardi and the *Škrsš*, or *Šikulāi*, are the Siculi.

70. According to Greek tradition, the hero Mopsus settled here after the Trojan War. Together with Amphiloehus and others, he crossed Asia Minor overland and built a series of cities here. From Cilicia a bilingual (Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician) inscription of the 9th century B.C. has come down to us. It was made by the order of a ruler of the "Danunians," who bore the Luwian name Aza-Tiwatas, but derived himself from the dynasty of "the House of Mopsus" or, in the hieroglyphic version, "the House of Muksas." See *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, (1933), s.vv. Mopsos, Mopsu(h)estia, Mopsukrene; Vinnikov (1950), 86-97; also idem (1951), 121-33; Barnett (1953), 140 ff.; Kazanskij (1962), 273-80.

71. Actually the Achaeans began to settle in the island of Cyprus somewhat earlier. Also the Trojan War must have occurred in the late 13th century B.C.

72. Thus, e.g., Goetze identifies Mira with the later Pisidia, Wilusa with Lycia, the river Seha with the river Meander (Menderes), etc.; J.

Garstang and O. R. Gurney place Mira further to the northwest, placing Arzawa in later Lydia, on the river Hermus (Gediz), the Land of the river Seha in the valley of the river Caicus (Bakırçay), and Wilusa in the northwestern corner of the peninsula. There are also other theories. Thus Giorgadze (1960a), 5-28, places Hapalla in Isauria-Lycaonia (the region of modern Konya), Arzawa in the mountains of Cilicia, in the center of the southern coast of the Asia Minor peninsula, Mira to the west of Arzawa, in eastern Lycia and Pisidia, Wilusa to the north of Lycia. He identifies the river Seha with the river Meander (Menderes) and places Assuwa in Troad. Giorgadze's argumentation is logical, but his theory "leaves bare" almost the entire territory of northwestern Asia Minor, including later Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia. These countries must have been objects of military and diplomatic activities of the Hittite Empire, and so their names could not be absent from the texts. It is also implausible that Arzawa, being both politically and culturally so important a confederation, could have been entirely situated in mountainous and infertile regions. We are inclined to agree with the theory of Garstang and Gurney, with certain modifications, based on the fact that Manapa-Tattas, the ruler of the Land of the river Seha, complains in his letter (which has come down to us) of the attack of sea pirates on his territory and the territory of Lazpas (the island of Lesbos?), and of his subjection to Atpas, who is known to have been the representative of Ahhiawā in the coastal city of Millawanda or Milawatas. If we are to identify Ahhiawā

with the Achaeans, then Milawatas would probably be Miletus, there being but very few settlements in western Asia Minor where Mycenaean or post-Mycenaean objects have actually been found. The most probable seems to be the identification of Arzawa with the later Caria and perhaps with the regions to the east of the source of the Meander. Its capital seems to have been Apasas, which according to Garstang and Gurney is the classical Ephesus near the mouth of the Meander; the Land of the river Seha we would like to identify with later Lydia, Wilusa with Troad, Mira with Pisidia, and Hapalla with the region of modern Konya. See Garstang and Gurney (1959).

73. This is evident from the tone and content of several sources: from the mention of Ahhiawā as the place of exile of one of the relatives of Suppiluliumas I (his wife?), from the bringing of the "god of Ahhiawā" and the "god of Lazpas" for the cure of Mursilis II in his illness, from the letter of Mursilis II or Muwattallis to the king of Ahhiawā, and from the mention (although later erased by a scribe) of Ahhiawā among the great powers in the treaty between the Hittite king Tuthalias IV and the king of Amurru (in Syria). All the documents mentioning Ahhiawā are analyzed by Sommer (1932).

74. The difficulty lies in the fact that the Greek *kh* is a *k* aspirated, not an *h* as in "house" or a *ch* as in *loch*, and should have been transliterated in Hittite as *k*, and not as *hh* (see, however, Ivanov [1963], 87), and also in the crass disparity of vocalization. But Borukhovič's argument (1964), 3:102, that Hittite *hh* transliterates the Common Indo-European laryngeal phoneme, which

in Achaean Greek yielded a zero-sound, does not prove anything. The question is not how the Common Indo-European phonemes were *reflected* in Hittite or in Achaean Greek, but how *hh* was actually *pronounced* in Hittite *at that time*, and, in the light of that pronunciation, what kind of foreign sounds could be transliterated by Hitt. *hh*. More specifically, the question is whether, when the Hittites heard an Achaean *kh*, they would reproduce it as their own *hh* (actual pronunciation unknown).

75. This is the point of view of Sommer (1932); see also Borukhovič (1964), 98-106.

76. There apparently were also Mycenaean settlements near Halicarnassus, and perhaps near Colophon.

77. We apparently know four names of persons who can more or less certainly be considered to have come from Ahhiawā: Tawakalawas, a kinsman of the king of Ahhiawā; Attarsias, or Attarissias, "man of Ahhiyā"; Awaianas; and his brother Atapas. The etymology suggested by E. Forrer for the first one (Greek **Ete-woklewas*) is not implausible, although, of course, his identification with the legendary Eteocles, king of Orchomenos (in Boeotia, mainland Greece), is unacceptable. Forrer's identification of Attarsias with Atreus, the father of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae at the time of the Trojan War, is completely unconvincing philologically, although there is nothing impossible about it chronologically. (According to one suggestion, which is just as arbitrary, Attarissias is identified with Tiresius, another hero of the Trojan War). Lahurzis, named in the source as the "brother" of Tawakalawas, is

probably not his real brother, but, in accordance with the ancient Oriental word usage, simply a person of the same rank (his exemplary conduct is contrasted to Tawakalawas's lack of loyalty).

78. Forrer was the first to suggest this identification, but the weakness of Forrer's arguments in certain specific matters, and his being apt to be carried away by his ideas, led to extreme skepticism on the part of his critics. This can be seen particularly in the major work by F. Sommer cited above, where the entire material on the problem of Ahhiawā is studied with rigorous scholarship. However the question remains unsolved, and we do not have any absolute proof either way. But Forrer's hypothesis, with the necessary corrections required by the present state of archeology and geography of Asia Minor in the Hittite period, still does not contradict the general picture which we may at present draw from the historical situation.

79. Note that even according to Greek tradition, the last dynasty of the kings of Mycenae was not Achaean but had its origin in western Asia Minor (through Pelops and Tantalus). The Mycenaean agents in Hittite Asia Minor need not have been Greeks at all.

80. Breasted (1927), 3: sec. 306, cf. secs. 309 and 349.

81. In that case this name should be understood as the possessive form of **Wilus*, corresponding to Greek **Wilos*, (later *Ilus*), the name of the legendary founder of the Trojan kingdom, whence *Wilu(s)sa(s)* "(country) of *Ilus*," which corresponds to the Greek (*W*)*ilios* (*polis*), (*W*)*ilion* (*asty*), "Ilian (city)," the usual Homeric

epithet for Troy. Other names of countries in Asia Minor were also formed in this way, e.g., *Tattassa(s)*—"the country (of the god) Tattas." According to the treaty between Muwattallis and Alaksandus, the probable enemies of Wilusa, and consequently its neighbors, were Warsialla, Lukka, Masa, and Karkisa. Cf. the list of allies of the Hittite Empire in the battle of Kadesh (Breasted [1927], 3: sec. 306), where Arzawa, Pitassa, *drdny*, Masa, and Karkisa are listed in succession. Thus Masa and Karkisa were the neighbors both of Wilusa, or Troy, and of the *drdny*, the Dardani, or Trojans.

82. Friedrich (1930), 42 ff.

83. This does not necessarily mean that these names are identical; but if this was actually a name *current* in Troy, then the Greeks certainly would have identified it, by virtue of sound similarity, with the Greek proper name Alexandros.

84. However in Stephanus of Byzantium's version of this legend, Mitylus is called king of the city of Samylia in Caria (in southwestern Asia Minor), which does not fit in well with his identification as a Hittite king.

85. Paul Kretschmer.

86. According to the historical introduction to the treaty, Wilusa (as well as Arzawa) had been conquered by Laparnas, but was not subject to any of the subsequent Hittite kings, although it did maintain the relationship of an ally with Tuthalijas III and Suppiluliumas I. Wilusa constituted part of the confederation of Arzawa, along with Mira-Kuwalia, Arzawa proper, Hapalla, and the Land of the river Seha. Apparently Alaksandus was the adopted son of Kukkunnis, but upon

the latter's death he was not recognized by the population and fled to the Hittites, who placed him on the throne. If he is to be identified with a Trojan of the Greek legend, then probably it should be with the father of Priam, the grandfather of Paris. The custom of naming a grandson after his dead grandfather was popular in antiquity. The Greek legend gives to Priam's father the name of Laomedon, but Paris himself bore two names — Paris and Alexandros — and such could have also been the case with his grandfather. Moreover the name Laomedon is Greek and was probably invented by the Greek epic poet. The genealogy of the Trojan kings in the Greek tradition is obviously untrustworthy. According to it, the father of the last Trojan king, Priam, was Laomedon, the son of Tros, founder of Troy, and the grandson of Ilus, eponym for Ilion (the same Troy), the great-grandson of Dardanus, the forefather of the Dardanians (Troians); according to tradition, under Laomedon Troy was stormed by enemies for the first time and temporarily destroyed.

87. To be precise, somewhat earlier. According to the Greek legendary genealogies, Troy was destroyed about 1190-1185 B.C., but according to archeological data, Troy VIIa fell at the end of the 13th century B.C.

88. Thus in the third year of the rule of Mursilis II, Uhhazitis, king of Arzawa, apparently tried to rely on Ahhiawā (and particularly on its strong point in Millawanda) in his struggle against the Hittites; when the troops of Arzawa were defeated by Mursilis, Uhhazitis fled "beyond the sea," i.e., probably to Ahhiawā. Somewhat later the country of Lukka

turned for protection against the pirates to Tawakalawas, a kinsman of the king of Ahhiawā, and alternatively to the Hittite king. Later Tawakalawas offered to become the Hittite king's ally (and vassal), but after having been offended by what in his opinion was insufficiently respectful treatment from the Hittites, he began military operations against them. He was apparently unsuccessful and returned to Ahhiawā.

89. Pamaratus is mentioned in the letter of Manapa-Tattas, king of the Land of the river Seha, and in a letter of the Hittite king to the king of Ahhiawā. The fact of his extradition can be inferred from the reference to the precedent of Pamaratus in a letter-treaty addressed by the Hittites to the ruler of Milawatas. Cf. Sommer (1932); cf. Gurney (1954), 50.

90. Radoszek (1933), 43-112.

91. The name "Asia" (Greek *Asia*) was applied very early by the Greeks to the part of the world opposed to Europe and to "Libya" (Africa). However they had in view only the nearer zone of Asia, i.e., first and foremost, Asia Minor; later there appears a special designation for the more remote areas of Asia, such as "Upper Asia" or "Greater Asia" or "Asia beyond the Halys," whence Asia "proper" began to be designated as "Asia on this side of the Taurus," and "Asia Minor". Nevertheless there is no doubt that this general appellation goes back to a very ancient designation of an individual country. The later classical authors saw the supposed "original" of Asia in the habitat of the "Asian phyle" of the Lydians (near the mountain of Tmolus or in the valley of the river Caystrus, now the

Küçük-Menderes). But this looks very much like a late artificial etymology; in all probability the ancient term "Asia," used for a part of the world, must from the start have embraced a sufficiently wide territory, perhaps the Phrygian tribal union or the Phrygian kingdom; this, again, might have been named after its 2nd millennium predecessor, Assuwa. The name Assuwa is quite ancient: as early as in the trade colony of Kanesh we encounter the proper name *Assuwan*, which is derived from the name of that country.

92. Among them is Karakisa, which, according to other data, bordered on the Land of the river Seha (from the north? Possibly identical with the tribe of Cilici who lived, according to the *Iliad*, in the city of Thebe, not far from present-day Edremit), and on Warsia, probably identifiable with Warsialla, which together with Lukka, Masa, and Karkisa, is named in the treaty between Muwattallis and Alaksandus among the probable enemies of Wilusa. Query: Is it possible to identify the country of Parista, unknown in any sources except for a list of the regions of Assuwa, with the original homeland of the Philistines? Homer also mentions the Pelasgi in these regions.

93. The kingdom of Ilion may have had some connection with the kingdom of Assuwa. An enemy of Tuthalias who perished in the second campaign against Assuwa, was Kukkulis, an Assuwian (?) prince and the former protégé of the Hittite king. The proper name is probably the same as that of Kukkunniš, whom we have met as king of Wilusa. Kukkulis (Kukkunniš II ?) was possibly a descendant of Kukkunniš I.

94. The name *Taruis(s)a(s)* must then be regarded as the possessive form of **T(a)ruia-* "Trojan(s?)." Actually, both Wilusia and Taruisa are both named in the same list of the regions of Assuwa, which makes many scholars doubt either the identification of Taruisa with Troy, or of Wilus(i)a with Ilios, or both. L. Klejn suggested to me that in the Homeric epics, as so often in epic poetry, several wars are telescoped into one. According to him, Hissarlik is Wilusa = Ilion, while Taruisa = Troy was another, less important town.

95. *Iliad*, 2:187 ff. According to the legend, the Phrygians were in this battle led by Otreus and Mygdon, probably an eponym of the Mygdonians, who are known as a phyle in Caria and as an ethnic group both in the Balkans and in Northern Mesopotamia. Mygdon was the son of Akmon, to whom, it seems, the leading of the first Phrygian tribes into Asia was ascribed, cf. Garstang/Gurney (1959), 107. In Phrygian, however, Akmon was apparently the name of a deity of the elder generation and not of a hero. According to Greek tradition, Priam was closely connected by marriage unions both with the Phrygians and the Thracians. However no real historical data on Phrygians in Asia exist before the 8th century B.C., and I am inclined to think that they actually arrived much later than the Trojan war and may have been responsible shortly before 1100 B.C. for the destruction of Troy VIIb (which was founded by survivors of that war).

96. Gurney and Garstang think that the Phrygian ethnic element reached Asia Minor considerably earlier than the Trojan war. Their main argument, however, is the

similarity of the name of Mitas, king of Pahhuwa about 1200 B.C.(?), and the name of Midas, the second king of the Phrygian empire (and of some of his descendants). It is hard to conceive how the Phrygian tribes could march right across the undestroyed Hittite Empire as far as the valley of the Upper Euphrates. Either this is a sheer coincidence, or the Phrygian king bore a pre-Phrygian name, just as some Hittite kings bore pre-Hittite, i.e., Hattic and Hurrian, names. Cf. Gurney (1948), 32-47.

97. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Sarpedon," p. 41.

98. Goetze (1928), Rs. 75; Barnett (1953b), 140 ff.*6

99. *Iliad*, 2:780-877.

100. *Odyssey*, 11:521. It is true that the epic conceives them as living close to Troy.

101. Even if the author of the Homeric epic may have had a fairly good knowledge of the city-states which existed in Greece two or three hundred years before his time (since it was based on family genealogies memorized from one generation to the next), he did not and could not have had definite information about the political situation in Asia Minor or Thrace in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. Therefore the list of Troy's allies in the *Iliad* (2: 780-877) is quite untrustworthy. Apart from the Dardani proper and the inhabitants of the various localities of Troad, such as the Pelasgi, the Cilici, etc., the list mentions to the west of the Hellespont the tribes of the Thracians, the Cicones, the Paconians, and to the east of it the Paphlagonians, the Halizoni, the Mysians, the Phrygians, the Maeonians (Lydians), the Carians, and the Lycians. However all these people are un-

known to the Hittite sources, except for the Lycians (*Lukka*) and perhaps (but this implies some doubt) the Carians (*Karkisa?*). The list (II, 786 ff.) certainly belongs to a period near to Homer's own.

102. Beginning with the 12th century, the so-called "sub-Mycenaean" pottery appears in western Asia Minor, indicating a strengthening of the Achaean and/or Cretan presence. The Greek colony of Smyrna was founded on the coast of the Aegean Sea in the 11th century. Greek tradition attributes Cretan ancestry to the Carians, who in the 1st millennium B.C. inhabited the southwestern part of Asia Minor, south of the Lydians and northwest of the Lycians. The Carians, just as the Lydians and the Lycians, spoke one of the Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) languages. The Lycians were also sometimes considered by the Greek to be Cretan immigrants (Herodotus 1:173; cf. above about Sarpedon; perhaps both in the case of the Carians and the Lycians this means only a superposition of an island element upon a local Anatolian ethnos.) The more ancient population of Caria was designated as *Leleges*, which corresponds to the Hittite (from Hurrian) *lulabbi* "foreigners" (Hittite *-bb-* > Late Anatolian *-g-* is regular). The Carians have not been identified in the Hittite sources, unless we see the country of the Carians in the land of Karkisa (cf. Old Pers. *Karka*, Late Bab. *Karsa* "Caria"). Even though its location has not been firmly established, Karkisa can hardly be placed in later Caria, but there may have been a resettlement of the tribes. According to the ancient Hebrew tradition, the Philistines were from Crete (Caphtor; meaning the Cretan Pelasgi?), and the *čkr*

of Ramesses III's inscription about the Peoples of the Sea have been identified with the Carians by some scholars (however no evidence for this exists in the sources). On the Achaeans(?) dynasty of Mopsus in Cilicia, see n. 70 above. To the west of Cilicia, in Pamphylia, no Mycenaean archeological objects have been found, but the local Greeks later spoke a dialect close to Achaean.

103. *Iliad*, 2:856; Halizones from the city of Alybe, "where silver is mined"; the location is unclear. According to S. T. Eremyan's oral statement, Alybe might be located between Nicopolis and Zimarra. Alybe has been connected with the name of the Chalybes, or Chalyboi, a tribe in Pontus, N. Ja. Marr was the first to identify them with the Chaldaei of Xenophon (i.e., Chaldeans, not the Semitic Chaldeans!); see Marr (1921), 41; cf. Piotrovsky (1959), 120. However *Chalybes* is actually not a real ethnonym but means "steel makers" or "iron miners." The term could probably be applied to different tribes.

104. K. F. Lehmann-Haupt and F. W. König thought the Chaldeans to be identical with the Urartians. This is a gross error; it is based on a misinterpretation of the Urartian word *Haldine*, which means "belonging to the (Urartian) god Haldi"; the similarity with the ethnonym is fortuitous. See Piotrovsky (1959), 120 (and his earlier works), as well as the literature cited by Goetze (1957), 191, n. 6.

105. Melikišvili (1959), 70-72.

106. At the end of the 2d — beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., the western Georgian ethnos can with a degree of probability be connected with the Colchidian archeological culture, which occu-

pied the area from west-central Georgia to Cotyora (modern Ordu) in Pontus. The northern Koban variant of this culture seems to have belonged to the Abkhazo-Adyghian tribes.

107. Melikišvili (1954), 111 ff.

108. Melikišvili (1959), 111 ff. Cf. the information of Hecataeus: "The Moschi, a people of Colchis, neighboring with the Matieni," *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum I*, 1, fragment 228.

109. Melikišvili (1959), 66.

110. Ibid., 62 ff.

111. Ibid., 79-81. Melikišvili compares the name of the Macroni with that of the Megrelians and the name of the Mosynoeci with the West Georgian Č'ani. However his arguments in favor of this identification are phonetically rather unconvincing. We have no ground for doubting Strabo's information (XII, 3, 18), from which a nonlocal origin of the Greek name of the Mosynoeci must be inferred (*mosynoikoi*, "living in towers," where *mosyn-* is perhaps not originally a Greek but a Phrygian word for "tower." The other ethnonyms must be regarded as unexplained. As to the supposed mixture of Thraco-Phrygian with Kartvelian tribes in western Pontus during the 1st millennium B.C., there is no valid reason why it could not have taken place, but we have no means to ascertain if such was the case. And perhaps all the later iron-mining tribes called by individual names were earlier generalized as "Chalybes," which makes the problem more or less hopeless.

112. The latter may be identical with the Chalybes.

113. About this, see also below.

114. According to Arrian, who was a native of Bithynia (*Frag-*

menta Historicorum Graecorum, 3:593), the Bithyni, as the last of the Thracio-Phrygian peoples, arrived in Asia Minor in the 8th or 7th century B.C. But Eusebius's chronicle dates their arrival as early as 972 B.C., and Herodotus (VII, 75) dates this event before the Trojan War, probably confusing it with the first invasion of the Thracio-Phrygians.

115. One exception are possibly the Tibareni. Their name may be identical with the name of the Kaska tribe of Tibia (or Tipia; Hittite writing does not distinguish *p* and *b*). If our location of Haiasa is accepted, Tibia has to be located exactly where the Tibareni are attested later. Also the inhabitants of Pala (Blaene) and Tumanna (Domanitis) in 1st millennium Paphlagonia were probably inhabited by the same Palaians who lived here in the 2d millennium B.C.

116. Grayson (1976), 12-18; 66-67; 92, 92; Diakonoff (1951a), no. 10.

117. This mountaineer chief with the Hurrian name Kili-Teššub, son of Kali-Teššub, had also a second name, Irrupi. It has been interpreted as Hurrian, but it is more likely Luwian.

118. *Hattube* is Hurrian for "Hittite," (viz., probably 'Luwian'). Such nicknames, given after an ethnic appellation, were not uncommon.

119. The text of one of the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (Grayson [1976], 66) informs us that he resettled them, but it does not indicate where or whether all of them were displaced.

120. Haria together with the country of the *pabbi* (mountaineers), Adauš, Sarauš, Ammauš.

121. Daria (apparently the same as Dirria, Urart., Dirgu, /*Dirjo/, lay south of Isuwa.

122. Murattaš and Saradauš.

123. Including Heme and Luha. Note that Sugi is probably the same as *Su-gir*, a variant of *Su-bir₄*, the Sumerian name of the Subareans.

124. Not Lake Van, since the route of the campaign evidently bypassed it. A variant says "the Upper Sea of the West," the Black Sea being regarded as a bay of the Mediterranean.

125. As Melikišvili justly notes (1963), 117, this could not have been the river Arsanas (Muratsu), since in antiquity this river was never called "Euphrates."

126. Only one of them, the pass of Amadana, can be identified. It led to Lake Gölcik and to the western source of the Tigris.

127. The annals listed the following 23 countries: Tumme, Tunube, Tuale, Dardare, Uzula, Unzamune, Andiabe, Piladarne, Adurgine, Kuli-barzine, Šinibirne, Hemua, Paitere, Uiram, Šururia, Abaene, Adaene, Kirine, Albaie, Ugina, Nazabia, Abar-siune, Daiene. This list is obviously not given in a random order, since Tumme is at the beginning and Daiene is at the end, and in the other inscriptions the entire list is replaced by the formula "the countries of Naïri from Tumme to Daiene"; (Grayson [1976], LXXXVII, 1, 30) or "the countries of Naïri from Tumme to Daiene and the Upper Sea of the West" (Ibid., 69; Diakonoff [1951a], no. 13). Thus Tumme and Daiene lie at the extreme ends of the route. Since Daiene has been reliably located in the valley of the river Çoroh, and we know of a country Tumme somewhere between the Upper Zab and Lake Urmia, it would be natural to consider the coalition as including all of the Armenian Highland from the southeast to the north-

west, the more so since apparently Hemua (No. 12) is to be sought somewhere to the east of the Euphrates valley. However the inscription Diakonoff (1951a), no. 28, 35 ff.; Schrader (1889), 128, names Tumme as lying between Daiene and Urartu. Unfortunately the remaining countries are not known from other sources. An identification of Tuale with the valley of Tuarase on the upper reaches of the Arsanias is hardly likely. Neither is an identification of Tunube with the mountains of Tunibune near the northern sources of the Tigris, since in both cases the initial phonemes in the names do not coincide (Tuale, Tunube, but Tuarase, Tunibune). In some of Tiglath-pileser's inscription all the countries of this list except Tumme and Daiene are bracketed as "Hemua, Paitere and Haphi." Melikišvili, in the work referred to above, identifies Tumme with the Hittite Tumanna, which according to him lay east of the Upper Halys (actually, it lay to the west of it), and correspondingly he places all 23 "countries of Nairi" between the Halys and the Çoroh rivers. If this were the case, at least some of the names of the 23 countries would probably have been preserved in the Hittite sources. It stands to reason that the participation in the coalition of forces from Tumanna (or any other country) would not necessarily mean that the Assyrian king himself invaded that country. *Paitere* may be the same as Urart. *pātare* "town, community," and may stand for the name of some important township, cf. *Ardine*, Hurr. "The Town," another name for the city-state Muşafir.

128. This campaign of Tiglath-pileser I has aroused a serious discussion. As far as I am concerned,

I cannot doubt: 1) that the "Euphrates" of this text is not the Arsanias (Muratsu), but the northern Euphrates (Karasu); 2) that the battle with the "twenty-three kings" did not take place near Yuncalu in the region of Melazgert, as some have concluded. An inscription of Tiglath-pileser I with a reference to this campaign was actually found at that site (although it is wrongly attributed by Grayson to the region of the upper Tigris [1976], 153). But this inscription only bears witness to the fact that Tiglath-pileser stayed in Yuncalu either during this or one of the subsequent campaigns. Further, I cannot doubt: 3) that by the term "Upper Sea" the annals do not mean Lake Van, which was not usually so designated in the Akkadian texts, but the Black Sea. It seems that the Assyrians did not distinguish the Black Sea from the Mediterranean; the latter was the "Upper Sea" proper, or the "Sea of the Sunset," in contradistinction to the "Lower Sea"—the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. (There are instances in the Assyrian texts when even the Caspian Sea is called by the same term as the Mediterranean—obviously it was assumed that all three seas joined.) I believe: 4) that the expression "drove them at arrow-point to the Upper Sea" means that Tiglath-pileser himself reached the sea. Melikišvili thinks that the "sixty kings" belonged to a "country of Kilhi," which he identifies with Colchis. It is not implausible that these were the tribal leaders of the Colchians. But for me there is no doubt: 5) that the "country of Kilhi" does not exist in the Assyrian sources. Melikišvili's supposition (1954), 172 ff.; (1963), 124, n. 2, is based on the above-mentioned inscription of Tiglath-pileser from

Yuncalu, where it stands: "... conqueror of the countries of Naïri from Tumme to Daiene, conqueror of (the country) of *Hap-bi* to the Great Sea." Melikišvili suggests that instead of *bap*, we adopt another possible value of the cuneiform sign in question, viz. *kil*, in spite of the fact that the country Haphi is mentioned dozens of times in the Assyrian texts, and among them in the unambiguous spelling *Ha-ap-bi*. Melikišvili points out that the country of Haphi usually means the mountains of the Armenian Taurus and thus could not extend to the Black Sea. However it is quite improbable that the Assyrian scribe, who had at his disposal several ways of transliterating the phonetic sequence *kil*, should arbitrarily choose an ambiguous spelling and, moreover, one that was habitually used for the designation of the country of the Haphi. In my opinion, the inscription speaks of two different campaigns; in the first sentence it speaks of the campaign of 1112 described above, while in the second it speaks of a subsequent campaign into the Armenian Highland, touching only its southern part (Haphi) as far as Lake Van, which is what is meant here under the name of "Great Sea." Moreover, as pointed out above, n. 34, Haphi may be a very general appellative referring to any mountaineers. See also Additional Note *6 *infra*.

129. Grayson (1976), 39; Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 13. According to Forrer, the modern village of Gefse.

130. Of course, what is meant is the Black Sea, because although Tiglath-pileser I did cross the Euphrates near Carchemish in 1111 B.C., in that period he had not yet reached the Mediterranean Sea.

131. Grayson (1976), 95-96; Diakonoff (1951a), no. 17a. The inscription near the source of the Tigris (Grayson [1976], 152); Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 16), probably refers to this campaign. It records three campaigns against the countries of Naïri (the first two were apparently the campaigns of 1113 and 1112, since Tiglath-pileser I assigns Kadmuhi and Alzi not to Naïri but to Subartu). Cf. also the inscription in Yuncalu near Melazgert, already mentioned. Grayson (1976), 155; Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 17.

132. Grayson (1976), LXXXIX, 211 ff.

133. Goetze (1957), 201; on the Phrygians as a confederation of tribes, see Barnett (1967), 7.

134. Her. I, 14, 35, 45; VIII, 138. Kurtis, son (or descendant of Ascanius [?]) is mentioned in the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. Meriggi (1967), 1: no. 27 (from Boğça on the Halys), and 2:2-3, (1975), nos. 68, 69, (from Hisarcik somewhat farther to the east); and also probably in an Assyrian inscription, on which more below. One *Mi₂-ta₅-a-s(a)* mentioned (without title) in Meriggi (1975), no. 1a (from Babylon) and no. 12. Can he be Midas, son of Gordias??

135. In the inscription of the so-called "tomb of Midas" (actually a false entrance into the rock connected with the cult of a god) at Yazilikaya in the valley of the Sangarius, Midas is still called by the Achaean titles *wanak* (king) and *lawagetas* (commander-in-chief, warlord); see Friedrich (1932), 125, no. 1: *Ates Arkijaewais akenanolawos Midai wanaktei lawagtei edaes* ["Ates (son/descendant) of *Arkijewas, dedicator, to Midas, king (and) warlord, set (up this)."] The correction *lawag(e)tei* instead of

lawaltei belongs to S. Ja. Luria. On Ascanius, see the paper of T. A. Moiseeva (in press).

136. See Postgate (1973), 21 ff.

137. Another name for Cybele was Phryg. *Mas*; both *Mas* and *Attis* were probably endearing diminutives for "mother" (*mater*) and "father" (*attas*).

138. Khazaradze (1963), 171; see also p. 220, n. 80.

139. See now Meriggi (1967), no. 24.

140. This is attested by the proper names; many of them have Luwian etymologies.

141. Landsberger (1948), 19-38; Bacieva (1953), 17 ff.

142. This is evident from such names as "Hatti" (Assyrian for Carchemish), "The Land of Hatti" (Melid), and from the dynastic names of Hittite origin, as, e.g., Lubarna, Laparlas (Laparnas), Sapalulme (Suppiluliumas?). Clearly reminiscent of the Hittite imperial past are the names Mutallu (Muwattallis) in Gurgum; Suppiluliumas (?), Hattusilis in Qummuh; Arnuwandas in Melid.

143. See the following chapter for more details. The Assyrians often used the name "Hittites" not only for the people of Asia Minor, but for all inhabitants of Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

144. See Bacieva (1953). The newer research by M. Wäfler (1980/81) does not disagree with her results. For a summary of the historical data from the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the rulers of these kingdoms, see: Barnett (1953), 53-96 (now requiring corrections). See also n. *7 below.

145. Maksimova (1956), 13-15, 77.

146. Ibid., 36, 43, 69, 76, 143, 144.

147. Cuneiform writing systems transliterate the vowels /u/ and /o/ identically, viz., as *u*. Greek and Armenian mostly transcribe Akkadian and Urartian *u* as *o*.

148. Melikišvili (1960), index of ideograms, s.v. guškin. Cf. the reference of the Assyrian king, Tukulti-Ninurta II, to plundering "silver from the lands from Amcd," Grayson (1976), 467, and the frequent references to iron from Asia Minor being carried off in the Luwian kingdoms by the Assyrians.

149. Cf. the parallel information about the campaign of Shalmaneser III in 856 B.C., in the texts Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 27, 2:30-54 and no. 28, 35 ff., Schrader (1889), 150, 128. In the first text the route of the campaign is: Bit-Zamāni (Amed)—Enzite in the country of Išua—the river Arsanias—Suhmu—Daiene—the town of Aršaškun in Urartu; in the second text the campaign follows the same route: Alzi—Suhmu—Daiene—Tumme—Aršaškun. Here it is clear that Alzi and Enzite (Anzitene) in the country of Išua are more or less the same thing.

150. Probably the latter, since, according to the Assyrian data, the southern border of Suhmu lay along the river Arsanias and therefore included Šupā. There is also a reference to Šupā in one of the recently published inscriptions of Shalmaneser III; it is also mentioned in Hittite texts (Zuppa).

151. In an inscription of Sarduri II, king of Urartu (Melikišvili [1960], no. 156, DI and DII, 11), which according to Melikišvili are part of this king's annals, there is a mention of the country of Arme, while in the annals proper (ibid., no. 155A, 22), a country Urmu (Urmie) is mentioned. It has been thought that this is one country, a hardly tenable hy-

pothesis. Melikišvili identifies Urmie (reading it Urme) with Šubria, which is not mentioned in the Urartian inscriptions, at least under this name, and he places Arme to the west of Šubria. The center of Arme was the city of Neheria, whose geographical position is located probably between Severek, Diyarbakir, and Mardin. Possibly Urart. *Arme* simply means "Aramaic-speaking country." Urmie is mentioned in a fragmentary text also containing a passage which names the town Qulmeri (Assyrian Qullimeri). The Assyrian sources regard it, along with the town of Uppumu, as one of the centers of Šubria (see the notes to Diakonoff [1951a], 1: no. 43, and 2: no. 67). The cities of Qulmeri and Uppumu are identified with the towns of Chlomarón (Arm. Ktamar) and Aphoumon of the early Middle Ages; the first lay opposite present-day Mayafarkin, on the other side of the river Batman, and the second was in the mountains of Sasun (the modern village of Fum). However there are good reasons to believe that Urmie lay to the east of Šubria, and the Urartian name for the latter country is yet to be established. Note that the earlier forms *Šubaru*, *Šubriû*, oblique case *Subrê*, are Akkadian terms meaning "Subarean" (which in the 2d millennium and early 1st millennium stood for "Hurrian," while beginning with the middle of the 1st millennium it stood for "Assyrian"). *Šubria* is obviously the same term, and we know that its kings were Hurrians. However the form in *-ia* (from Urart. genitive *-ie?*) probably shows that it is borrowed from Urartian; in any event it can by no means be Akkadian. This should mean that the Akkadian term for "Hurrian country," KUR *Šubrê*, was

adopted by Urartians in the form *KUR **Šubrie*, and then reborrowed into Assyrian as *Šubria*. Why do we not encounter it in the Urartian inscriptions? By chance, or because it did not belong to the literary dialect, in which it had some other name? As to Urmie, it is probably the Inner Urumu of the Assyrian source.

152. At the end of the 8th century B.C. Qumme was in the hands of the Assyrians.

153. Thureau-Dangin, 1912, II, 330-31.

154. They are often mentioned in the letters of the Assyrian royal archives; see, for example, Diakonoff (1951a), 1: nos. 50, 2, 3, 4, 10, 14, 25, 26, and others. (Harper [1892-1902], nos. 409, 380, 444, 197, 198, 101, 145).

155. In the inscriptions of Aššurbēl-kala (1074-1057 B.C.), Grayson (1976), 216, Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 19, Uraṭru is possibly still a tribal league. The foundation of the Urartian kingdom must probably be dated to the 870s B.C. Already by the time of Shalmaneser III, Urartu certainly included all the regions around Lake Van and the upper part of the valley of the Arsanias, since there is no information about a conquest of this entire area in the later inscriptions of the Urartian kings (from the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 8th century B.C.). This means that their campaigns were then already directed further to the west and north. Shalmaneser seems to have entered Urartian territory almost directly from Daiene. The deity of the Urartian capital, Tušpā, was Šiwine, a solar god, possibly of Hittite origin (see Melikišvili [1954], 368). But judging by the importance in Urartu of the cult of Haldi, the god of

Muṣaṣir, the ruling dynasty must have originated from there. Either Muṣaṣir, or Alzi, or Qumme, with its cult of Teišebā-Teššub, who was worshipped both by Urartians and by Hurrians, could have been the center where the Hurrian scribal traditions were preserved which Urartu later inherited. But the decisive influence of the scribal schools of Assyria, the neighbor of Muṣaṣir, on Urartian writing, especially on the spelling, probably reached Urartu through Muṣaṣir (where the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian was the second official language, along with Urartian).

156. Eremyan places Gilzan to the southwest of modern Bitlis, which, judging by the routes of the Assyrian campaigns, is not likely; for example, the campaign of 834: Hubuškia—the valley of the Upper Zab (Muṣaṣir)—Gilzan—Inner Zamua (the plain to the south of Lake Urmia)—Namar (the valley of the river Diyala), see Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 28, ll. 174 ff. The location of Gilzan remains uncertain.

157. See Diakonoff (1956a), 157, 162-173. Judging by the archeological culture discovered at Hasanlu in the territory of Mana, there must have existed city-states here already in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.; later they became parts of the kingdom of Mana. See Dyson (1960) and (1964); and later publications. A general survey can be found in Kaššaj (1977).

158. Melikišvili (1954), 298-303; Diakonoff (1956a), 173-175, 205 ff.

159. Diakonoff (1956a), 304. Mana (as a vassal kingdom dependent on Media?) is mentioned for the last time under the year 594/3 in the Book of Jeremiah, 51:27 (un-

der the name of Minni).

160. It is possible, however, that at that time Etio was simply a general geographical designation of the same type as Nairi, Haphi, etc.

161. We must decisively reject the tradition of citing all proper names found in the Urartian inscriptions in the grammatical form in which they may have been encountered in the text: in the locative (*Biaina*, instead of *Biainele*), in the genitive, in the possessive adjectival form, or a form with an article (*Huṣani*, instead of *Huša*), etc.

162. See Melikišvili (1959), 112-115, 209 ff.

163. The important book of Piotrovsky (1949) is now much out of date. There are numerous new archeological publications which cannot be enumerated here.

164. Bacieva (1953), 18-19.

165. See the map in the book by Maksimova (1956), 23.

166. Bacieva (1953), 20-21.

167. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, 5, 1. The information dates from the end of the 5th century B.C., but may probably apply to the end of the 7th century B.C. as well. See Maksimova (1956), 143-144.

168. The Urartians are armed with the Hurrian-Hittite cone-shaped helmet, spears, shields either round or in the form of an eight, and clothed in short shirts and short kilts or loin-cloths. Long garments of the Assyrian type and the Assyrian plumed helmets first appear in the 8th century B.C. See Bacieva (1953), 25.

169. Jankowska (1956), 28-46.

170. See Piotrovsky (1959), chap. 9, particularly pp. 137 ff., and cf. Diakonoff (1952), 97.

171. Diakonoff (1963a), 55-65; Melikišvili (1954), 322-56.

172. Melikišvili (1954); also Melikišvili (1949), 1:57 ff.; Diakonoff (1956a), 173-75.

173. See Diakonoff (1952), 98, n. 2. On the status of the towns, see Diakonoff (1963c), text nos. 7, 13, and commentary, p. 72.

174. Diakonoff (1956a), 174-175; Melikišvili (1949), 57 ff.

175. See Diakonoff (1963c), no. 19, and commentary, pp. 27 and 81-82.

176. This can be inferred from the inscription of king Rusā II of Urartu, Harouthiounyan (1966), 38-39. A detailed study by the author of the present book is in preparation.

177. Diakonoff (1952), 99; Melikišvili (1958), 40-47.

178. Bauer (1931), 234 ff. The inscription of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (Diakonoff [1951a], 2: no. 67a) states: "Those who do not heed the word of Aššur, the king of the gods, do not consider my majesty, . . . plunderers, thieves or those who had committed sin, spilled blood, [rebellious (?) commanders, provincial governors, overseers, rulers, headmen — fled to Šubria." Further on it says that the king of Šubria acknowledged his guilt before the Assyrian king in that he "did not return the fugitives and deserters." Subsequently, however, it is revealed (no. 67, k-1) that it was not so much the rebellious aristocracy who fled to Šubria as dependent men: after capturing the country, Esarhaddon "cut off the nose, eyes and ears of the [fugitives, who] left their masters and fled to Šubria; in order that no one would flee to another country, he imposed punishment on them and

returned them, each one to his country and to their masters." — not only to Assyria, but to Urartu as well.

179. The inscriptions of Sarduri II, the king of Urartu (Melikišvili [1960], 158, nos. 6-7) gives the following information about Melid: "they hid (there) fugitive slaves, they were rebellious, no (Urartian) king appeared there." See Diakonoff (1963c), 74.

180. Maksimova (1956), 131, 138-142. Cf. the dwelling towers (evidently of stone and adobe) of the Hurrians in the 2d millennium B.C., e.g., in Arrapkhe. Such tower-dwellings still exist in the mountain regions from the Greater Caucasus to Kurdistan.

181. In more detail, see Olmstead (1913).

182. Piotrovsky (1959); Melikišvili (1954).

183. Grayson (1976), 216-218; 232, 237; Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 19.

184. Grayson (1976), 403-05, 419-21, 431-32; Diakonoff (1951a), nos. 20 and 21.

185. Grayson (1976), 464-67; Diakonoff (1951a), no. 22.

186. Grayson (1976), 476. Khazaradze (1960), 88 ff. (Russian and English summary), doubts the reading ^{KUR}mu-u[š-k]i.^{M[ES]} in the text of the annals, but without sufficient reason. Neither am I convinced by her geographic arguments. R. D. Barnett believes that these Muški were those settled here by Tiglath-pileser I and were not a part of the "country of Muški" in the Upper Euphrates valley (cf. the "Mygdonians" of Strabo, the "Moscheni" of Pliny?).

187. Grayson (1972), 549-553,

587; Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 23, 1:101-2:20; 3:92 ff. Earlier, in the first year of his rule, Aššurnāširpal carried out a campaign along the route: Tumme — the valley of Kirruri (on the Upper Zab); here the king received tribute from Gilzan and Hubuškia—the mountain slopes above the coastal plain of Lake Urmia—the mountain regions of Haphi; and then a second campaign into the mountains between the valley of the Upper Zab and Lake Van, from which he descended into Kadmuhi. Grayson (1976), Diakonoff (1951a), no. 23, 1:43 ff.

188. Dirria was located "between the mountain of Amadani and the mountain of Arqania," i.e., in the region of present-day Ergana-Maden — Ergana. Nirbu was located not far from there, but it lay "in the mountains of Kašari," and "near the foot of Mount Uhira." We are inclined to locate it to the southwest of Ergana-Maden.

189. Grayson (1976), 651; Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 24.

190. Most of Shalmaneser III's inscriptions are translated in Luckenbill (1922-27), 555-712. For details about the campaigns of Shalmaneser against Urartu and the Armenian Highland, see also Piotrovsky (1959), chap. 4. Piotrovsky's dates differ from ours by about two years.

191. Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 27, 1:14-27; Schrader (1889), 1:150; no. 29; Birch/Pinches (1880), no. 31, Luckenbill (1922-27), 1:627-670; no. 33.

192. Diakonoff (1951a), no. 27; 2:30 ff.; Schrader (1889), 150; no. 28, 35 ff.; *ibid.*, 128; no. 29; no. 33. Lehmann-Haupt (1907), nos. 20 ff.

193. See the stelae of the Assyrian governors who were the ep-

onyms for 838 and 799 B.C., Andrae (1913), nos. 39 and 32; cf. n. 2 above.

194. Diakonoff (1951a), no. 28, 52 ff.; no. 29; no. 31 (cf. nn. 190-191); Luckenbill (1922-27), 627-70.

195. Luckenbill (1922-27), 1:636.

196. *Ibid.*, 638.

197. *Ibid.*, 572, 660-62, 686, cf. 688-90.

198. *Ibid.*, 584.

199. The campaigns of 831, 830 and 829 B.C. *Ibid.*, 586-88.

200. *Ibid.*, 610-11. Understandably the Assyrian annals paint this defeat as a victory. However Shalmaneser III was forced to cease his campaigns into Syria for some time.

201. In 847 against Gurgum, in 839, 834, and 832 against Qūe and Tarsus, in 836 against Tabal, where Shalmaneser received "the gifts of twenty-four kings of Tabal," in 835 against Lalla, the king of Melid, where the city of Uetaš was taken; in 849, 847, 846, 845 (against the Northern Syrian alliance), 842, 841, 840, 838, and 830 into Syria. See Luckenbill (1922-27), 1:567-85; 651-63; 667-68; 672; 681-82. For the chronology of Shalmaneser III's campaigns, see also Diakonoff (1951a), no. 39.

202. See the list of eponyms, *RLA* II, ed. Ebeling/Meissner/Weidner (1938), s.v. Eponymenlisten.

203. According to a hypothesis of Melikišvili (1954), 201 ff., after Aramu, who belonged to a local Tušpan dynasty, a new dynasty originating from Mušašir, but making its capital Tušpā (modern Van), seized power in Urartu.

204. During a great part of his reign Išpuine ruled jointly with his son Minuā.

205. Note that from that time Gilzan disappears from history. In

822/1 the Assyrians attempted a counter-offensive in this region, Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 31, cf. n. 190.

206. Melikišvili (1960), 19 (the Kelāšin bilingual inscription of Išpuine and Minuā).

207. Ibid., 24.

208. Apart from this, Išpuine and Minuā arrested the invasion of the tribes of Wiṭeru, Lūša, and Kātarzā in alliance with "the Etio kings," into the upper valley of the Arsanias (Muratsu), *ibid.*, 20-23.

209. Ibid., 28.

210. In Assyria the years were dated after eponyms (*limmu*), who were officials fulfilling in this year a certain ritual function. The eponym of 838 was the governor of Naīri, Amed, Sinabu, Suhmu, Mal-lanu, and Alzi, i.e., the whole region east of the Upper Euphrates. The eponym of 799 was also the governor of the same provinces, which thus apparently constituted a single administrative unit. However the eponym of 768, who had been the governor of Zamua in the Zagros Mountains, Amed, and (later) Aššur (of course consecutively, since these provinces were not contiguous and so could not form one united province), no longer mentions Naīri and Suhmu as parts of his second governorship (that of Amed). Hence Minuā's conquest of Alzi, mentioned in his inscription (*ibid.*, 28), should be dated at a time after 799 B.C. (certainly before 768 B.C., because Minuā was dead much earlier).

211. Ibid. On the meaning of Hāte mentioned in this context, see in detail the following chapter.

212. Melikišvili (1954), 245; *eadem* (1960), 42.

213. Ibid., 40, 41.

214. Melikišvili (1954), 245.

215. Melikišvili (1960), 39.

216. Ibid., 36, 37. The last inscription, found in the village of Zivin near Erzurum, was erected on the site of the Daienean city Šašilu, and apparently marked the approximate boundary between Urartu and Daiene. Thus the last kingdom had possessions not only in the valley of the Çoroh, but, just as its forerunner Haiasa, also on the upper reaches of the Euphrates. The building of the Urartian fortress at the site of Altintepe near Erzincan dates probably from the time of Minuā or Argišti I.

217. Ibid., 30-35.

218. For arguments in favor of Melikišvili's dating system, see *ibid.*, 242-246; for those of Diakonoff see his (1956), 68-71. See also the very serious criticism of both these reconstructions of the chronology of Argišti I in Piotrovsky (1959), 67-68. However the sequence of the events of the first fourteen years of Argišti's reign has been established with certainty (or of the first thirteen, since it is possible that the text which Melikišvili ascribes to the second year of his reign actually belongs to the first year). From now on we will cite a double date for the events of Argišti I's rule—one according to Melikišvili and the other (in parentheses) according to Diakonoff. The real absolute date lies within a decade (probably less) of the cited dates.

219. Melikišvili (1960), 127, 2:16.

220. The text says: "I advanced towards the Hittite lands south of (?) the country of the Tuatē dynasty (?), I [con]quered (it) northwards to (?) Meliṭia (and) I reached unto the town of Pitei[ra] . . . the Euphrates . . ." etc. Tuatē (Tuwatī) is also mentioned in the Luwian

hieroglyphic inscriptions MEG 2:2-3, no. 34 (Çiftlik, probably in the kingdom of Tyana) and 2:1, no. 18 (Kululu, between Melid and the Upper Halys). He was king of Tabal. Whether he was son of Sulumel, the king of Melid, cf. Meriggi (1967), 2:2-3, no. 98C; Barnett (1953a), 90 ff.; is uncertain.

221. The translation of the adverbs "southwards" and "northwards" is uncertain; the reverse translation is equally possible. V. Van Loon (1983). The southernmost point in the raid is established by a reference to the city of *Pitei[ra]*, probably identifiable with the Assyrian *Pitura*, which lay in Dirria. Grayson (1976), 572-73; 110-112.

222. Melikišvili (1960), no. 128A2; 138.

223. Ibid., no. 127, 2:2 ff.; 128B1.

224. Ibid., no. 128A1.

225. The northern part of the Çoroh valley was evidently taken over by Colchis; the result was a second (?) advance of Georgian-speaking tribes into Pontus (the first one may have taken place as far back as the 12th century B.C.). At that time (or later, during the decline and fall of Urartu) the Chaldeans may have penetrated into the upper part of the Çoroh valley and even into the valley of the Euphrates. At a later period, according to Strabo, the Chalybes lived from this region (XI, 4, 5) to present-day Giresun (Pharnakia in Pontus, XII, 3, 38). Whether they are to be regarded as identical with the Chaldeans of Xenophon or with the Moschi, or whether their name was a general designation of the tribes in Northern Cappadocia and Pontus, is not clear. Still under Argišti I, or anyway not after the beginning of the 7th century B.C., the Urartians must have conquered

the southern part of Daiene, together with the pass from the Euphrates valley into the Çoroh valley, otherwise they could not have fought against the Chaldeans beyond the Euphrates in c. 675 B.C. (Melikišvili [1960], no. 278).

226. Ibid., no. 127, 3:11, in 781 (775) B.C. What the Urartians termed Babilu was probably the country in the lower reaches of the Diyala; less probably it was the region of a Babylonian colony in the heart of Media (E. A. Grantovsky).

227. The annals of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III name the Upper Euphrates as the boundary of Urartu. Luckenbill (1922-27), 1: 769.

228. Melikišvili (1960), 158. It is in connection with this campaign that, according to my former interpretation, the annals of Sarduri II said the fugitives had a refuge in Melid. Actually, the translation of the text is: "The river Euphrates (*Puranadi*) was clean (untouched, *tuišbi*), no king crossed over (?) there."

229. The inscription, Melikišvili (1960), 158, gives the following information about this campaign: "I crossed over (?) among (my) host ($LU_2 A.SI^{MES}$, probably irregular militia ?) before the town of Tumiški and on that same day advanced toward the country (Melitia), southwards (?) (of) (the country of) Qalawe, (but) spared it; I reached Mount Karniše north of (?) (the city of) Melitia, reached the country of Muša (the same as 'hieroglyphic' *Musa-*, i.e., Phrygia (?), or read 'Mount Muša'?—LD.), bypassing (the town of) Şapša. In one day (=battle) I seized fourteen fortresses ($E_2.GAL^{MES}$) and seventy villages (URU^{MES}), I destroyed the for-

tresses, burned the villages, seized fifty war chariots; returning from the battle, I besieged Sasi (read probably /Tsatsi/), the royal town (i.e., administrative center of a province) of Hilaruandas; it was a stronghold, I took it by storm, led away herds, men and women. . . . After that (Haldi) compelled (?) me to surround Meliṭia. Hilaruandas came to me, prostrated himself, embraced (my) knees, *si-lu-a-de ma-ku-re*. I made (him) cede gold and silver, valuables and property (*KAS.PU di-id-GU-ši*; this corresponds to the Akkad. *bušū mak-kuru* but probably means literally 'ready money/valuables, and inherited property,' from *dīd-* 'to divide') I carried away to Biainele. Him I pardoned under (the condition of paying) tribute. I set apart (*su-tu-qu-u₂-bi*) nine fortresses and joined (them) to my country: Haza, Gaurahe, Tumiški, Wasi (?), Maninu (?), Aruše, Qulbe-on-the-road, Tāše, Queraī-tāše, Meluia." From the text it seems probable that Sarduri II crossed the Euphrates. The names of the fortresses of Tāše (Urt. Hurrian "gift") and of Queraī tāše (Urt. "gift (of the Urtian god) Quera") indicate that this was Hurro-Urtian territory and not Luwian. Tumiški is the Greek Tomisa (-*ki* is probably the Proto-Armenian form of the Armenian plural in -*k'*); Meluia is perhaps connected with the Urtian name for the Euphrates—Melia, while Gaurahe is probably identifiable with the later district of Gaure-k', which Ermenyan also located on the left shore although usually it is identified with Turk. Gürün on the right shore. Another possible but not probable identification of Gaurahe might be with the Yauri Mountains

of the Assyrian texts. See also n. *11 below.

230. Melikišvili (1960), 155E, 36-37.

231. The Commagenian town in question was Uita. Melikišvili rightly identifies it with the city of Uetaš, which under Shalmaneser III belonged to Lalla, king of Melid.

232. It is a common opinion that the name Kuštašpili (Kuštašpi in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III), as well as the name of another Commagenian king, Kundašpi, mentioned by Shalmaneser III, are Iranian and correspond to **Vištāspa-* and *Vindāspa-*. However this presupposes the change of *v* to *g(k)*, which took place in the Iranian languages more than a millennium later. It is more probable that both names are local (Luwian); the element -*pī* (Luw. "to give") was widely used in proper names of this region in the 1st millennium B.C.

233. Weidner (1932), 17 ff.

234. Dupont-Sommer (1958). In the inscription the country is called *Ktk*, but A. Dupont-Sommer's identification of it with Kasku is convincing. Aramaic *t* (originally an interdental sound) frequently corresponds to Babylonian *š* and Assyrian *s*. There is no need to consider the name of the king of Kasku as Aramaic and to etymologize it as "the son of Gaiu": Aramaeans are not attested so far to the north. The name might just as well be etymologized from Indo-European (from *bbrg'h-*; cf. Arm. *bardzr*, Hittite *parkus* "high"), or from any other language.

235. Among them perhaps also Kamanas, ruler of Carchemish; Barnett (1953), 92. See also n. *9 below.

236. Forrer (1921), 49.

237. Diakonoff (1963b), 56 ff.

238. Diakonoff (1949), 89.

239. Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 41; cf. no. 42, 28 ff.; Rost (1893), 12-16.

240. Diakonoff (1951a), 1: no. 42.

241. See the reference material and discussion of the problem in Piotrovsky (1959), chap. 7 and Bibliography.

242. Piotrovsky suggests (*ibid.*, 92) that Rusā I again tried to invade Mesopotamia. This supposition is based on the names of some countries mentioned in an inscription of this king found in Tsovinar on Lake Sevan (Melikišvili, [1960], 266)—Zama[ne], Alzira(ne), Gurqumele (better: *Qur-qu-me-le*)—which are compared with the Assyrian Bit-Zamāni (Amed), Alzi, and Gurgum. However there is no reason to think that the Urartians lost control over Alzi at the end of Sarduri II's reign and had to reconquer it. Bit-Zamāni is the name of a dynasty which no longer existed by the first half of the 9th century B.C., and not the name of a country. Apparently all nineteen "countries" of the Tsovinar list were regions subjected by Rusā which lay to the east and southeast of Lake Sevan. Their names resemble the "Etio" toponyms, but in the Sevan region itself there could hardly have been place for nineteen "countries" above and beyond the five or six that are already known here apart from this list.

243. With a campaign against the Cilician Taurus and the transfer of the Tabalian city of Šinuhtu to Kurti, king of Atuna (beyond the Taurus Mountains — Gordias?), Luckenbill (1922-27), 2:7:37.

244. Luckenbill (1922-27), 2:16-18.

245. The alliance of Phrygia and Urartu was not concluded immediately. It is known that at an earlier date Midas handed over to Assyria the Syrian ambassadors who had tried to make their way into Urartu by a roundabout way through Phrygia. The annals and other inscriptions of Sargon II mention an alliance between Pisiris, king of Carchemish, and Phrygia under the year 717 (Luckenbill [1922-27], 2:8), and between Hulli, king of Tabal, together with his son Ambaris, and Phrygia and Urartu under the year 713 (*ibid.*, 24-25, 55, 118), between Kurti, king of Atuna (to the west of Tabal), and Phrygia under the year 716 or 713 (*ibid.*, 64). But the alliance of all these kingdoms with Phrygia must probably have been concluded simultaneously—probably in connection with Midas's campaign of 717 B.C. to the Gulf of Alexandretta (Iskenderun), where he captured some fortresses in Qûe, which were again taken by Sargon II in 715 B.C. In all probability Midas intended to reach Carchemish, which at that time was besieged by Sargon II.

246. The provincial governor of this province was one Išdiaplu, an Assyrian (Johns [1901], no. 904, 7).

247. Luckenbill (1922-27) 2:26-29; 60-61; on Kasku, see also *ibid.*, 80; 99; 118.

248. *Ibid.*, 64.

249. For more detail about the Cimmerians, see below, and also Diakonoff (1956a) 228-66; *ibid.*, on the problem of their linguistic and ethnic affiliation. See now also Diakonoff (1981a).

250. Luckenbill (1922-27) 2:329, 349.

251. "*Gur₂-di-i*" is Forrer's reading; in the hand-copy (*Cuneiform*

Texts in the British Museum, vol. XXVI, tables 1-30, V, 4) we find *"Hi-di-i*, but in the Babylonian handwriting used here the two signs *gur*₂ and *bi* can be mistaken for each other.

252. *Ibid.*, chap. 26, pl. 1-39, IV-61-V.

253. The original base of the Cimmerians after they crossed the Caucasus is specified by the letters of the Assyrian royal archives (Harper [1892-1902], 197 and 146), which are summaries of Assyrian intelligence reports. From them it is clear that the region of Guriania (*ibid.*, 146), obviously Quriāne of the Urartian chronicle of Sarduri II (Melikišvili [1960], 155F, 6), lay between Urartu and the country of the Cimmerians (*Gamir*). It apparently should be located on the upper reaches of the Kur, between Lake Çaldir and present-day Akhaltsikhe (cf. also Melikišvili [1954], 61-62). The country of Gamir is thus perhaps to be sought in central Georgia, probably where the valley of the Kur widens into the hilly land round modern Gori. The alternative location in eastern Transcaucasia (*ibid.*, 281), based on the mention of the country "Guriani" in the Tsovinar inscription (*ibid.*, 266), is unlikely. The country was actually called not Guriani (Quriāne) but *Guria*, or perhaps *Yuria*, and there is no completely trustworthy information about Cimmerians having lived to the east of Urartu. In the letter of the Assyrian royal archives (Harper [1892-1902], 112), the words "[Land of the Man]neans" (where the Cimmerians dwelled at that moment) are reconstructed without assurance, while in the inquiries to the oracles in connection with the Median re-

bellion of the 670s (couched in the Babylonian dialect [Diakonoff (1951b), 3: no. 68], [Knudtzon (1893)], [Klauber (1913)]) Gimirāi are perhaps a common designation for nomads in general. The later Babylonians used the name "Cimmerians" even for the Sakas of Central Asia (for example, in the inscription of Bisitun). Later (in the 670s-650s) the Cimmerians probably settled in Cappadocia, "the country Gamir-k'" of the Armenian sources.

254. See the text of the Neo-Babylonian chronicle (Diakonoff [1951a], 3: nos. 63 and 64). Grayson (1975). Diakonoff (1981a).

255. Diakonoff (1951a), 3: no. 65; Luckenbill (1922-27), 2: 516-517.

256. An Assyrian legal document, dated 679 B.C., has come down to us which refers to an Assyrian who was commander of a Cimmerian regiment probably recruited from captive Cimmerians (allied Cimmerians would not have had an Assyrian commander); see Kohler and Ungnad (1913), no. 374; Diakonoff (1951a), 3: no. 66.

257. Melikišvili (1954), 314-416.

258. This is evident from the circumstances of Esarhaddon's campaign against Šubria of 673 B.C.

259. An inquiry of Esarhaddon to the oracle, to be dated after 675 B.C., speaks about an alliance between Rusā II and the Cimmerians (Diakonoff [1951a], 3: no. 68a; [1981a].)

260. Melikišvili (1960), 278. As the late J. Aro kindly informed us, an unpublished inquiry to the oracle, BM 99108, mentions a war of Phrygia and the Cimmerians against Melid. But later Phrygia and Melid must have united against the Cimmerians, the latter having entered

an alliance with Urartu.

261. Diakonoff (1951a), 3: no. 68d. Iškalu of Tabal and the "fugitive" Mugallu of Melid were undoubtedly independent of and hostile to the king of Assyria. Also important is an Assyrian list of countries (Forrer [1921], 52 f.; comments in Diakonoff (1951a), 3: no. 71). By circumstantial evidence it is to be dated between 669 and 652 B.C. Although this list does not have subdivisions and subheadings, it is clear that the countries are listed according to a politico-administrative principle. It begins with what unquestionably were provinces of the Assyrian Empire. Then follow such independent states (or groups of states) as Cilicia, Ionia, Melid, [. . .], Šibartu (?), the city of Ashkelon in Palestine, three states in the Trans-Jordan: Edom, [Moab], and Ammon, Ethiopia, [Egypt], Media, [Mana], and others, then the districts of autonomous Babylonia, and, finally, the provinces ascribed to the most important of the Assyrian administrative offices and freed from general state taxes. Tabal and Musku (sic! Here: Phrygia) are listed among the provinces. This is certainly the result of their defeat in 675 B.C.; we must presume that Assyria took advantage of it for territorial acquisitions. Later Mugallu of Melid possibly united Tabal with his kingdom: "Mugallu, the king of Tabal," a ruler independent of Assyria, although turning to Assyria for aid (from the Cimmerians?), is mentioned in the 650s B.C. in Aššurbanapal's annals (Diakonoff [1951a], 3: no. 74; Luckenbill (1922-27), 2:781). This may be the same person.

262. It was undoubtedly in the interest of the Assyrians that Phrygia

should be destroyed, and judging by the inquiries to the oracle, they were in these years militarily active in the area which must be meant by the name *Hâte* in Rusa II's inscription (Melikišvili [1960], 278). However the above-mentioned inquiry of Esarhaddon to the oracle about the Cimmerians regards them and Urartu as potential enemies of Assyria, which, of course, does not mean that Assyria could not temporarily be in alliance with either of them. In all probability the politics of the great powers with regard to the Cimmerians changed depending on the circumstances.

263. The Greeks of Asia Minor dated events of the past as "before the Cimmerian invasion" and "after the Cimmerian invasion," exactly as "before the Trojan War" and "after the Trojan War." A number of Ionian cities suffered seriously from the Cimmerian raids. Later Greek sources date the fall of Phrygia in 696 or 675 B.C. See the literature in Melikišvili (1954), 314 ff.; Diakonoff (1956a), 234 ff. However, although the hegemony in Asia Minor passed to the Cimmerians, and later to Lydia, the Phrygian kingdom still existed until the Achaemenian conquest, or at least until shortly before it, i.e., in the middle of the 6th century B.C. See also n. *12 below.

264. See Ezekiel 32:26-27. From this passage it seems to follow that Tabal also shared the fate of Phrygia (*Mšk*). But if such were really the case, it must have happened later. An independent king of Tabal (and Melid?) is still mentioned in the annals of Aššurbanapal in the middle of the 7th century; later Tabal was incorporated either in Cilicia, or in the House of Togarmah (see be-

low). Tabal and Phrygia are still independent, or at least autonomous, in Ezekiel 27:13, dating from the 580s B.C.

265. As his own report indicates, the reason for Esarhaddon's decisive interference in the matter of Šubria was the fact that the rebellious Assyrian aristocracy was fleeing there; meant are perhaps, e.g., Esarhaddon's brothers (cf. 2 Kings 19:36, the text of which says they fled to Urartu). But Piotrovsky, on the ground of the data of Moses Xorenac'i (cf. I, 23), suggests that they fled to the mountains of Sasun, i.e., to Šubria (Melikišvili [1954], 127). Another reason for the Assyrian invasion was, of course, the fact that fugitive slaves and peasants liable to obligatory services were hiding in Šubria. Note that Urartu was at that point friendly to Assyria.

266. Diakonoff (1951a), 3: no. 67.

267. Cf. the Hurrian names of the Šubrian princes in this text. Of interest is the description of the Šubrian royal crown, made of gold in the likeness of a lion's skin.

268. Diakonoff (1951a), 3: no. 73; Luckenbill (1922-27), 2:854.

269. Inasmuch as the "Scythian" archeological culture north of the Black Sea begins only in the middle of the 7th century B.C., the Scythians who invaded Asia must have belonged to a "pre-Scythian" culture from the archeological point of view. At the same time there is no ground to suppose that the Cimmerians whom we know in Western Asia in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. spoke a language different from that of the Scythians (and they spoke Old Iranian). Therefore we suggest that both invasions—that of the Cimmerians and that of the Scythians—were made by two sep-

arate tribes belonging to one and the same ethno-cultural mass. A similar opinion is held by V. I. Abaev. The Treres, speakers of Thracian who came to Asia Minor directly from the Balkans, were probably only allies of the Cimmerians. Which ethnos the Greeks called "Cimmerian" in the northern Black Sea coastal area is quite another question, which need not concern us here.

270. For details see Piotrovsky (1959), chaps. 8 and 13; Diakonoff (1956a), chap. 3.

271. Moses Xorenac'i, I, 23. The difficulty of this identification lies in the fact that the form of the name *Paruyr* derives from a Parthian form *Parōdh* (cf. Kapantsjan [1947], 150), which it is impossible to trace back to an Old Iranian **Paratatava*. Thus either this legend is not at all connected with Partatua, or a later name of Parthian derivation has somehow supplanted the real name in the tradition. Note that this legend could not have reached Moses Xorenac'i through Parthian mediation, since the Parthians could hardly have preserved a tradition about a time so remote in the past and about events which did not have any direct relevance to them. If, however, the tradition of Partatua the Scythian was preserved by the Armenians themselves, then we still have to explain how his name was replaced by a somewhat similar, but nevertheless different and later name, and Parthian to boot. The question of the derivation of the name "Paruyr, son of Skayordi" and the legends connected with it need further investigation.

272. This is based on circumstantial evidence, cf. Diakonoff (1956a), 285 ff.

273. Strabo, I, 3, 21. Here Mad-yes is mistakenly called a Cimmerian, and the Cimmerians are mistakenly called Treres; but cf. Her. I, 104.

274. Diakonoff (1951b), 3: no. 72, X, 40-50; Luckenbill (1922-27), 2:834; Diakonoff (1951b), 3: no. 79 (a letter of the Assyrian royal archives [Harper (1892-1902), 1242]).

275. Inasmuch as Hubuškia has no great significance for the subject of the present work, we have barely touched on its history; for more details, see Melikišvili (1954), 234-235; Salvini (1967).

276. Cf. Grayson (1975), Chronicles 1 ff.

277. Herodotus I, 105; also probably Jeremiah, 5:15-18 and 6:22-25. Cf. the name Scythopolis, which was subsequently borne by the city Beth-Shean in Palestine. Note that Scythian arrowheads have been found, among other places, in Palestine, where they could hardly have been brought by the Medes, although they also used arrows of the Scythian type. See Piotrovsky (1959), 238-39.

278. This is evident from the Babylonian Chronicle describing the years immediately before the fall of Assyria, and from the activities of Josiah, king of Judah, as described in 2 Kings and Chronicles; see Grayson (1975); Diakonoff (1956a), 302-304. See n. *13.

279. This is indicated by a reference to a certain country "of the dynasty of Hanunia"—a "province of Urartu," but actually a separate political unit—in the Babylonian Chronicle. See n. *13.

280. I, 21.

281. Piotrovsky (1959), 126-67. Piotrovsky supposes, moreover, that there was an alliance between the Scythians and the Armenians. His

opinion is accepted by certain other scholars.

282. For the different opinions regarding this, see: Piotrovsky (1959), 116; Diakonoff (1951a), no. 2, 29-39; Landsberger and Bauer (1927), 80 ff.

283. On this, see Diakonoff (1981); also idem (1956a), 298-306.

284. Piotrovsky (1950), 21.

285. Jeremiah, 51:27-28. For a long time in the Near East the term "Urartu" designated the Armenian Highland in general; see the following chapter for more details.

286. Five years before an eclipse, which is astronomically reliably dated to 585 B.C. (Her. I, 74).

287. The Book of Ezekiel was written between 593 and 571 B.C. Since chapter 32 is dated 590, and chap. 40 is dated 577, chaps. 38-39, dedicated to the war between Media and Lydia, may actually be dated 590-585, in accordance with Herodotus' account. See Eissfeldt (1964), 494-495, 501, and 505.

288. Ezekiel, chaps. 38-39, speaks of an expected invasion of "Gog" into Syria and Palestine (*Gôg* is here an allegorical designation for Lydia, named after the founder of the dynasty, Gog, whom the Assyrians called Guggu, and the Greeks called Gyges; the actual king of Lydia at that time was Alyattes).

289. Ezekiel 38:5. Read "*trš(!) kwš* (or better *kwb(!) w-pwš*)" (Asiatic) Thrace (**Thrāsikē*), Ethiopia (or Cobus, i.e., the chief-tain of the Treres), and Pontus." Further mentioned are *Gmr*, the area of the settlement of the Cimmerians in Asia Minor, and *Twgrmb*, on which more below. Cf. Ezekiel 30:5—"kwš and *Pwš* and *Lwd* (Lydia), and all the nomads (?), and *Kwb* (Cobus)."

290. The expression "House of

Togarmah" obviously means "Dynasty of Togarmah" according to the ancient Oriental usage.

291. Her. I, 72-74. About the later (557/6 B.C.) war between Babylonia and Cilicia, see Wiseman (1956), 39 ff., 74 ff.

292. Perhaps Tilgarimmu is to be identified with Mount Taligarimu or Tarikarimu, mentioned in the Hittite texts, possibly as a frontier region. See Souček (1955), 302.

293. The name of the first king of Melid that we know of, was formerly read Ili-Teššub, which is a Semito-Hurrian name. Actually, read Ini-Teššub, which is Hurrian.

294. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, II, 4, 12; III, 3, 5.

295. Inasmuch as further on we are told that the Armenian king was subjected to the present Median king's father, the name Cyaxares is certainly wrong. The Median king in question could only be Astyages, since it was precisely Cyaxares who was the first to conquer the Armenian Highland and who fought with Lydia. Only under these circumstances, when the Urartian kingdom was destroyed by Cyaxares, could such a half-allied, half-subject relation of the Armenian kingdom to Media develop. Actually Cyrus (r. 550-529 B.C.) was a younger contemporary of Astyages, king of Media (585-550 B.C.), and not of Cyaxares (625-585 B.C.).

296. This name is Iranian and is attested in the Achaemenian royal house. Xenophon frequently simply invented suitable names for his characters. Whether the name "Tigran," mentioned by Moses Xorenac'i, is historical or not depends upon his sources: whether his information is ultimately traceable back to Xenophon, or to an independent Armenian epic tradition

which Moses also may have used. In any event an Iranian name for an Armenian prince in the middle of the 6th century B.C. seems anachronistic. The same is true with respect to his father's name; according to Moses Xorenac'i his father was called Eruand (probably Old Iran, *Arvanta*). He may have actually been Mugallu, or a descendent of Mugallu.

297. In Moses Xorenac'i's narrative, the outline of the initial period of Armenian history appears as follows:

At the times when Belus (the name of a Babylonian god, mistaken for the name of a king in one of the Greek sources) reigned in Babylon, Hayk' (the ancestor-eponym of the Armenian people), the son of Torgom and the descendent of the biblical Japheth, the son of Noah, fell away from him. This is an attempt to bring the origin of the Armenians into accord with the Bible, particularly with the "Table of Nations" in Genesis 10. The form *Torgom* originated in one of the Greek versions of the Bible. An interesting question is, how could Moses Xorenac'i or one of his sources manage to identify correctly Torgom, i.e., the biblical Togarmah, with Armenia Minor, inasmuch as the text of the Bible does not give any direct indication of its location? Is this the achievement of early Bible commentators, whom Moses or his sources were able to use? Hardly, because the correct understanding of the geographical term was early lost, and the Aramaic translation of the prophetic books in the Bible, *Targum Jonathan* (probably 5th century A.D.), identifies Togarmah with . . . Germany! Or is this a trace of a genuine Armenian tradition which

might have preserved its own recollection of the "House of Togarmah"? Further on a series of the descendants of Hayk¹ are listed, all of them ancestor-eponyms of various localities and families of ancient Armenia. Much space is devoted to the heroic deeds of the mythical Aram (I, 5, 12-14, 20), who allegedly defeated a certain horseman and leader of the Median youth, one Niukar Mades (I, 13—a reminiscence of Madyes, the leader of the Scythians in Herodotus [I, 73] ?); Aram also conquered Assyria. The narrative turns to Ara, the son of Aram, who died in a battle with Semiramis (I, 15-18), whose name is given in a form (*Šamiram*), which indicates that the legend is more likely to have been derived from a local and not from Greek tradition. Moses attributes all the relics of Urartian culture to Semiramis. After this Moses adduces parallel lists of the biblical patriarchs, of the Assyrian kings (an erroneous list, taken from the Byzantine author Eusebius, who again had it from an absolutely mistaken literary tradition!), and of the Armenian patriarchs from Ara the Fair, who probably was an ancient Armenian deity or epic hero. The last two lists end, respectively, with Sardanapalus and with Skayordi (I, 19). Moses says about the son of Skayordi, Paruyr, that he "received no small help from the Mede Warbak, and took Sardanapalus' kingdom away from him," and also that he became the first Armenian king (I, 21). Sardanapalus, in the role of the last Assyrian king, and Warbak (Arbaces), in that of the first king of Media, belong to the legend launched by the Greek writer Ctesias in the 5th century B.C., and transmitted by Eusebius. There is no truth in this

report; however some of the stories connected with the first Armenians to assume a royal title perhaps belong to the local Armenian legendary tradition. See n. *14.

298. Cf. Diakonoff (1956a), 353-54.

299. The formerly current identification of Aždahak (an Iranian name for "dragon") with Astyages, king of Media, is an error based on an accidental sound similarity, although chronologically the time of the legendary Tigran I must, if he really existed, have coincided with the reign of Astyages.

300. However they were, of course, not founded as a result of Tigran I's victory over Media—this victory is completely spurious. They must have been the result of Media's conquest of eastern Transcaucasia in the course of the war against Urartu or the Scythian kingdom. That Medes actually lived there can indirectly be inferred from Herodotus (I, 104).

301. Moses Xorenac'i's list of the Armenian kings is also spurious, since it begins with Vahagn, the dragon-slayer, i.e., the Iranian deity Vrthragna (the form *Vabagn* is Late Middle Iranian), and further down in the list most of the names are quite clearly Parthian, i.e., considerably later than the period which Moses is describing.

302. Herodotus I, 143; cf. "the kings of the Medes" (in the plural) in the Book of Jeremiah, 25:25; 51:11, 28.

303. For the argumentation in favor of this hypothesis, see Diakonoff (1956a), 354.

304. Ibid., 343 ff., 355.

305. As we shall see below, such was apparently the Babylonian name of the XIIIth satrapy. But also for the Greeks "Melittenian" was an

ethnic designation of the same type as the terms "Thracian," "Phrygian," "Syrian," "Lydian," "Scythian," and so on; i.e., it obviously referred not only to the valley of Malatya, but to a sizeable historical area with a separate ethnos of its own. A. G. Perikhanian has kindly pointed out to me that a "Melittenian" slave is mentioned along with Thracian, Syrian, Lydian, Colchian, and other slaves who were part of the property of convicted Athenian citizens confiscated in 414 B.C. and auctioned (see Pritchett [1953], 242; and *ibid.* [1956], 280).

306. According to the data of Strabo (XII, 14, 15), the Orontid (Eruandid) dynasty of satraps stemmed from Vidarna, one of Darius I's comrades-in-arms in his *coup d'état*. However Moses Xorenac'i names Eruand as father of his Tigran I. Of course this may be one of Moses' frequent patriotic legends and inventions, dictated by an unwillingness to acknowledge a

foreign ancestry for any rulers of his native country. However there is nothing improbable for the Orontids (Eruandids), satraps of the Armeno-Alarodian (XVIIIth) province of the Achaemenian Empire, to have really been related by marriage to the old Armenian royal house.

307. It is difficult to speak of an Armenian "tribal league" in this period (Piotrovsky [1959], 117). By then the population of the Armenian Highland already had half a millennium of historical development in a class society behind them, unless we believe that in the 7th century the immigrating ancestors of the Armenians were nomads, like the Scythians, or backward mountain dwellers, like the Mosynoeci in Pontus. In Pontus at that time class society still had not emerged, but it already existed in Armenia Minor, which is commonly considered to be the homeland of the Armenian people.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

*1. See n. *7 to chap. 1.

*2. V. N. Khachatryan has lately suggested that *marias* was a title.

*3. See Jankowska (1979).

*4. See Dietrich and Loretz (1978), 53-56.

*5. On the problems of this period, see now the book by Salvini (1967). I greatly regret not having profited more from this work.

*6. It has been suggested that Naïri is simply a new name for Haïasa. However, the former term was actually applied to any country from the west of the Upper Euphrates to modern Iranian Azerbaijan in the east.

*7. A concise and lucid history of

the Luwian kingdoms in Asia Minor during the early 1st millennium B.C. can now be found in Houwink ten Kate (1967), 112-134. The work by Houwink ten Kate contains a wealth of important detail not remarked by or unknown to myself while writing the present book.

*8. Our knowledge of the Phrygian culture has greatly increased in recent years thanks to the excavations at Gordion, the capital of Phrygia. The city was strongly fortified and contained a number of important buildings of stone, wood, and crude brick, with gabled (?) roofs of reeds covered by clay. Important archeological material was

furnished by the burial tumuli (big mounds), including an intact royal tomb. The city was sacked and burned by the Cimmerians, and most of the remarkable objects of applied art were found in fragments. See Young (1958); regular reports in the *American Journal of Archaeology* beginning with 1953; Haspels (1973).

*9. Latest research tends to date the text of Madduwattas to a considerably earlier period.

*10. R. D. Barnett's survey of the historical data to be gleaned from the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions is now out of date. The Luwian hieroglyphics are still in the process of decipherment. Results which seemed final even in the late sixties and early seventies (see Laroche [1975], 394 ff., and Meriggi [1967], which contains hand-copies and preliminary readings of nearly all the inscriptions) have now to be revised again on the basis of new readings, suggested mainly by J. D. Hawkins (see his [1975]; Morpurgo-Davies and Hawkins [1978], 755-82). A new publication of the inscriptions arranged according to the different kingdoms and if possible in a chronological order is badly needed. At present all historical conclusions are hypothetical.

*11. (to n. 229). New translation: van Loon (1983). On the campaigns of Sarduri II and Tiglath-pileser III in Melid and Commagene, see now the important work of Astour (1979). Some scholars suggested that one Sasturas mentioned in a Luwian inscription from Cekke north of Aleppo (Meriggi [1967], II,

1, No. 28, fr. 1.5) is Sarduri II; according to later research, Sasturas was perhaps the vizier of a local king.

*12. (to n. 263) Archeological data have shown that Gordion, the capital of Phrygia, was destroyed by the Cimmerians in the early 7th century B.C. However from Herodotus (I, 35, 45) it follows that Phrygia, although it may have been dependent on Lydia (which can also be seen from Ezekiel, 38:2), was still an autonomous kingdom in the first half of the 6th century B.C.

*13. (to n. 277) See now Diakonoff (1981a).

*14. (to n. 297) The fallacious idea of a Haian origin of the Armenians continues to crop up in the scholarly literature. See, e.g., Khačatryan (1980) or Mnatsakanyan (1981). All arguments against the Haian hypothesis are silently ignored without condescending to polemics. Mnatsakanyan takes seriously Moses Xorenac'i's list of Armenian rulers before Semiramis (Šamiram) and declares their obviously Iranian names (mostly Parthian, i.e., not even Old Iranian) to be Armenian, on the simple ground that they are Indo-European anyway! He also suggests that Moses Xorenac'i had some mysterious sources which could convey to him information on the events and persons of the 2nd millennium B.C. but somehow left him in ignorance of the existence of Urartu. All this belongs to dreamland, not to scholarship. Of course the authors are completely ignorant of Urartian and Assyrian sources and languages.

Art and Artifact as Ethnobotanical Tools in the Ancient Near East with Emphasis on Psychoactive Plants*

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(Portland, Oregon, 1995)

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[93]

While there is considerable research on agriculture of the ancient Near East, most of the writing has dealt with sustenance crops such as grains, pulses, dates, and others. Various practices in agriculture at an early date in this area have been discussed by modern writers, but reliance on silting still seems to be the most plausible explanation for a stabilized agriculture practice. Gathered plants are not excluded by the progressive movement into new agricultural modalities.

Most neglected, and still very controversial, are the several kinds of psychoactive plants employed by early peoples. It is suggested that art and artifact have been sources often overlooked in determining the ethnobotanical content of any early civilization. The suggestion is made that early civilizations in the area of the Fertile Crescent employed *Datura*, *Cannabis*, *Claviceps*, *Mandragora*, *Nymphaea*, *Vitis*, and possibly *Papaver* as medicaments and ritual entheogens. They are well revealed in the surviving art and artifacts of these civilizations. As many of the images are imprecise in their execution, identification must be made in the context in which they are represented and is therefore often conjectural.

In the sciences, ethnobotany is one of the most recent and rapidly expanding disciplines, as exemplified by two relatively new and important publications, the *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* and the *Journal of Ethnobiology*. These publications were born as it became abundantly evident that ethnobotanical articles were being buried in journals devoted to other disciplines; and, yet, more and more scientists were turning to this multifaceted study. Unlike the more conventional branches of science, ethnobotany relies upon a greater database than does any other scientific discipline. Anthropology, archeology, pharmacology, biochemistry, and the many areas that comprise biology are all components of the broad discipline of ethnobotany. The earlier term *economic botany* was something of a misnomer in that it implied only economic considerations of the plant sciences, although it often was used to cover courses and writings in the area now defined as ethnobotany.

At a time when many molecular biologists have almost forgotten the uses of the past, the ethnobotanist is assembling historical art and artifact as part of the database. Further [94] verification of assertions and hypotheses deriving from these sources may come from analytical chemistry or electron microscopy, but it is mandatory to have individuals well trained in diverse areas to bring together, and make sense of, the pieces left to us by former civilizations and contemporary civilizations threatened with extinction. To this end, we need ethnomusicologists, ethnomycologists, pharmacologists, analytical chemists, computer scientists, biochemists and, primarily, botanists who are well grounded in biology and have an interest in history.

It is important to note that the discipline of ethnobotany has been able to advance on the basis of two primary developments, both from the first half of the twentieth century: first, the evolution of a technology that allows rapid analysis of materials and data; and second, the discovery of ancient civilizations as something more than curiosities. The origins of Western civilization can be traced to the ancient Near East, which was unknown to the greatest of the Greek writers of antiquity and was regarded until late as a false start in the development of both art and science. We have preferred to think of our own civilization as having developed from Hellenic thought and values. Despite the enormous accumulations of art and artifacts that were garnered during the nineteenth century,

interpretation of these materials was not forthcoming. While the picture is still fragmentary, we now are able to interpret correctly much of what was formerly regarded as merely decorative.

It was the Neolithic revolution that initiated the ordered life of social stratification within settled communities. Following this, more complicated federations of communities rose in a city-state plexus that required political systems, agricultural priesthood, currency, and economic systems, and that permitted the development of the luxuries of art and writing. All of this happened about the fifth or fourth millennium B.C. in what has been called the Fertile Crescent of arable land surrounding the wilderness of Arabia. The area included Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia, which, until the end of the fourth millennium [ca. 3000 B.C.], remained an unassimilated complex of simple villages with primitive agriculture and tribal principles rather than any ordered governments.

In a few generations perhaps the greatest transformation in the history of humankind took place. Writing appeared, monumental architecture rose from rubble, agriculture underwent revolutionary changes, governments replaced less-than-feudal states, and religion and science made their appearances. Like an estivation period followed by germination, a succession of cities grew, blossomed, and reached fruition. [In Western Asia,] Egypt and Mesopotamia were the luminaries of this great period of art, architecture, science, and engineering. Long before any written record appeared, these civilizations had produced sculpture and painting so imbued with information that they codify thought in many ways similar to written language. Syria, Palestine, Sumeria, Anatolia, and the Levant were perhaps lesser luminaries, but they blazed a trail like a comet and, in regard to ethnobotanical data, made contributions as important as those of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

It is important to understand that early civilizations tied artistic expression to religion and that this religion was based upon magic—the magic that comes from grain, from brewing, from states of elevated consciousness associated with plants, from pain relievers, from healing herbs, and from resinous plants for embalming the body. In brief, the art of this early period and of these cultures is a revelation of riches for the ethnobotanist.

In this paper, I would not propose to do the work of the anthropologist, archaeologist, or theologian. Instead, I will suggest, from their discoveries, thematic materials that either have been neglected or have been subjected to alternative interpretations or to an extension of ideas that have been only partially formulated.

Egypt and Sumeria share the trait of being two great river valleys in which agriculture could flourish through silting. No civilization develops in the absence of a stable agricultural base. In Egypt, the progressive aridity of North Africa and the Levant drove peoples into the Nile Delta and thus became the determining factor as to where a settled existence [95] might emerge. Likewise in Mesopotamia, the Sumerians, a non-Semitic and non-Indo-European people, at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. gave birth to an independent art that reflected their preoccupations during this preliterate period. It would be yet another seven centuries before writing would appear in clay tabature, but the vessels of this epoch are revealing in form, in floral patterns, and in the animals depicted. These independent creations are in many ways similar to the vessels found in the escarpments and caves that escaped the periodic inundation of the Nile Delta.

Mesopotamia was settled by people who left the increasingly arid Persian Gulf region and who had earlier made their homes in the Iranian highlands. In their new homeland, they settled on islands and banks around marshes and relied upon annual flooding of the rivers, as well as on their own irrigation ditches, in which they probably cultivated small fish and edible aquatics such as the boiled rhizomes of *Nymphaea* species. The silting of vast areas allowed the planting of barley and wheat. Reed-clay huts rapidly gave way to an astonishing originality in terra-cotta and in brick architecture. From this period, we have two art forms: pottery that goes beyond ornamentation (meaningfully painted and incised) and figurines. Since the discovery of these two forms, weavings with designs have been found at Eridu in a grave dating to 3500 B.C.

Persepolis and Susa provide the first example of brush painting on pottery that goes beyond ornamentation. By the end of the second millennium B.C., the vessels are of exceedingly varied form. The designs are plant and animal motifs, and occasionally a human figure. It is hard to agree with Lloyd (1961, p. 302) that the appearance of the human form, such as a hunter with a bow, has the sole function of filling a gap in a design. The compositions are too well conceived to permit such "gaps" and, as Coe (1973) has said of the Maya, these people did not decorate; rather they depicted reality in all their art and artifacts. Certainly, the hunter with his bow becomes a focal figure

in a civilization that is still hunting-gathering; his vocation is pivotal to the survival of the civilization. Likewise, Lloyd (1961, p. 302) referred to depictions of beasts and birds as being "irrelevant, since the painter himself, concerned only with its decorative value, may well have been ignorant of its traditional significance." My response is this: we need not concern ourselves with traditional themes in such an early civilization; rather we must see these people as depicting their reality and certainly not merely decorating.

Fish were a primary food source. The ibis may be viewed in the context in which birds have been viewed in early civilizations: as shamanic manifestations. The concept extends from the raven of the early Eskimos to the dove-Holy Ghost theme in early Christian iconography and hagiography. Horses, birds, dogs, fish, and floral motifs are treated by Lloyd (1961, p.24, fig.6) as "mere hieroglyphs." Such hieroglyphs are precursors of language and were the embodiment of thought of the time; the facile dismissal of such themes is unfortunate. Lloyd's assertion that "the great majority (of animal figures) are crudely made playthings for children and of no artistic interest" [pp. 24-25] contrasts with his statement that those which are based upon human forms place them in the category of cult objects.

If ethnobotanists have made one great contribution, it is, I believe, to rethink these things that previously have been considered unworthy of serious consideration. It is not necessary to give excessively plastic expression to these abstracted ideas to find them meaningful. In one polychrome bowl of Tell Halaf ware from northern Mesopotamia, a central floral motif of anthers surrounded by numerous petals suggests a water lily or *Nymphaea*. While such identity is tentative, the water lily is a prime contender for any illustration of marshland plants. Further, the narcotic qualities of the flowers (Emboden 1981, 1982a, 1982b) and the edibility of the rhizome after boiling and leaching would [96] make it a floral emblem *par excellence*, telling us much about life and religion, as opposed to the writing of the Al 'Ubaid phase of Mesopotamian development. This tablature was reserved specifically for the purpose of inventory of goods and administration, but in it we are able to identify aspects of ethnobotany, such as payment in grain, bread, and beer, which give us a glimpse of the role of plants in an emerging civilization.

The earliest records from the ancient Near East indicate that healing was accomplished by incantations and plants; both were seen as ridding the ailing body of demonic possession. Persons capable of eliciting in themselves and others states of hypnosis, delirium, or psychological transcendence made up a caste of shamans who mediated the journey of the spirit from the realm of the seen to that of the unseen and whose powers to cast out demons resided in numerous plants. Each plant was known by a name that more often characterized power than it described plant morphology or attributes.

Babylonian medicine most probably was carried into eastern Mesopotamia and Assyria by caravan routes. We know that a number of the plants mentioned in Assyrian tablature are Sumerian. One Babylonian record dating to 2250 B.C. indicates that Babylonia and Egypt then had a trade in drugs and that most of these were oils, gums, and resins. Oils provided a matrix for the carriage of several kinds of drugs.

Babylonian and Assyrian medicine is known primarily through an assemblage of clay tablets from the library of the palace of Assurbanipal, the Assyrian king who ruled Nineveh from 668 to 626 B.C. About 800 pieces of these tablets consist of medical texts that are believed to be of Babylonian origin in thought and that refer to a period between 3000 and 2000 B.C. Evidence to that end, in the absence of a written language, must come from art and artifacts: pottery shards, textile patterns, paintings, implements, stelae, statuary, and even architectural layout. The ethnobotanist must regard all these as tools to the unlocking of the complex pattern of plant use in these earliest of civilizations. The alternative is to use derivative texts, which in some instances may be misleading. The union of art and artifact with later writings provides a base for understanding the earliest uses of plants and plant products. Chemistry may further validate finds, such as residues in unguent jars.

Thompson (1924) cited about 250 drugs of vegetable origin as present in the Assurbanipal tablature. These are, however, compounded and often represent diverse combinations of important plants. Some can be identified; others must remain unknown, owing to the absence of relevant figures and morphological data. It should be noted that only 120 mineral substances are mentioned as medicaments, thus placing plants in the forefront of early medicine. According to the translations of R. Campbell Thompson, these plants include almond (oil), asafoetida, calendula, chamomile, ergot, fennel, henbane, myrrh, liquorice, lupine, mandrake, opium poppy, pomegranate,

saffron, and turmeric. *Cannabis*, which figures prominently in healing in China and India, also would have been a major element of barter along the early trade routes leading into and out of Assyria.

Poultices of plant substances were common, and there is every reason to believe that were efficacious. Turnips were kneaded with milk to make a poultice paste, as were barley and wheat flours. It is worth noting that "rotten grain" was prescribed. While this may have been a practice to help conserve fresh grain, it also served to introduce fungus-infected grains to the areas of wounds. These fungi undoubtedly produced some antibiotics that assisted the healing process of the poultice.

Stomach pains seem to figure high on the list of common complaints, and to this end the family Apiaceae is most commonly recommended for such ailments. Herbs, seeds, roots, and resins frequently were macerated and put into beer or wine as a method of dispersing oils and other components that might not have been soluble in water. Oils, honey, and herbs were mixed with wine to be administered by clyster. Enemas, both warm and cold, are registered in this early tablature.

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Disease is called "the hand of the spirit demon" in this codified material from Assurbanipal, and one of the common ways of driving out the spirit is fumigation. All oil-producing plants may be placed on hot coals to produce fragrant smoke. In this context, it is significant to note that the majority of plant oils investigated have bactericidal or bacteriostatic properties, as well as fungistatic virtues, and that as fumigants they no doubt served the purpose for which they were used. This ancient ritual has come down to the censers of the contemporary Catholic church and the spicers that are found in Orthodox synagogues. Wherever crowds of people gathered, ritual purification of the air was conducted to drive out demons. In reality, the custom served to discourage the dissemination of disease-causing organisms. In the same manner, fragrant plants laden with volatile oils were placed upon the floors of temples and houses to be crushed under foot, thus releasing these oils into the air—shades of the aerosols that dominate Western homes!

It is worth noting that the healers were not all men. One of the earliest Babylonian tablets from Nippa, dating from the kings of the Babylonian dynasty of circa 2000 B.C., mentions a shaman as Pir-Napistum of the school of healing of Eridu. He is called to heal but designates the task to his wife, a healing priestess. For a comatose patient she makes a vegetable and herbal poultice and cooks it in water. The mass placed upon the patient's head causes him to awaken, and he is then instructed to eat the medicinal concoction. This "magic food" recalls the practices of Native Americans who did not distinguish between food and medicine but were concerned with plants as "power" (Vogel 1970, p. 583).

By contrast, Egyptian hieroglyphs correspond to the emergence of the dynastic periods and virtually explode with a wealth of information about religion, politics, predynastic periods, and most important, agriculture. The information is incised in stone in Egyptian pre-dynastic art and only later is found in papyri.

Of this period, one of the most exquisite and informative intaglio pieces is an enormous, presumably votive mace-head from Hierakonpolis (in the Ashmolean Museum) celebrating the Scorpion King of Upper Egypt. Anthropologists have concentrated on the activities of this Scorpion King in opening a canal and consolidating the Upper Egyptian kingdoms, and on the mace as an emblem of power akin to the scepter of contemporary coronations. Apart from this overt interpretation and signature of high office, attention should be drawn to the form of the piece, its relief, and its intaglio iconography. True to the typical mace-head, it is obovoid and drilled; however, the concentric rings (the first to cap the mace-head) have between them an entire circle of horizontal lines in relief. Below are successive layers of depictions interrupted by stately palms. Plants are shown having globose heads but no leaves.

Is it possible that this mace-head is a modified opium poppy capsule? It has circumscissile dehiscence as a motif and the aforementioned stylized plants. If this be the case, the appearance of an opium poppy in this area would be in opposition to the studies of Krikorian (1975), who claimed that if we are to validate the opium poppy as a plant of the ancient Near East, we should have evidence in the form of the seeds or capsules themselves. Seeds are so small as to disappear easily; both seeds and capsule probably would deteriorate over thousands of years. Perhaps

the finest records are those incised in stone. Any such assertion, however, must be taken as a hypothesis requiring further evidence for validation.

Papaver somniferum is widely accepted to be the result of domestication of the wild *P. setigerum*, but a time-scale for such an event is imperfectly known. Poppy seeds and pods have been found in bogs and lakes of the third millennium B.C. in north central Europe. Gongora (1868) wrote of finding 55,000-year-old poppy capsules and seeds in a limestone cave near the area of Spain now known as Granada, but he saw these only as symbols and neglected their psychoactive properties. The seeds are nutritious and a fine source of both proteins and oils, while the unripe fruit latex provides opium.

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Thompson (1924) asserted that the Akkadian word *irru* was used to designate the opium poppy. While his philological reasoning was sound, his errors in the identification of other plants led to a rather generalized criticism of his scholarship. Thompson believed that there were cognates in the Sumerian texts, but Krikorian (1975) refuted this suggestion on philological grounds. Kritikos and Papadaki (1967) cited R. Dougherty, former curator of the Babylonian Collection at Yale University, to support the contention that the opium poppy was known to the Sumerians in the third millennium B.C. Those who take exception to the *Hul Gil* ideograms must contend, however, with the union of these glyphs with associated quotations, cited by Thompson, in which this plant is presented with such connections as this: "Early in this morning old women, boys and girls collect the juice, scraping it off the notches (of the poppy capsule) with a small iron blade and place it within a clay receptacle." Sonnendecker (1962) asserted that the *Hul Gil* ideograms may be found in Sumerian tablets of the fourth millennium B.C. Marinates (1948, p. 85) cited the goddess Nisaba of Babylonia and Assyria as portrayed with opium poppies growing out of her shoulders!

In the absence of any seed or capsules from this early date, we are left with conjecture and debate as to the real antiquity of the opium poppy in this region. Nonetheless, the plant is mentioned forty-two times in tablature of the temple of Assurbanipal.

Ancient Uruk or Warka has given us an extraordinary stone vase upon which plants are figured in the lower register [Figure 1. [Images of the Warka Vase](#)]. This rare find from the alluvial plains of southern Iraq depicts a religious scene incised in alabaster, the figures being left in relief. The plant forms are varied; all have leaves and flowers or fruits, but the level of stylization precludes identification. Given, in the vase, the tendency toward the depiction of mythical and monstrous beasts, we may well expect to encounter equally mythical plants, which have no counterpart in the real world. On the other hand, the very nature of the technique limits the details that can be successfully expressed. One wonders what important plants these might be.

Any evidence that might be used to link Egypt and Mesopotamia during the final centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. must be found by way of resemblances in art, architecture, pictographic writing, and the conventions expressed in all these. It is very difficult to account for all the similarities, and evidence for physical contact between these anthropologically unrelated peoples is equivocal at best. Also, we are overwhelmed by the amount of tomb intaglio and murals from Egypt, which far exceeds the entire [99] corresponding anthropological and archeological remains of all the other collective lands of the ancient Near East.

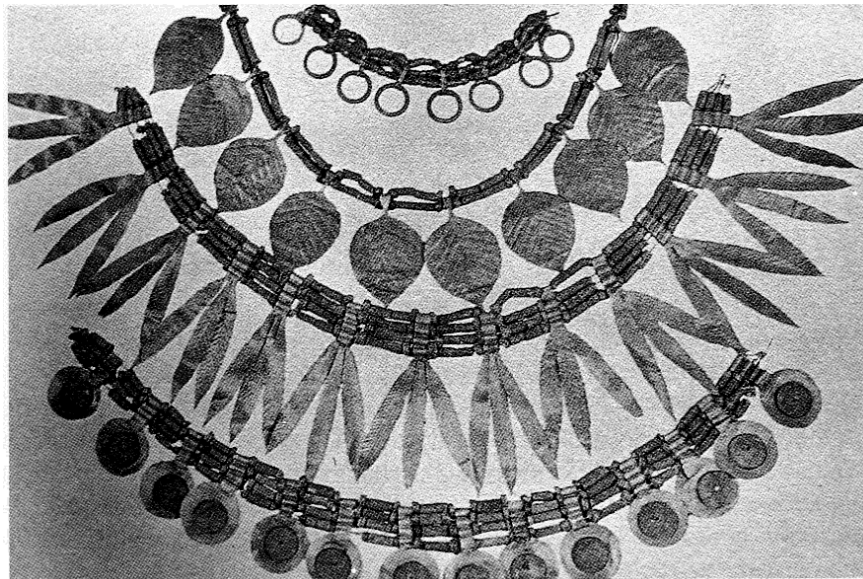
In the third millennium B.C., Sumerian civilization was flourishing in the alluvial basin at the head of the Persian Gulf as an amalgamation of city-states (much like the Classical and post-Classical Maya civilization), each ruled by an oligarchy. This is the early dynastic period of Sumeria, with Ur, Erech, and Kish as three of its leading cities. Agriculture progressed as the result of irrigation canals that served to move people and objects, as well as rich muck and water, to parched lands. There can be little doubt that the small fish of these canals were netted as food and that the aquatic rhizomes of *Nymphaea*, when boiled and leached, could provide a crude carbohydrate. The same rhizomes, when raw, or the flower buds, when macerated, could provide a psychoactive decoction (Emboden 1982a).

A series of cylinders or rollers cut in intaglio and rolled upon pitch or clay leaves records daily life and religious activities. On one such cylinder, there is incised the figure of a plant with three giant flower buds emerging from five mounds (rhizomes or bulbs?) and protected by crouching, masked bulls. Human figures are on either side of

the bull-minotaurs, protecting them from the attack of some monstrous bird. The three flowers strongly suggest the repeated early dynastic symbol of ancient Egypt in which this sacred trinity of flowers is found with a very high frequency (Bands 1953; Emboden 1981).

One of the great treasures of early dynastic Ur is a headdress of leaves of beaten gold and three large flowers with eight petals and a center of carnelian. The leaves are obovate with acuminate tips and may not relate to the flowers. The diameter of the flowers being approximately 12 to 15 centimeters (5 to 6 inches) suggests that they may represent the water lily or perhaps the opium poppy with the carnelian being interpreted as the capsule contained within the corolla. With this headdress, found by the Woolley Expedition, was a necklace of leaves that are obovate with acuminate tips and another rank of leaves in beaten gold that strongly suggest *Cannabis*.

Figure 2. Necklace from Ur showing Cannabis-like leaves. Iraq Museum.



Others (Lloyd 1961, p. 88) have suggested willow (*Salix*), but the venation is more like that of *Cannabis*, as is the leaf morphology.

In early dynastic Egypt the flower of *Nymphaea* is regularly found in the headdresses [100] of figures in tomb murals. At Ur, the famous [Ram in a Thicket](#) [Figure 3. Ram (Tammuz) representation. The branched plant has two remaining flowers that suggest *Papaver*. British Museum.] is an emblem of the strength of Tammuz. The goat was an emblem of virility, and the "thicket" is a highly formalized plant of oppositely branched dichotomies of eight appendages. Two of these bear the same eight-petaled, beaten gold flowers with golden centers. The formality of the presentation makes it difficult to visualize the goat as simply a goat. Aspects of a deity mark the animal in its stance before the sacred plant upon which it rests its hooves. This goat-man is akin to Hellenic satyrs and centaurs. It is clearly a hybridized motif, and the portrayal is of a priestly order.

The ruling class of Mesopotamia was altered by a seemingly peaceful ascendancy of Semitic Akkadians into the ruling classes. Unfortunately, the amount of extant Akkadian art is limited, but the few pieces known to art historians are of extremely high esthetic and technological merit. The Gutti tribes from Iran's mountains overran all Sumeria except Lagash, where the Sumerian tradition seemed to have continued its development toward progressive refinement and naturalistic depiction. During this same time, Egypt was undergoing serious changes as the pharaohs were overthrown by a feudal noble class that brought with it war and anarchy.

Not until the final years of the third millennium [ca. 2000 B.C.] was there an Egyptian revival; it [101] appeared with the initiation of the Middle Kingdom. The cult of Ra was replaced by the Osirian tradition of death and resurrection not unlike the Mesopotamian legends of Tammuz. The importance of this to the anthropologist, archeologist, and ethnobotanist is that with the Osirian tradition came the establishment of refined tomb art in Upper Egypt. Events of ordinary life frequently are portrayed in these tombs, and arid conditions have left much

of the tempera painting intact. Brewing of beer, viticulture, oenology, grain harvest, and preoccupation with the sacred water lily are all strongly evident.

According to the mycological researches of R. Gordon Wasson (1970), a people calling themselves Aryans descended from the north through Afghanistan to occupy the Indus valleys. These were Iranians (Aryan being a cognate). In the land from Palestine to Mesopotamia and Iran, settled in succession by the Sumerians, the Hittites, the Mitannians, and finally by the Indo-Iranians or Aryans, there is an amalgamation of shared legend and mythology. It is Wasson's contention that the Gilgamesh legend of the quest for the miraculous herb that is taken from him by a serpent is a common legend reaching throughout Eurasia from as far back as the Stone Age. Wasson asserts that the Soma-Haoma myth relates to the fly-agaric mushroom (*Amanita muscaria*) and that this related to sacred-tree mythology in that the birch tree supports fly-agaric in a mycorrhizal relationship in which fly-agaric is, in a secondary way, the "fruit" of that sacred tree [[Images of the Amanita Muscaria Mushroom](#)].

Amanita muscaria contains ibotenic acid which breaks down to muscimole and muscazone, psychoactive agents that would serve as a fine adjunct to shamanic ecstasis. The fungus does not grow in the areas of the ancient Near East but may have been brought by the invaders as the sacrament that figures in their sacred books, collection of poems, and the *Rig Veda*, and around which much music, liturgy, and philosophy is centered. The Aryan invasion of 3500 years ago, in the second millennium [ca. 1500 B.C.], presumably introduced this plant that subsequently was lost or forgotten about 3000 years ago when its use was abandoned by the priesthood. We are left to wonder why there are no remains or records of this sacred mushroom in any of these areas of contact. Wasson's thesis is most intriguing and possibly correct, but ethnobotanists must continue to look for more clues in every aspect of art and artifact to validate such assertions. Certainly it would be most interesting to add this plant to those many already suggested.

The richness of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom is paralleled by an astonishing period of Mesopotamian art little recoverable from other than a limited cache of rollers or cylinders. Fragments of sculpture, the famous Hammurabi stela, and the great walled temples of Uruk, Kish, Eridu, and Nippur remain. One area, Mari, on the Middle Euphrates, leaves us with the finest remaining statuary and a small number of wall paintings showing palms and trees with enormous, presumably mythical, flowers. The rest of Mesopotamia fell into Kassite (Iranian) hands and inherited the impoverished vestige of the Guti rule. Imagination became stereotyped. In the second millennium, Assyrian merchants brought Mesopotamia's civilization to Anatolia, and clay tablets indicate that the Anatolian plateau had in it elements of an Indo-European culture, that of the Hittites who would later unite Anatolia in the east.

If the opium poppy had not previously entered Near Eastern civilization, it certainly would have done so at this time. Such a contention may be based in part upon a famous Assyrian fertility seal in which Athirat or Ashera (the Mesopotamian Ishtar) is shown with a magical plant, two priests, and two winged demons with "pollen bags." It is the last that has led to a suggestion that the magical tree is the date palm, which the Assyrians knew to be divided into sexes. Pollination was practiced as an essentially magical act. The form of the plant, however, is that of either a poppy or a pomegranate, neither of which require deliberate pollination. The pomegranate, because of its copious seed, is an obvious emblem of fertility, while the poppy is emblematic of power, for reason of its conquest over pain and grief. It is for this reason that the poppy goddess of Knossos wears [102] a corona of three poppy capsules. Ishtar is associated more often with magical plants than with fertility, and the temptation is to make the association with the poppy, rather than with the pomegranate.



In both Sumerian and Akkadian myths, Ishtar (Inanna) descends into the underworld (much like the later stories of Persephone), where she undergoes shamanic death, to be rescued three days later by two sexless creatures (the cult of Ishtar-Inanna involved eunuchs) who finally return her to her own city of Erech. Thus, she is associated with the shamanic sleep of death that is the essential quality of the opium poppy. Hence, it is not unrealistic to associate the "Ishtar cylinder" with the poppy. Further evidence derives from the intense preoccupation of Ishtar worship with magic involving plague amulets, exorcism, and later, dream divination.

Plants also figure in these practices. The onion, *Allium*, was used in medicine, divination, and exorcism. Possession, as the result of misdeeds and broken taboos, could lead to the offender being given an onion bulb by a shaman. Each successive layer of the onion represented a misdeed that could be obliterated by peeling the layer and throwing it into a magical fire in which it was burnt to oblivion. This manner of voiding transgressions also symbolized the removal of skin and flesh from the skeleton, a common shamanic theme in diverse cultures.

In a similar manner, wheat and barley made into bread not only were eaten or made into poultices but, when moldy, served a magical purpose. A loaf of bread placed upon the head of an ailing child would draw the sickness, by magic, into the bread. The loaf then would be rubbed down the child's body from head to foot. Ultimately, the loaf would be eaten or thrown to a dog who magically would take up the child's ailments.

Plants figure in the earliest Sumerian and Babylonian mythology, namely, the legend of Gilgamesh. The antiquity of this legend is attested to be about the identification of the father of Agga, king of Kish and foe of Gilgamesh, on an alabaster bowl, dating to circa 2700 B.C., from the Diyala Valley. Many later versions exist. Fragments of the narrative are dated to nearly the end of the third millennium B.C. In the course of his journey in search of the plant of immortality, the protagonist passes through a magical garden in which grapes of carnelian and lapis lazuli produce a magical wine. In the eleventh tablet, Gilgamesh descends into the sea to find the plant of immortality. On the journey back to his homeland, the plant is taken from him by a serpent. In the last (twelfth) tablet is a fascinating episode involving a willow tree (*Salix*) guarded and coveted by Inanna (Ishtar). Of the many plants that might have figured in such a legend, it is curious that the willow tree should happen to be the most common source of the most popular analgesic medicine. Salicin, found in its young twigs and leaves, removes pain and inflammation and is the antecedent of modern aspirin.

From the Sumerian triumph of architecture, agriculture, art, and cuneiform script, we have by circa 2000 B.C. the barbarian movement into this civilization to shifting some of its finest populace into the Aegean and Anatolian civilizations under Greeks and Hittites. The question still remains, why were these people so vulnerable? Had their civilization already peaked, and, if so, what was the reason for the decline? As with other civilizations, we may look to agriculture.

Prior to 8000 B.C., wheat was a grass common to the Fertile Crescent that was to become Mesopotamia and the cradle of civilization. This wild wheat crossed with a "goat grass"; and the progeny subsequently formed a hybrid known as emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*), the plump grains of which could support a civilization. A subsequent hybridization produced even more heterozygosis and eliminated a brittle rachis that had necessitated hand harvesting. The grain would not shatter from the plant through the action of wind as had the wild form before it.

The Sumerians learned how to cultivate this wheat and also barley, native to that [103] area in diverse forms, and soon were trading grain for lapis lazuli and carnelian. In the Ubaid and Uruk periods, wheat was widely cultivated and was almost a monopoly, but as early as early dynastic times, wheat production began to decline owing to improper and excessive irrigation, as well as to a corresponding salinization of the land. This led to the predominance of barley, which is much more tolerant of excess salt in the soil. Thus, by 3000 B.C., trade routes between Mesopotamia and Iran had to be opened and negotiated through mountain passes and river valleys. By the end of the early dynastic period, a transit trade route was established between south Mesopotamia and the Indus valley.

While art historians tend to speak of the embellishments in art, architecture, and artifacts, ethnobotanists may find considerable other ramifications. Many writers have ignored the extensive agricultural diversity of crop plants and medicinal plants that entered and exited by these extensive land-sea routes. Crops of grain and other food stuffs alone will not suffice to sustain populations for any considerable period of time. The role of medicinal and drug plants is perhaps as important as that of food plants and may have been as significant a factor in the establishment and maintenance of the first civilizations as was the more evident grain.

The Uruk period saw the first appearance of open cast copper chisels. An axe of this period was found in Susiana, and it was bound in linen, attesting to the knowledge of the growing, retting, and removal of fibers of linen from *Linum*. The production of linen sacks allowed grain to be stored under circumstances in which it was less likely to rot (e.g., animal skins or pottery). Fabric came to replace animal skin as the exclusive clothing of these early civilizations. Linen provided the ideal container for grain and artifacts to be carried along difficult trade routes. The ropes tying the sacks shut were sealed with resins or pitch in which cylinders were rolled to leave an impression giving specific categories of information. Cylinder imprints also served to identify early wines and vineyards. Rolled in pine pitch used to seal the amphoras of wine in early Egypt and subsequently in Hellenic civilizations, these cylinder impressions gave the area of cultivation, the cultivator, and the date.

The years surrounding 2500 B.C. are important in that they mark what one might characterize as the end of several early periods. Egypt at this time had just entered the Old Kingdom period, which followed the proto-dynastic period. Mesopotamia was well into its early dynastic phases. Anatolia was in the Second Early Bronze Age. A new kind of sophistication was appearing in most areas of the ancient Near East. Architecture was beginning to have a certain grandeur, ritual was becoming stratified by hierarchies of priests, trade routes were becoming well established, and the luxuries of life were coming into evidence in increasingly large numbers of nonessential items such as jewelry, nonritual artifacts, elaborate furniture, and all the ornamentation that can be afforded only by an advanced civilization free from subsistence patterns.

As castes grew in hierarchies of priests, the shaman-priest was concerned with prophesy or divination. Egypt had to build diverse centers of religious activity to accommodate the division of labor among the elite. Magical and medical papyri grew in number. Agriculture was well established as a result of inundation and limited crop irrigation by canals. Emmer, flax (*Linum*), two kinds of barley (Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian), and, after the Ptolemaic period, wheat became the principal crops. The extraordinary amounts and varieties of beer produced were made not from grain, but from barley bread that was fermented—a far less wasteful practice, since unused bread would be recycled as beer and the leftover mash fed to domestic animals.

The various papyri are often diverse in content. Thus, in the *Book of the Dead*, which presents concepts of death and resurrection, numerous scenes of domestic life give an extraordinarily fine view of all aspects of Egyptian agriculture, viticulture, and oenology. We find in the papyri that large amounts of beer and wine were poured as sacred [104] libations at the time of a death or upon the completion of a monument. The same kind of information is codified in numerous tomb paintings. During the Middle Kingdom and thereafter, every vase, chair, musical instrument, sarcophagus, textile, and weaving contained information concerning either daily life or the afterlife. Most of this was in the form of depictions, and, even in the absence of a Rosetta stone and hieroglyphic understanding, there is a great deal that we could comprehend regarding all thirty dynasties.

One product that is often neglected in discussions of ancient Egypt is oil from crops of the castor bean (*Ricinus communis*). Olive oil was imported, as the tree was not grown there successfully until the Ptolemaic period. Alternative oils for commercial use were the fruit oils of the moringa tree (*Moringa drouhardi*), linseed oil from seeds of *Linum*, oil from the balanos tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) as well as sesame and saffron oils. Castor oil was especially important in that, when mixed with natron, it produced a smokeless flame that could be used in homes for lighting and in tombs to allow painters to produce murals. Alternative light sources would have covered the extraordinary art with a coating of soot.

Considerable debate exists over the probability of the opium poppy existing in early dynastic Egypt as well as in Assyria. Gabra (1956) suggested that the word *shepen* refers to poppy and *shepenen* to the opium poppy. These words appear in most medical papyri and in some papyri devoted to magic, notably the *Ebers Papyrus*. Those who argue against a number of "exotics" in early Egypt must take into account that from the late pre-dynastic period, trade in timber and numerous other commodities was accomplished by intercourse with the Levant and the montane regions of Lebanon. Also, as early as the fifth dynasty, expeditions to Punt are recorded, and we have reason to believe that these originated at an even earlier date. While the "land of Punt" has never been firmly located, we know from commodities such as sandalwood, ebony, giraffes, baboons, ivory, leopard skin, and gold that the area or region was most certainly a part of the Somaliland coast. Harbors and ships for import were stationed along the Red Sea. Donkeys brought items of barter from Nubia to the south as far as equatorial Africa. The tomb of Ramses II, 1304-1237 B.C., presents us with a complete depiction of tributes that came from conquered Nubia and places south.

It is a temptation for the ethnobotanist to find psychoactive plants in early dynastic Egypt, and to that end many have tried to place *Cannabis* in this context. The contention that *smsm t*, mentioned in both the *Berlin Papyrus* and *Ebers Papyrus*, corresponds to *Cannabis* is highly unlikely. No mummy has been found wrapped in hemp fiber; no rope from the base of *Cannabis* exists in Egypt from this period. No residues of hashish have been found in any lipid matrices from funerary jars or unguent containers. It was not until the third century A.D., when the Roman emperor Aurelian imposed a tax on an Egyptian fiber, that we can identify hemp. The same may be said for Babylonia (unless one accepts the Waterman thesis advanced in 1930 that *qu-nu-bu*, mentioned during the reign of Esarhaddon in circa 680 B.C., is translatable as *Cannabis*).

By contrast, Gabra (1956) identified opiates in a residue from an "unguent vessel" of the eighteenth dynasty. Both the narcotic *Mandragora autumnalis*, *M. vernalis*, and fruits of *Papaver somniferum* figure in tomb paintings and vessels of early dynasties and become quite common by the eighteenth dynasty (Emboden 1979). These are found in frequent conjunction with the sacred blue water lily of the Nile marshes, *Nymphaea caerulea*, which has been determined to have narcotic properties much as do its relatives *N. alba*, *N. ampla*, and the related *Nuphar lutea*. The union of three genera, all psychoactive and all involved in a healing presentation, is to be seen in the colored limestone intaglio of Meritaton and Semenkhar.

The full exegesis of psychoactive plants in the context of dynastic Egypt is discussed by Emboden (1979, 1981). The argument is made that these plants and their psychoactive constituents were adjuncts to the state of ecstasis among the priestly castes of ancient [105] Egypt and that they lead us to a very new way of viewing Egyptian art and artifacts, as well as those of other ancient civilizations. A limestone relief of the Amarna period circa 1350 B.C. shows us the healing of King Semenkhar by his consort Meritaton using *Mandragora* and *Nymphaea*; this is a fine example of the specific context of these plants. These plant motifs appear again in the eighteenth dynasty portrait of [Tutankhamen on his throne with his queen](#). [Figure 4. Throne chair of Tutankhamen (Post Amarna) depicting his queen healing him using *Mandragora* and *Nymphaea*. Cairo Museum.]

One bit of iconography that still puzzles Egyptologists is the depiction of "Lady Tuth-Shena" on the stela in which she is before the god Horus. Emanating from the sun disc on Horus's head are five "rays" of tubular flowers that strongly suggest *Datura*.

Figure 5. Tuth-Shena in awe of the god Horus, who emits rays of *Datura* from the sun disc on his head.



Since *Datura* is pantemperate and pantropical, the genus could not be considered scarce in any region. It is also a genus with easily identifiable virtues. It has been used in every area in which it is known, in rites of passage and in diverse forms of shamanism. Its psychoactive properties are extraordinary, and one of the usual modalities in the *Datura* experience is that of mystical flight, an out-of-the-body sensation.

This explanation, like so many others relating to Tuth-Shena and Horus, might seem specious were it not for the other, associated plants that have psychoactive properties: the central flower and leaf of *Nymphaea caerulea*; at the foot of Horus, the unguent jar wrapped with the narcotic water lily bud; the strand of grapes and their leaves hanging from the opposite side of the supporting pedestal upon which offerings rest; the four repeated [106] representations of a cleft water lily leaf in the series of glyphs at the right-hand margin. It is the realm of the dead, evidenced by the resin cone on the head of Tuth-Shena. The light is the light of Horus, realized in the psychoactive flowers of *Datura* which "illuminate" Tuth-Shena in allegorical fashion. It is the power of Horus before which she throws up her hands in awe. *Vitis*, *Nymphaea*, and *Datura* are the intoxicating elements portrayed in this scene of shamanic manifestation.

It is perhaps by coincidence that the frequency of portrayal of psychogenic plants is correlated with the level of development of ancient civilizations, but I do not think so. A shamanic caste appears and, subsequently, there is further shamanic stratification, the adjuncts to these priestly offices—that is to say, psychoactive plants—increase. The length of the associated rituals is progressively increased, and the litanies or magical incantations become hypertrophied. We can see the same thing among the Maya. It parallels the complexity of medicine and medicinal practices, for all these are inseparable at a certain level. They are manifestations of belief systems that are enhanced by altered states of consciousness.

In conclusion, rather than to try to elucidate the complexity of ancient agricultural practices, it may be more appropriate to comment on certain categories of plants important to a settled state of existence, and on the inclusion of greater numbers of plants with psychoactive properties as a civilization evolves. The best place to find these plant species may not be in cuneiform script or in the hieroglyphics of papyri, but in the art and artifacts of the civilization. This is especially necessary for the ancient Near East, where ethnobotanical evaluation has been virtually absent.

[107]

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The goddess Demeter gives her daughter Persephone a hallucinogenic mushroom. Relief (ca. 450 B.C.) from Eleusis, at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.





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THE ANCIENT NAME OF EDESSA*

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E_{DESSA},¹ modern Urfa in southeastern Turkey, is mentioned in various Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic sources.² These describe the city as a Hellenistic stronghold, the first Christian kingdom, and the cradle of Syriac literature. They also indicate the significant role it once played as a buffer city between the Roman and the Parthian Empires and later between the Arabs and the Crusaders. Unfortunately, these sources offer little information about the pre-Seleucid history of Edessa. No systematic archaeological excavations have been conducted in the city's early levels, and the ancient history of Edessa has remained shrouded in mystery. Nevertheless, Syriac lexicographical sources include in their entries a name for the city which is similar in form to a toponym often mentioned in cuneiform itinerary texts. By identifying this toponym with Edessa, this paper will shed some light on the latter's early history.

Edessa is located on the Bāliḥ River, some two days march from Ḥarrān to the south-east and some ten days march from Aleppo to the southwest (fig. 1).³ A river, called in antiquity Dayṣān, passed through it, and its water, together with that of the Cullab (Ġul-lāb) River, formed the Bāliḥ, a perennial branch of the Euphrates. The Bāliḥ and the many natural springs flowing around Edessa provide the city with abundant water. This made the city an important station on the silk route—like Nisibis and Singara to the east—and, as such, it linked India and China with the Mediterranean world. As will be seen, its role as a caravan station is attested as early as the Old Assyrian period (early second millennium B.C.).

In 304 B.C. Seleucus I Nicator built in the city a new settlement upon an older fortress and named it Edessa. The name was originally given to the ancient capital of Macedonia. Perhaps the reason behind naming the new Hellenistic settlement Edessa was that it enjoyed abundant water, just as its Macedonian homonym did. At any rate, the new

* This research has been supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

¹ In this article, Edessa is used to refer to the geographical spot where the city is found, regardless of the fact that it normally refers only to the Seleucid city on this spot.

² The Greek sources include Procopius, *History of the Wars*, vol. 2, trans. H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library, no. 48 (1914; Cambridge, Mass., 1979), not to mention Greek Church historians such as Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Latin sources include *Amianus Marcellinus* 18.5 ff., 19.12 ff.; trans. John C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 1 (1935; Cam-

bridge, Mass., 1982). Among the Syriac sources one should mention the famous *Chronicle of Edessa*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, *Scriptores Syri*, 3d series, vol. 4, *Chronica Minora*, ed. J. Guidi (Paris, 1893), pp. 1–14. The Arabic sources include, among others, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* of Al-Balāḍuri, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), pp. 172 ff. and *Muḡam al-Buldān* of Yāqūt (sub Ġazirā and al-Rahhā³) (Beirut, 1955–57).

³ For a general history of Edessa, see, in particular, R. Duval, "Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Edesse jusqu'à la première croisade," *JA*, 8th ser. 18 (1891): 87–133, 201–78, 381–439 and 19 (1892): 5–102 (reprinted as *Histoire d'Edesse* [Amsterdam, 1975]); and J. B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford, 1970). For a survey of Edessa's history, see H. J. W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden, 1980), especially pp. 9–18.

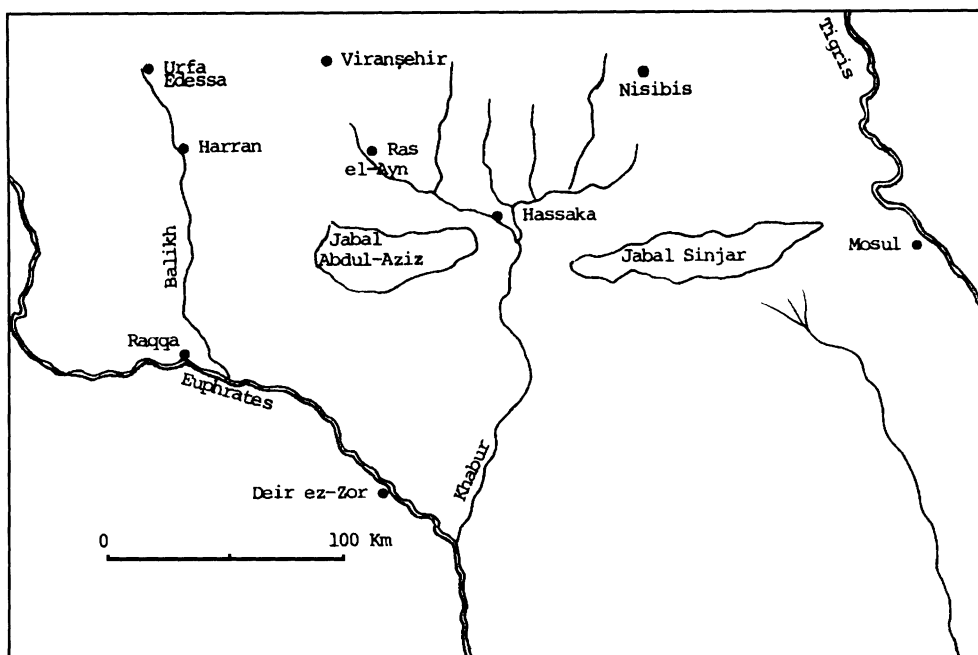


FIG. 1.—Edessa and its surroundings

name must have replaced an indigenous one, as was the case with many “new” Hellenistic settlements in the Near East.⁴ The phenomenon of replacing local toponyms with Greek and Latin ones was already noted by the Latin author Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century A.D.), a native of Antioch, who wrote about the reign of Seleucus I as follows:

For by taking advantage of the great number of men whom he ruled for a long time in peace, in place of their rustic dwellings he built cities of great strength and abundant wealth; and many of these, although they are now called by the Greek names which were imposed upon them by the will of their founder, nevertheless have not lost the old appellations in the Assyrian tongue which the original settlers gave them.⁵

Thus, most of the Hellenistic settlements in the Near East were erected on earlier settlements. This is obvious at such Hellenized cities as Aleppo and ʿAmmān, since these toponyms are attested in cuneiform sources, but some new settlements also provided proof of their ancient background. This is the case of Apamia where prehistorical data

⁴ Among the other Near Eastern cities which were given Greek or Latin names are Ammonite Rabbat (ʿAmmān)-Philadelphia, Acco-Ptolemais (later Antiocheia), Bet Shean-Scythopolis, Halab-Beroia, Susita-Hippos (the latter name is a mere translation of the Aramaic one); see V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civil-*

ization and the Jews (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 109. Most of the original names continued to be used, despite the change, but this does not seem to be the case with Edessa.

⁵ *Ammianus Marcellinus* 14.6, p. 69.

and Hittite sculptures were excavated in its early levels.⁶ Unfortunately, no systematic excavations have been conducted in the pre-Seleucid fortress of Edessa to help identify the settlement(s) of the city.

Moreover, the Syriac and Arabic chronographies which discuss the early history of Edessa do not help to identify its pre-Seleucid settlement(s). The sources in question reconstruct that history with numerous mythological and biblical-literary motifs which confuse the origins of the city. Thus, the Syriac chronicler Bar-Hebraeus (thirteenth century)⁷ states that in the days of Enoch, the sage who taught men how to build cities, 180 cities were built, of which the smallest was Urhay (Edessa). Nine centuries earlier, St. Ephrem the Syrian (fourth century) wrote about the famous Nimrod “who ruled in Erech which is Edessa (Urhay).” He was followed in this belief in the identification of Edessa with Erech by Patriarch Michael the Syrian (twelfth century).⁸ Edessa is thus identified with the Sumerian city of Uruk.⁹ Jewish and Muslim traditions made Edessa the dwelling place of Abraham, whose enemy was the above-mentioned Nimrod. This explains the numerous buildings (among which are two mosques) and several fish pools named after the “Father of the Faithful,” Abraham. As for the Arab geographer Yāqūt (thirteenth century), he called Edessa al-Rahhā¹⁰ and stated that its founder was al-Rahhā¹¹ bin al-Balandi bin Mālik bin Da^csar. The anonymous Syriac chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē (end of the eighth century), however, relates the city name to its first king, ³RHY BR ḤWY¹².

The latter Arabic and Syriac sources reflect the belief that al-Rahhā¹³ and Urhay (from which modern Urfa is derived)¹⁴ were the original names of the city. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the name during the Seleucid period is not firm. Syriac Urhay may correspond to the second part of the toponym Antiochia Kallirhoe, “Antioch by the Kallirhoe,” which appears on the coins struck at Edessa by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.).¹⁵ Urhay may have formed part of the province name, Osrohene, in which it was located when the province was created after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes in 130–129 B.C. at the hand of the Parthians.¹⁶ Afterwards, the name Urhay appears predominately in the Syriac and Arabic sources. J. Segal has questioned why the name Urhay does not appear in cuneiform itineraries, unlike Ḥarrān,¹⁷ the famous seat of the

⁶ C. Préaux, *Le Monde hellénistique: La Grèce et l'Orient (323–146 av. J.-C.)*, Nouvelle Clio, vol. 6 bis (Paris, 1978), p. 404.

⁷ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225–1286* (London, 1932; reprint Amsterdam, 1976), vol. 1, p. 5.

⁸ J.-B. Chabot, ed. and trans., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris, 1899–1924), vol. 3, p. 278.

⁹ This association of toponyms must be merely symbolic. Bar-Bahlūl states that “Ctesiphon and Māhōzē (al-Madā'in) are Urhay and Nisibis”; idem, *Lexicon Syriacum*, ed. R. Duval (Paris, 1888–1901; reprint Amsterdam, 1970), vol. 2, p. 897. As is clear, Urhay, the once Christian kingdom and center of Syriac Christianity, is compared by Syriac authors with two great religious and political centers of southern Mesopotamia, Uruk, and Ctesiphon.

¹⁰ Mu'ğam al-Buldān, vol. 3, pp. 106–7.

¹¹ Chabot, ed., *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-*

Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, ser. 3 (Paris, 1927–33), vol. 1, p. 50:21–22 (Syriac text), vol. 2, p. 40 (Latin trans.). Medieval historians tend to associate city names with the names of their alleged founders, as Yāqūt and Pseudo-Dionysius suggest. This is also the case of Theodore Bar Koni for whom king Ḥṭērū built the city of Ḥaṭrā: Theodore Bar Koni, *Livre des scolies (recension de Séert)*, trans. R. Hespel and R. Draguet, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, vol. 187 (Louvain, 1981), p. 304.

¹² This name is not attested before the Turkish period; see Segal, *Edessa*, p. 3.

¹³ Ibid., p. 6; Drijvers, *Cults*, p. 10.

¹⁴ Segal, *Edessa*, p. 9.

¹⁵ On the early history of Ḥarrān, see J. N. Postgate, “Ḥarrān,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. 4, pp. 122 ff.

moon-god, which is already mentioned in the early documents from Ebla.¹⁶ Scholars have searched for the name Urhay in cuneiform sources since the beginning of this century, and A. Billerbeck has suggested that the Til Abne, mentioned in the so-called Broken Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, was Urhay.¹⁷ Others have associated Urhay with Assyrian Ru²ua, Neo-Sumerian Uršu, and Hittite Urušša. E. Honigmann rightly rejected these identifications which were based only on the phonetic similarity of these toponyms.¹⁸ On the other hand, Segal seems correct in assuming that Urhay "may be alluded to under a different name which has not been identified."¹⁹

Fortunately, Syriac sources give a name for the city other than the familiar Urhay and Edessa. One of these sources, the Syriac-Arabic lexicon of Bar-Bahlūl (tenth century), states the following:

ܠܠܗܝܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܠܗܝܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܠܗܝܐ

DM² ismu madīnatin wahiā al-ruhā²⁰

DM²: the name of a city which is al-Rahhā²¹

Two other Syriac lexicographers, ʾĪšō^c Bar-ʿAlī (ninth century) and the Maronite Georgius of Karm-Sadda (early seventeenth century), give a similar interpretation of the name.²¹ Since DM² does not appear in Syriac chronographies, where Edessa is called almost exclusively Urhay (in a few cases Edessa), the toponym must have fallen into disuse. It was then deemed necessary by the lexicographers to include DM² in their lexicographical lists.

Syriac DM² is attested in cuneiform sources as Adme, Admi, and Admum, a city located near Ḥarrān. The oldest attestation is found on a fragmentary Old Assyrian "Cap-padocian" tablet, VAT 9260, which mentions road stations in one part. J. Lewy edited the fragment in part and decided which side was the obverse and which side was the reverse.²² In 1987, Kh. Nashef edited the entire text and reversed Lewy's ordering,²³ but in a more recent article he has gone back to Lewy's arrangement.²⁴ The following sequence of toponyms is presented:

Obv.	Adme, Mardaman, [. . .]um, [. . .]
Rev.	Ḥaburā, Burallum, Širum, [. . .]ḥu-ḥu ²
Left Edge	Šima

¹⁶ See V. Davidovič, "Trade Routes between Northern Syria and Central Anatolia in the Middle of the III Millennium B.C." *Acta Sumerologica* 11 (1989): 3 ff.

¹⁷ A. Billerbeck, "Die Palastore Salmanassars III von Balawat," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 6 (1909): 56.

¹⁸ E. Honigmann, "Urfä keilschriftlich nachweisbar?," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 39 (1930): 301 f.

¹⁹ Segal, *Edessa*, p. 5. See also Drijvers, *Cults*, p. 9.

²⁰ Bar-Bahlūl, *Lexicon Syriacum*, vol. 2, p. 39:9.

²¹ See R. Payne-Smith, ed., *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford 1879–1901; Hildesheim, 1981), vol. 1, p. 38.

²² J. Lewy, "Studies in the Historic Geography of the Ancient Near East," *Orientalia* n.s. 21 (1952): 265, n. 2.

²³ Kh. Nashef, *Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten zur Zeit der altassyrischen Handelsniederlassungen*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 83 (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 53–54. See also my review article of this book in *ZA* 81 (1991): 146–50.

²⁴ Idem, "Qaṭṭarā and Karanā," *Welt des Orients* 19 (1989): 36, n. 6.

According to the fragment in question, Adme and Ḥaburā are located on the same route. Ḥaburā must have been a city connected with the Ḥābūr River, and therefore Adme must have been located not far from that river. Thus Lewy's suggestion that the city was located northeast of Nuṣaybīn is not correct.²⁵ On the other hand, W. van Liere's identification of Adme with Tell Ḥuerā²⁶ (northeast of Jabal ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz) is equally erroneous. As B. Groneberg has noted earlier, Tell Ḥuerā has no evidence of an Old Babylonian settlement.²⁷

Old Babylonian itinerary texts provide a better idea of the location of Adme. One itinerary text, UIOM 2134, published by A. Goetze,²⁸ mentions Adme in the following sequence:

(/) Ḥarrānum, Saḥulda, Ḥaziri, Admum, Ḥuburmeš (/Urkiš/Šubat-Enlil)

The fact that Adme was located three stages to Ḥarrān made Goetze suggest that the town was to be found "near the northern rim of the great Mesopotamian plain," somewhere between Naḥur and Eluḥat.²⁹ M. Falkner went further and located the city to the west of modern Viranşehir, "on the route of Urfa."³⁰

When W. Hallo published another version of the Babylonian itinerary, YBC 4499, he pointed to a route going from Emar³¹ (Meskene Qadime on the Euphrates) to Ḥarrān and then circling "northward in the general area of present-day Urfa and Viranshehir" where Ḥaziri (Neo-Assyrian Ḥazirina and modern Sultantepe) and Admum must have been located.³² After Hallo's publication, there was a consensus among Assyriologists that Adme was to be located near Ḥarrān.³³ Lately, M. Astour wrote that Adme "could hardly have corresponded to any spot but the exceptionally well-endowed and water-rich oasis of Urfa."³⁴ Unquestionably, these scholars have pointed in the right direction in locating Adme, and the Syriac sources confirm their conclusions.

Following the first occurrence of Adme in the Old Assyrian sources, the archives from Mari (eighteenth century B.C.) mention the town twice, in the fragmentary ARM I 103 and in ARM XIII 139. ARM I 103 is a letter from the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad I to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu, whom he had earlier appointed governor of Mari, on the Middle Euphrates. The letter appears to deal with a military expedition somewhere in northern Syria. The toponyms Ḥurmiš and Ḥarizānum are mentioned on the obverse of the tablet, and on the reverse (12, 18) it is said that Šamši-Adad had gone from the city of Nihriia to Admum. Falkner³⁵ located Nihriia (a toponym well attested in cuneiform

²⁵ Lewy, "Studies," p. 265, n. 2.

²⁶ Van Liere, "Urkiš, centre religieux Hurrite," *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 7 (1957): 94.

²⁷ B. Groneberg, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit*, RGTC 3 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 3.

²⁸ A. Goetze, "An Old Babylonian Itinerary," *JCS* 7 (1953): 51 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁰ M. Falkner, "Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18 (1957–58): 35.

³¹ W. Hallo, "The Road to Emar," *JCS* 18 (1964): 82.

³² See also Hallo's map, *ibid.*, p. 87, where Admum is placed northwest of Ḥarrān.

³³ M. Astour, "A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic," *UF* 5 (1973): 33 f.; K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausands v. Chr.*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 26 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 64.

³⁴ Astour, review of Nashef, *Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten*, in *JAOS* 109 (1989): 687.

³⁵ Falkner, "Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien," pp. 20 ff.

sources), somewhere around Admum.³⁶ The other document, ARM XIII 139:19–20, talks about the people of Adme (LÚ.MEŠ *Ad-ma-a-i* KI) in connection with barley. Adme is also attested in an unpublished Middle Assyrian text, DeZ 2212:2,³⁷ but the context in which the toponym (*a-na URU Ad-me*) is found is not known.

Adme is not mentioned in Neo-Assyrian texts, in contrast to the particularly well-documented city of Ḥarrān. The city must have been overshadowed by neighboring Ḥarrān, an important cult center of the moon-god Sîn and the last stronghold of the Assyrian empire. Nonetheless, Adme gained prestige when Seleucus I Nicator selected it to become Edessa and when the city officially adopted Christianity a few centuries later. In both cases, the city added a cultural and intellectual character to its ancient role as a commercial link between East and West.

³⁶ The location of Nihriia in northern Syria sets the geographical context of the “battle of Nihriia” which took place between the Assyrians and the Hittites, at the end of the late Bronze Age; see my *Assyria and Hanigalbat: A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the*

End of the Twelfth Centuries B.C., *Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik* 4 (Hildesheim, 1987), pp. 140 ff., 185, 261.

³⁷ Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelasyrischen Zeit*, *RGTC* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 45.

Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity

Levantine Page

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See also: [The Ancient Name of Edessa](#), by Amir Harrak, from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Jul., 1992), pp. 209-21, in 7 pdf pages.

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[II. States and Dynasties of Caucasia in the Formative Centuries](#)

[III. The Orontids of Armenia](#)

[IV. Iberia \[Georgia\] between Chosroid and Bagratid Rule](#)

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[Iran 2000-1000 B.C.](#)

[Iran 1000 B.C.- 1 A.D.](#)

[Iran 1 - 500 A.D.](#)

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[Sasanian Art](#)

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[Scythians and Greeks](#), by Ellis H. Minns (Cambridge, 1913), in 808 pdf pages.

A Literary History of Persia, by Edward G. Browne. Three of four volumes are available:

[volume 1](#) (London, 1909, repr. of 1902 edition), *From the Earliest Times until Firdawsi*, in 548 pdf pages.

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Friedrich von Spiegel

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OLD PERSIAN TEXTS

The Achaemenian Kings left extensive cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian dated roughly between 600 BCE and 300 BCE. They also left ruins which have been described as the most grandiose of the ancient world. While it is by no means certain that they were orthodox Zoroastrians, the majority opinion among scholars is that this is very likely. One of the strongest arguments for this is the frequent mention of Ahura Mazda in the inscriptions, which is almost certainly an innovation of Zarathushtra's. Their religion is also described by [Herodotus](#) in sufficient detail to leave little doubt that they were basically Zoroastrian.

"Ahura Mazda came to my aid."

It was thanks to Darius the Great that we have been able to decipher the cuneiform script, which had fallen into even deeper oblivion than Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Based on Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian*, 1953

-
- Ariaramnes, Hamadan ([AmH](#)).
 - Arsames, Hamadan ([AsH](#)).
 - Cyrus, Murghab (Pasargadae): [CMa](#), [CMb](#), [CMc](#)
 - Darius, Behishtan (DB), [Column 1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#)
 - Darius, Minor inscriptions: [DBa](#), [DBb](#), [DBc](#), [DBd](#), [DBe](#), [DBf](#), [DBg](#), [DBh](#), [DBi](#), [DBj](#), [DBk](#)
 - Darius, Persepolis: [DPa](#), [DPb](#), [DPc](#), [DPd](#), [DPe](#), [DPf](#), [DPi](#)
 - Darius, Naqsh-e Rostam: [DNA](#), [DNb](#), Minor inscriptions: ([DNc](#), [DNd](#), [DN I-XXIX](#))
 - Darius, Susa: [DSa](#), [DSb](#), [DSc](#), [DSd](#), [DSe](#), [DSf](#), [DSg](#), [DSi](#), [DSj](#), [DSk](#), [DSL](#), [DSm](#), [DSn](#), [DSp](#), [DSq](#), [DSs](#), [DSt](#), [DSy](#)
 - Darius, Suez inscriptions: [DZa](#), [DZb](#), [DZc](#)
 - Darius, Elvend ([DE](#))
 - Darius, Hamadan ([DH](#))
 - Xerxes, Persepolis: [XPa](#), [XPb](#), [XPc](#), [XPd](#), [XPe](#), [XPf](#), [XPg](#), [XPh](#), [XPi](#), [XPj](#), [XPk](#)
 - Xerxes, Susa: [XSa](#), [XSc](#)
 - Xerxes, Elvend ([XE](#))
 - Xerxes, Van ([XV](#))
 - Xerxes, Hamadan ([XH](#))
 - Artaxerxes I, Persepolis A ([A1Pa](#))
 - Artaxerxes I, incerto loco ([A1I](#))
 - Darius II, Susa: [D2Sa](#), [D2Sb](#)
 - Artaxerxes II, Susa: [A2Sa](#), [A2Sb](#), [A2Sc](#), [A2Sd](#)
 - Artaxerxes II, Hamadan: [A2Ha](#), [A2Hb](#), [A2Hc](#)
 - Artaxerxes II or III, Persepolis ([A?P](#))
 - Artaxerxes III, Persepolis ([A3Pa](#))
 - Inscriptions on weights: [Wa](#), [Wb](#), [Wc](#), [Wd](#)

- Inscriptions on [Seals](#)
- [Vase Inscriptions](#)

Ariaramnes, Hamadan (AmH).

Slightly incomplete OP text on gold tablet.

Text:	Translation:
1 Ariyâramna : xshyathiya : vazraka : xshâyath	1. (1-4). Ariaramnes, the Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, son of Teispes the King, grandson of Achaemenes.
2 iya : xshâyathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : Pârsâ	
3 : Cishpaish : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishah	2. (4-9). Ariaramnes the King says: This country Persia which I hold, which is possessed of good horses, of good men, the Great God Ahuramazda bestowed it upon me. By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king in this country.
4 yâ : napâ : thâtiy : Ariyâramna : xshâyathiya	
5 : iyam : dahyâushi : Pârsâ : tya adam : dêrayâ	3. (9-11). Ariaramnes the King says: May Ahuramazda bear me aid.
6 miy : hya : uvaspâ : umartiyâ : manâ : бага	
7 : vazraka : Auramazdâ frâbara : vashnâ : Au	
8 ramazdâha : adam xshâyathiya : iyam da	
9 hyâush : amiy : thâtiy : Ariyâramna	
10 : xshâyathiya : Auramazdâ : manâ : upastâ	
11 m : baratuv	

Arsames, Hamadan (AsH).

OP text on gold tablet, lower right corner missing.

Text:	Translation:
1 Arshâma : xshâyathiya : vazraka : x	1. (1-4). Arsames, the Great King, King of Kings, King (in) Persia, son (of) Ariaramnes the King, an Achaemenian.
2 shâyathiya : xshâyathiyânâm : x	
3 shâyathiya : Pârsa : Ariyâramna : xsh	2. (5-14). Arsames the King says: Ahuramazda, great god, the greatest of gods, made me king. He bestowed on me the land Persia, with good people, with good horses. By the favor of Ahuramazda I hold this land. May Ahuramazda
4 âyathiyahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya	
5 : thâtiy : Arshâma : xshâyathiya : Au	

6 ramazdâ : бага : vazraka : hya : mathish	protect me, and my royal house, and may he protect this land which I hold.
7 ta : bagânâm : mâm : xshâyathiya	
8 m : akunaush : hauv dahyâum : P	
9 ârsam : manâ : frâbara : tya ukâram	
10 : uvaspam : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : im	
11 âm dahyâum : dêrayâmiy : mâm :	
12 Auramazdâ : pâtuv : utâmaiy : v	
13 itham : utâ : imâm : dahyâum : tya :	
14 adam : dêrayâmiy : hauv : pâtuv	

Cyrus, Murghab (Pasargadae) A. (CMa)

5 or more copies of trilingual inscription on columns and pillars of the palace.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Kûrush : xshâya	I am Cyrus the King, an Achaemenian.
2 thiya : Haxâmanishiya	

Cyrus, Murghab B. (CMb)

Fragments of trilingual inscription which stood above the royal figure in the doorways of the palace.

Text:	Translation:
1 Kûrush : xshâyathiya : vazraka : Kabûjiya	Cyrus the Great King, son of Cambyses the King, an Achaemenian. He says: When ... made ...
2 hyâ : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya :	
3 thâtiy : yathâ ...	
4 akutâ ...	

Cyrus, Murghab C. (CMc)

Trilingual inscription on folds of king's garment in 3 doorways of the palace

Text:	Translation:
Kûrush : xshâyathiya : vazraka : Haxâmanishiya	Cyrus the Great King, an Achaemenian.

Darius, Behishtan (DB), Column 1:

Trilingual inscription on face of a gorge beneath panel of sculptures

Text:	Translation:
1 : adam : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : vazraka : : xshâyatha : xshâyathiy	1. (1.1-3.) I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, an Achaemenian.
2 ânâm : xshâyathiya : Pârsaiy : xshâyathiya : dahyûnâm : Visht	2. (1.3-6.) Darius the King says: My father was Hystaspes; Hystaspes' father was Arsames; Arsames' father was Ariaramnes; Ariaramnes' father was Teispes; Teispes' father was Achaemenes.
3 âspahyâ : puça : Arshâmahyâ napâ : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy :	3. (1.6-8.) Darius the King says: For this reason we are called Achaemenians. From long ago we have been noble. From long ago our family had been kings.
4 Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : manâ : pitâ : Vishtâspa : Vishtâspahyâ : pitâ : Arsh	4. (1.8-11.) Darius the King says: there were 8 of our family who were kings before me; I am the ninth; 9 in succession we have been kings.
5 âma : Arshâmahyâ : pitâ : Ariyâramna : Ariyâramnahyâ : pitâ: Cishpish : Cishp	5. (1.11-2.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am King; Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me.
6 âish : pitâ : Haxâmanish : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâthiya : avahyarâ	6. (1.12-7.) Darius the King says: These are the countries which came to me; by the favor of Ahuramazda I was king of them: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, (those) who are beside the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka: in all, 23 provinces.
7 diy : vayam : Haxâmanishiyâ : thahyâmahy : hacâ : paruviyata : âmâtâ : ama	7. (1.17-20.) Darius the King says: These are the countries which came to me; by the favor of Ahuramazda they were my subjects; they bore
8 hy hacâ : paruviyata :hyâ :amâxam : taumâ : xshâyathiyâ : âha : th	
9 âtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : VIII : manâ : : taumâyâ : tyaiy : paruvam	
10 xshâyathiyâ : âha : adam navama : IX : duvitâparanam : vavam : xshâyathi	
11 yâ : amahy : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : vashnâ : Auramazd	
12 âha : adam : xshâyathiya : amiy : Auzamazdâ : xshaçam : manâ : frâbara : th	
13 âtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : imâ : dahyâva : tyâ : manâ : patiyâisha : vashn	

14 â : Auramazdâha : adamshâm : xshâyathiya :
âham : Pârsa : Ûvja : Bâbirush : A

15 thurâ : Arabâya : Mudrâya : tyaiy : drayahyâ
: Sparda : Yauna : Mâda : Armina : Kat

16 patuka : Parthava : Zraka : Haraiva :
Uvârazmîy : Bâxtrish : Suguda : Gadâra : Sa

17 ka : Thatagush : Harauvatish : Maka :
fraharavam : dahyâva : XXIII : thâtiy : Dâra

18 yavaush : xshâyathiya : imâ : dahyâva : tyâ :
manâ : patiyâita : vashnâ : Au

19 ramazdâha : manâ : badakâ : âhatâ : manâ :
bâjim : abaratâ : tyashâm : hacâma

20 : athahya : xshapava : raucativâ : ava :
akunavayatâ : thâtiy : Dârayava

21 ush : xshâyathiya : atar : imâ : dahyâva :
martiya : hya : âgariya : âha : avam : u

22 bartam : abaram : hya : arika : âha : avam :
ufrastam : aparsam : vashnâ : Auramazdâ

23 ha : imâ : dahyâva : tyanâ : manâ : dâtâ :
apariyâya : yathâshâm : hacâma : athah

24 ya : avathâ : kunavayatâ : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : Auramazdâ

25 maiy : ima xshaçam : frâbara :
Auramazdâmay : upastâm : abara : yâtâ : ima :
xshaçam :

26 hamadârayaiy : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : ima
: xshaçam : dârayâmiy : thâ

27 tiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : ima : tya :
manâ : kartam : pasâva : yathâ : xsh

28 âyathiya : abavam : Kabûjiya : nâma :
Kûraush : puça : amâxam : taumây

29 â : hauvam : idâ : xshâyathiya : âha : avahyâ
: Kabûjiyahyâ : brâ

tribute to me; what was said to them by me
either by night or by day, that was done.

8. (1.20-4.) Darius the King says: Within these
countries, the man who was loyal, him I
rewarded well; (him) who was evil, him I
punished well; by the favor of Ahuramazda
these countries showed respect toward my law;
as was said to them by me, thus was it done.

9. (1.24-26.) Darius the King says: Ahuramazda
bestowed the kingdom upon me; Ahuramazda
bore me aid until I got possession of this
kingdom; by the favor of Ahuramazda I hold
this kingdom.

10. (1.26-35.) Darius the King says: This is
what was done by me after I became king. A
son of Cyrus, Cambyses by name, of our family
-- he was king here of that Cambyses there was
a brother, Smerdis by name, having the same
mother and the same father as Cambyses.
Afterwards, Cambyses slew that Smerdis.
When Cambyses slew Smerdis, it did not
become known to the people that Smerdis had
been slain. Afterwards, Cambyses went to
Egypt. When Cambyses had gone off to Egypt,
after that the people became evil. After that the
Lie waxed great in the country, both in Persia
and in Media and in the other provinces.

11. (1.35-43.) Darius the King says:
Afterwards, there was one man, a Magian,
named Gaumata; he rose up from
Paishiyauvada. A mountain named Arakadri --
from there 14 days of the month Viyakhna were
past when he rose up. He lied to the people
thus: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, brother
of Cambyses." After that, all the people became
rebellious from Cambyses, (and) went over to
him, both Persia and Media and the other
provinces. He seized the kingdom; of the month
Garmapada 9 days were past, then he seized the
kingdom. After that, Cambyses died by his own
hand.

30 tâ : Bardiya : nâma : âha : hamâtâ : hamapitâ : Kabûjiyahyâ : pasâva : Ka

31 bûjiya : avam : Bardiyam : avâja : yathâ : Kabûjiya : Bardiyam : avâja : kârahy

32 â : naiy : azdâ : abava : tya : Bardiya : avajata : pasâva : Kabûjiya : Mudrâyam

33 : ashiyava : yathâ : Kabûjiya : Mudrâyam : ashiyava : pasâva : kâra : arika : abava

34 : pasâva : drauga : dahyauvâ : vasiy : abava : utâ : Pârsaiy : utâ : Mâdaiy : ut

35 â : aniyâuvâ : dahyushuvâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : pa

36 sâva : I martiya : magush : âha : Gaumâta : nâma : hauv : udapatatâ : hacâ : Paishi

37 yâuvâdâyâ : Arakadrish : nâma : kaufâ : hacâ : avadasha : Viyaxnahya : mâh

38 yâ : XIV : raucabish : thakatâ : âha : yadiy : udapatatâ : hauv : kârahyâ : avathâ

39 : adurujiya : adam : Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kûraush : puça : Kabûjiyahyâ : br

40 âtâ : pasâva : kâra : haruva : hamiçiya : abava : hacâ : Kabûjiyâ : abiy : avam :

41 ashiyava : utâ : Pârsa : utâ : Mâda : utâ : aniyâ : dahyâva : xshaçam : hauv

42 : agarbâyâtâ : Garmapadahya : mâhyâ : IX : raucabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâ : xsha

43 çam : agarbâyâtâ : pasâva : Kabûjiya : uvâmarshiyush : amariyatâ : thâtiy

44 : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : aita : xshaçam : tya : Gaumâta : hya : magush : adîn

45 â : Kabûjiyam : aita : xshaçam : hacâ : paruviyata : amâxam : taumâyâ : â

12. (1.43-8.) Darius the King says: This kingdom which Gaumata the Magian took away from Cambyzes, this kingdom from long ago had belonged to our family. After that, Gaumata the Magian took (it) from Cambyzes; he took to himself both Persia and Media and the other provinces, he made (them) his own possession, he became king.

13. (1.48-61.) Darius the King says: There was not a man, neither a Persian nor a Mede nor anyone of our family, who might make that Gaumata the Magian deprived of the kingdom. The people feared him greatly, (thinking that) he would slay in numbers the people who previously had known Smerdis; for this reason he would slay the people, "lest they know me, that I am not Smerdis the son of Cyrus." Nobody dared say anything about Gaumata the Magian, until I came. After that I sought help of Ahuramazda; Ahuramazda bore me aid; of the month Bagayadi 10 days were past, then I with a few men slew that Gaumata the Magian, and those who were his foremost followers. A fortress named Sikayauvati, a district named Nisaya, in Media -- here I slew him. I took the kingdom from him. By the favor of Ahuramazda I became king; Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me.

14. (1.61-71.) Darius the King says: The kingdom which had been taken away from our family, that I put in its Place; I reestablished it on its foundation. As before, so I made the sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed. I restored to the people the pastures and the herds, the household slaves and the houses which Gaumata the Magian took away from them. I reestablished the people on its foundation, both Persia and Media and the other provinces. As before, so I brought back what had been taken away. By the favor of Ahuramazda this I did: I strove until I reestablished our royal house on its foundation as (it was) before. So I strove, by the favor of Ahuramazda, so that Gaumata the Magian did not remove our royal house.

46 ha : pasâva : Gaumâta : hya : adînâ :
Kabûjiyam : utâ : Pârsam : utâ

47 : Mâdam : utâ : aniyâ : dahyâva : hauv :
âyasatâ : uvâpashiyam : akutâ : hau

48 v : xshâyathiya : abava : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : naiy : âha : martiya
:

49 naiy : Pârsa : naiy : Mâda : naiy : amâxam :
taumâyâ : kashciy : hya : avam : Gau

50 mâtam : tyam : magum : xshaçam : dîtam :
caxriyâ : kârashim : hacâ : darsham : a

51 tarsi : kâram : vasiy : avâjaniyâ : hya :
paranam : Bardiyam : adânâ : avahyar

52 âdiy : kâram : avâjaniyâ : mâtyamâm :
xshnâsâtiy : tya : adam : naiy : Bard

53 iya : amiy : hya : Kûraush : puça : kashciy :
naiy : adarshnaush : cishciy : thastana

54 iy : pariy : Gaumâtam : tyam : magum : yâtâ
: adam : arasam : pasâva : adam : Aura

55 maz(d)âm : patiyâvahyaiy : Auramazdâmai
: upastâm : abara : Bâgayâdaish :

56 mâhyâ : X : raucabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâ
:adam : hadâ : kamnaibish : martiyaibi

57 sh : avam : Gaumâtam : tyam : magum
avâjanam : utâ : tyaishaiy : frathamâ : mar

58 tiyâ : anushiyâ : âhatâ : Sikayauvatish : nâmâ
: didâ : Nisâya : nâ

59 mâ : dahyâush : Mâdaiy : avadashim :
avâjanam : xshaçamshim : adam : adînâ : va

60 shnâ : Auramazdâha : adam : xshâyathiya :
abavam : Auramazdâ : xshaçam : manâ : fr

61 âbara : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :
xshaçam : tya : hacâ : amâxam ta

15. (1.71-2.) Darius the King says: This is what
I did after I became king.

16. (1.72-81.) Darius the King says: When I had
slain Gaumata the Magian, afterwards one man,
named Asina, son of Upadarma -- he rose up in
Elam. To the people he said thus: "I am king in
Elam." Afterwards the Elamites became
rebellious, (and) went over to that Asina; he
became king in Elam. And one man, a
Babylonian, named Nidintu-Bel, son of Ainaira
-- he rose up in Babylon; thus he deceived the
people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of
Nabonidus." Afterwards the Babylonian people
all went over to that Nidintu-Bel; Babylonia
became rebellious; he seized the kingdom in
Babylon.

17. (1.81-3). Darius the King says: After that I
sent (a message) to Elam. This Acina was led to
me bound; I slew him.

18. (1.83-90). Darius the King says: After that I
went off to Babylon, against that Nidintu-Bel
who called himself Nebuchadrezzar. The army
of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris; there it took its
stand, and on account of the waters (the Tigris)
was unfordable. Thereupon (some of) my army
I supported on (inflated) skins, others I made
camel-borne, for others I brought horses.
Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of
Ahuramazda we got across the Tigris. There I
smote that army of Nidintu-Bel exceedingly; of
the month Asiyadiya 26 days were past, then
we fought the battle.

19. (1.90-6). Darius the King says: After that I
went off to Babylon. When I had not arrived at
Babylon, a town named Zazana, beside the
Euphrates -- there this Nidintu-Bel who called
himself Nebuchadrezzar came with an army
against me, to deliver battle. Thereupon we
Joined battle; Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the
favor of Ahuramazda I smote that army of
Nidintu-Bel exceedingly. The rest was thrown
into the water, (and) the water carried it away.

62 umâyâ : parâbartam : âha : ava : adam :
patipadam : akunavam : adamshim : gâtha

63 vâ : avâstâyam : yathâ : paruvamciy : avayjâ
: adam : akuravam : âyadan

64 â : tyâ : Gaumâta : hya : magush : viyaka :
adam : niyaçârayam : kârahyâ : abi

65 carish : gaithâmcâ : mâniyamcâ : vithbisheâ
: tyâdish : Gaumâta : hya :

66 magush : adînâ : adam : kâram : gâthavâ :
avâstâyam : Pârsamcâ : Mâdamc

67 â : utâ : aniyâ : dahyâva : yathâ : paruvamciy
: avathâ : adam : tya : parâbarta

68 m : patiyabaram : vashnâ : Auramazdâha :
ima : adam : akunavam : adam : hamataxshaiy :

69 yâtâ : vitham : tyâm : amâxam : gâthavâ :
avâstâyam : yathâ : paruvamciy :

70 avathâ : adam : hamataxshaiy : vashnâ :
Auramazdâha : yathâ : Gaumâta : hya : magu

71 sh : vitham : tyâm : amâxam : naiy :
parâbara : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyath

72 iya : ima : tya : adam : akunavam : pasâva :
yathâ : xshâyathiya : abavam : thâtiy

73 : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : yathâ : adam :
Gaumâtam : tyam : magum avâjanam : pa

74 sâva : I martiya : Âçina : nâma :
Upadarmahyâ : puça : hauv : udapatatâ : Ûvjai

75 y : kârahyâ : avathâ : athaha : adam : Ûvjaiy
: xshâyathiya : amiy : pasâva : Ûv

76 jiyâ : hamiçiyâ : abava : abiy : avam :
Âçinam : ashiyava : hauv : xshâyathiya

77 abava : Ûvjaiy : utâ : I martiya : Bâbiruviya :
Naditabaira : nâma : Ainairahy

Of the month Anamaka 2 days were past, then
we fought the battle.

78 â : puça : hauv : udapatati : Bibirauv : kiram
avafi : adurujiya : adam : Nab

79 ukudracara : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahyâ :
puça : pasâva : kêra : hya : Bâbiruviya

80 : haruva : abiy : avam : Naditabairam :
ashiyava : Bâbirush : hamiçiya : abava : x

81 shaçam : tyâ : Bâbirauv : hauv : agarbâyâtâ :
thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâya

82 thiya : pasâva : adam : frâishayam : Ûvjam :
hauv : Âçina : basta : anayatâ : abiy : mâ

83 m : adamshim : avâjanam : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : pasâva : adam : Bâ

84 birum : ashiyavam : abiy : avam :
Naditabairam : hya : Nabukudracara : agaubatâ

85 : kara : hya : Naditabairahyâ : Tigrâm :
adâraya : avadâ : aishtatâ : utâ

86 abish : nâviyâ : âha : pasâva : adam : kêram :
mashkâuvâ : avâkanam : aniyam : usha

87 bârim : akunavam : aniyahyâ : asam :
frânayam : Auramazdâmaiy : upastâm

88 : abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : Tigrâm :
viyatarayâmâ : avadâ : avam : kêram :

89 tyam : Naditabairahyâ : adam : ajanam :
vasiy : Âçiyâdiyahya : mâhyâ : XXVI : rau

90 cabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâ : hamaranam :
akumâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : x

91 shâyathiya : pasâva : adam : Bâbirum :
ashiyavam : athiy : Bâbirum : yathâ : naiy : up

92 âyam : Zâzâna : nâma : vardanam : anuv :
Ufrâtuvâ : avadâ : hauv : Nadita

93 baira : hya : Nabukudracara : agaubatâ : âish
: hadâ : kêrâ : patish : mâm : hamaranam :

94 cartanaiy : pasâva hainaranam akumâ : Auramazdâmai : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Aurama	
95 zdâha : kâram : tyam : Naditabairahyâ : adam : ajanam : vasiy : aniya : âpiyâ : âhyatâ : â	
96 pidhim : parâbara : Anâmakahya : mâhyâ : II: raucibish : thakatâ : âha : avathâ : hamaranam akumâ	

DB, COLUMN 2:

Text:	Translation:
1 : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : pasâva : Naditabaira : ha	20. (2.1-5.) Darius the King says: After that, Nidintu-Bel with a few horsemen fled; he went off to Babylon. Thereupon I went to Babylon. By the favor of Ahuramazda both I seized Babylon and I took that Nidintu-Bel prisoner. After that, I slew that Nidintu-Bel at Babylon.
2 dâ : kamnaibish : asabâraibish : amutha : Bâbirum : ashiya	21. (2.5-8.) Darius the King says: While I was in Babylon, these are the provinces which became rebellious from me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia.
3 va : pasâva : adam : Bâbirum : ashiyavam : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : utâ Bâ	22. (2.8-11.) Darius the King says: One man, named Martiya, son of Cincikhri -- a town named Kuganaka, in Persia -- there he abode. He rose up in Elam; to the people thus he said, "I am Imanish, king in Elam."
4 birum : agarbâyam : utâ : avam : Naditabairam : agarbâyam : pasâva : ava	23. (2.11-3.) Darius the King says: At that time I was near Elam. Thereupon the Elamites were afraid of me; they seized that Martiya who was their chief, and slew him.
5 m : Naditabairam : adam : Bâbirauv : avâjanam : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : x	24. (2.13-7.) Darius the King says: One man, named Phraortes, a Median -- he rose up in Media. To the people thus he said, "I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares." Thereafter the Median army which (was) in the palace, became rebellious from me, (and) went over to that Phraortem. He became king in Media.
6 shâyathiya : yâtâ : adam : Babirauv : âham : imâ : dahyâva : tyâ : hacâma : ha	
7 miçiyâ : abava : Pârsa : Ūvja : Mâda : Athurâ : Mudrâya : Parthava : Margush : Tha	
8 tagush : Saka : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : I martiya : Martiya : nâ	
9 ma : Cicixrâish : puça : Kuganakâ : nâma : vardanam : Pârsaiy : avadâ : adâraya :	
10 hauv : udapatatâ : Ūvjaiy : kârahyâ : avathâ : athaha : adam : Imanish : amiy : Ū	
11 vjaiy : xshâyathiya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : adakaïy : adam : ashna	

12 iy : âham : abiy : Ûvjam : pasâva : hacâma :
atarsa : Ûvjyâ : avam : Marti

13 yam : agarbâya : hyashâm : mathishta : âha :
utâshim : avâjana : thâtiy : D

14 ârayavaush : xshayathiya : I martiya :
Fravartish : nâma : Mâda : hauv : udapatat

15 â : Mâdaiy : kârahyâ : avathâ : athaha : adam :
Xshathrita : amiy : Uvaxshtrah

16 yâ : taumâyâ : pasâva : kâra : Mâda : hya :
uithâpatiy : hauv : hacâma : hamiçiya : a

17 bava : abiy : avam : Fravartim : ashiyava :
hauv : xshâyathiya : abava : Mâdaiy :

18 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : kâra :
Pârsa : utâ : Mâda : hya : upâ : mâm : â

19 ha : hauv : kamnam : âha : pasâva : adam :
kâram : frâishayam : Vidarna : nâma : Pârsa :
man

20 â : badaka : avamshâm : mathishtam :
akunavam : avathâshâm : athaham : paraitâ :
avam : k

21 âram : tyam : Mâdam : jatâ : hya : manâ :
naiy : gaubataiy : pasâva : hauv : Vidarna : ha

22 dâ : kârâ : ashiyava : yathâ : Mâdam :
parârasa : Mârush : nâma : vardanam : Mâ

23 daiy : avadâ : hamaranam : akunaush : hadâ :
Mâdaibish : hya : Mâdaishuva

24 : mathishta : âha : hauv : adakaiy : naiy :
avadâ : âha : Auramazdâmai : u

25 pastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha :
kâra : hya : manâ : avam : kâram : t

26 yam : hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy : Anâmakahya :
mâhyâ : XXVII : raucabish : thakat

27 â : âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam :
pasâva : hauv : kâra : hya : manâ : Kapada :

25. (2.18-29.) Darius the King says: The Persian and Median army which was with me, this was a small (force). Thereupon I sent forth an army. A Persian named Hydarnes, my subject -- I made him chief of them; I said to them thus: "Go forth, smite that Median army which does not call itself mine!" Thereupon this Hydarnes with the army marched off. When he arrived in Media, a town named Maru, in Media -- there he joined battle with the Medes. He who was chief among the Medes, he at that time was not there. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly. Of the month Anamaka 27 days were past, then the battle was fought by them. Thereafter this army of mine, a district named Kampana, in Media -- there it waited for me until I arrived in Media.

26. (2.29-37.) Darius the King says: An Armenian named Dadarshi, my subject -- I sent him forth to Armenia. I said to him: "Go forth, that rebellious army which does not call itself mine, that do you smite!" Thereupon Dadarshi marched off. When he arrived in Armenia, thereafter the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A place named Zuzahya, in Armenia -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara 8 days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

27. (2.37-42.) Darius the King says: Again a second time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A stronghold named Tigra, in Armenia -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara 18 days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

28. (2.42-9.) Darius the King says: Again a third time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Dadarshi to join battle. A fortress

nâm

28 â : dahyâush : Mâdaiy : avadâ : mâm :
amânaiya : yâtâ : adam : arasam : Mâda

29 m : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :
Dâdarshish : nâma : Arminiya : man

30 â : badaka : avam : adam : frâishayam :
Arminam : avathâshaïy : athaham : paraidiy : kâ

31 ra : hya : hamîçiva : manâ : naiy : gaubataiy
: avam : jadiy : pasâva : Dâdarshi

32 sh : ashiyava : yathâ : Arminam : parârasa :
pasâva : hamîçiyâ : hagmati : parai

33 tâ : patish : Dâdarshim : hamaranam :
cartanaiy : Zûzahya : nâma : âvahanam : A

34 rminiyaïy : avadâ : hamaranam : akunava :
Auramazdâmai : upastâm : a

35 bara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : kâra : hya :
manâ : avam : kâram : tyam : hamîçiyam :

36 aja : vasiy : Thûravâharahya : mâhyâ : VIII :
raucabish : thakatâ : âha : avath

37 âshâm : hamaranam : kartam : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : patiy : duv

38 itîyam : hamîçiyâ : hagmatâ : paraitâ : patish
: Dâdarshim : hamaranam : carta

39 naiy : Tigra : nâmâ : didâ : Arminiyaïy :
avadâ : hamaranam : akunava : A

40 uramazdâmai : upastâm : abara : vashnâ :
Auramazdâha : kâra : hya : manâ : a

41 vam : kâram : tyam : hamîçiyam : aja : vasiy
: Thûravâharahya : mâhyâ : XVIII

42 : raucabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâshâm :
hamaranam : kartam : thâtiy : Dâraya

43 vaush : xshâyathiya : patiy : çitîyam :
hamîçiyâ : hagmatâ : paraitâ : pat

named Uyama, in Armenia -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Thaigarci 9 days were past, then the battle was fought by them. Thereafter Dadarshi waited for me until I arrived in Media.

29. (2.49-57.) Darius the King says: Thereafter a Persian named Vaumisa, my subject-him I sent forth to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Go forth; the rebellious army which does not call itself mine -- smite them!" Thereupon Vaumisa marched off. When he arrived in Armenia, then the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A district named Izala, in Assyria -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Anamaka 15 days were past, then the battle was fought by them.

30. (2.57-63.) Darius the King says: Again a second time the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vaumisa to join battle. A district named Autiyara, in Armenia -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; on the last day of the month Thuravaharâthen the battle was fought by them. After that, Vaumisa waited for me in Armenia until I arrived in Media.

31. (2.64-70.) Darius the King says: Thereafter I went away from Babylon (and) arrived in Media. When I arrived in Media, a town named Kunduru, in Media -- there this Phraortes who called himself king in Media came with an army against me to join battle. Thereafter we joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda that army of Phraortes I smote exceedingly; of the month Adukanaisha 25 days were past, then we fought the battle.

32. (2.70-8.) Darius the King says: Thereafter this Phraortes with a few horsemen fled; a

44 ish : Dâdarshim : hamaranam : cartanaiy :
Uyamâ : nâmâ : didâ : Arminiyaiy : a

45 vadâ : hamaranam : akunava :
Auramazdâmai : upastâm : abara : vashnâ :
Aurama

46 zdâha : kêra : hya : manâ : avam : kêram :
tyam : hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy : Thâigarca

47 ish : mâhyâ : IX : raucabish : thakatâ : âha :
avathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam : pasâva

48 : Dâdarshish : citâ : mâm : amânaya :
Arminiyaiy : yâtâ : adam : arasam : Mâ

49 dam : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :
pasâva : Vaumisa : nâma : Pârsa : manâ : ba

50 daka : avam : adam : frâishayam : Arminam
: avathâshaiy : athaham : paraidiy : kêra :

51 hya : hamiçiya : manâ : naiy : gaubataiy :
avam : jadiy : pasâva : Vaumisa : a

52 shiyava : yathâ : Arminam : parârasa :
pasâva : hamiçiyâ : hagmatâ : paraitâ : pa

53 tish : Vaumisam hamaranam : cartanaiy :
Izalâ : nâmâ : dahyâush : Athurây

54 â : avadâ : hamaranam : akunava :
Auramazdâmai : upastâm abara : vashnâ : Au

55 ramazdâha : kêra : hya : manâ : avam :
kêram : tyam : hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy :

56 Anâmakahya : mâhyâ : XV : raucabish :
thakatâ : âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam :

57 kartam : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :
patiy : duvitîyam : ham

58 içiyâ : hagmatâ : paraitâ : patish : Vaumisam
: hamaranam : cartanaiy : Au

59 tiyâra : nâmâ : dahyâush : Arminiyaiy :
avadâ : hamaranam : akunava :

district named Raga, in Media -- along there he went off. Thereafter I sent an army in pursuit; Phraortes, seized, was led to me. I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and put out one eye; he was kept bound at my palace entrance, all the people saw him. Afterward I impaled him at Ecbatana; and the men who were his foremost followers, those at Ecbatana within the fortress I (flayed and) hung out (their hides, stuffed with straw).

33. (2.78-91.) Darius the King says: One man named Cisantakhma, a Sagartian -- he became rebellious to me; thus he said to the people, "I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares." Thereupon I sent off a Persian and Median army; a Mede named Takhmaspada, my subject -- I made him chief of them. I said to them thus: "Go forth; the hostile army which shall not call itself mine, and smite them!" Thereupon Takhmaspada with the army went off; he joined battle with Cisantakhma. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army and took Cisantakhma prisoner, (and) led him to me. Afterwards I cut off both his nose and ears, and put out one eye, he was kept bound at my palace entrance, all the people saw him. Afterwards I impaled him at Arbela.

34. (2.91-2.) Darius the King says: This is what was done by me in Media.

35. (2.92-8.) Darius the King says: Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious from me, called themselves (adherents) of Phraortes. Hystaspes my father -- he was in Parthia; him the people abandoned, became rebellious. Thereupon Hystaspes went forth with the army which was faithful to him. A town named Vishpauzati, in Parthia -- there he joined battle with the Parthians. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Viyakhna 22 days were past -- then the battle was fought by them.

60 Auramazdâmaiy : upastâm : abara : vashnâ :
Auramazdâha : kêra : hya : ma

61 nâ : avam : kêram : tyam : hamiçiyam : aja :
vasiy : Thûravâharahya : mâh

62 yâ : jiyamnam : patiy : avathâshâm :
hamaranam : kartam : pasâva : Vaumisa

63 : citâ : mâm : amânaya : Arminiyâiy : yâtâ :
adam : arasam : Mâdam

64 : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : pasâva
: adam : nijâyam : hacâ :

65 Bâbiraush : ashiyavam : Mâdam : yathâ :
Mâdam : parârasam : Kudurush : nâma :

66 vardanam : Mâdaiy : avadâ : hauv :
Fravartish : hya : Mâdaiy : xshâyathiya : a

67 gaubatâ : âish : hadâ : kêrâ : patish : mâm :
hamaranam : cartanaiy : pasâva hamarana

68 m : akumâ : Auramazdâmaiy : upastâm :
abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : kêram

69 : tyam : Fravartaish : adam : ajanam : vasiy :
Adukanaishahya : mâhyâ : XXV : ra

70 ucabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâ : hamaranam
: akumâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : x

71 shâyathiya : pasâva : hauv : Fravartish : hadâ
: kamnaibish : asabâraibish : amutha : Ra

72 gâ : nâmâ : dahyâush : Mâdaiy : avaparâ :
ashiyava : pasâva : adam : kêram : f

73 râishayam : nipadiy : Fravartish : âgarbîta :
anayatâ : abiy : mâm : ada

74 mshaiy : utâ : nâham : utâ : gaushâ : utâ :
hazânam : frâjanam : utâsha

75 iy : I casham : avajam : duvarayâmaiy :
basta : adâriya : haruvashim : k

76 âra : avaina : pasâvashim : Hagmatânaiy :
uzmayâpatiy : akunavam

77 : utâ : martiyâ : tyaishaiy : fratamâ :
anushiyâ : âhatâ : avaiy : Ha

78 gmatânaiy : atar : didâm : frâhajam : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xsh

79 âyathiya : I martiya : Ciçataxma : nâma :
Asagartiya : hauvmai : hamiçiya :

80 abava : kêrahyâ : avathâ : athaha : adam :
xshâyathiya : amiy : Asagarta

81 iy : Uvaxshtrahyâ : taumâyâ : pasâva : adam
: kêram : Pârsam : ut

82 â : Mâdam : frâishayam : Taxmaspâda :
nâma : Mâda : manâ : badaka : avam

83 shâm : mathishtam : akunavam : avathâshâm
: athaham : paraitâ : k

84 âram : hamiçiyam : hya : manâ : naiy :
gaubâtaiy : avam : jatâ : pas

85 âva : Taxmaspâda : hadâ : kêrâ : ashiyava :
hamaranam : akunaush : had

86 â : Ciçataxmâ : Auramazdâmai : upastâm :
abara : vashnâ : Auramaz

87 dâha : kêra : hya : manâ : avam : kêram :
tyam : hamiçiyam : aja : utâ : C

88 içataxmam : agarbâya : anaya : abiy : mâm
pasâvashaiy : adam : utâ : n

89 âham : utâ : gaushâ : frâjanam : utâshaiy : I
casham : avajam : duvarayâ

90 maiy : basta : adâriya : haruvashim : kêra :
avaina : pasâvashim Arbairâyâ :

91 uzmayâpatiy : akunavam : thatiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : ima : tya : ma

92 nâ : kartam : Mâdaiy : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : Parthava : utâ : Var	
93 kâna : hamiçiyâ : abava : hacâma : Fravartaish : agaubatâ : Vishtâspa : manâ : pitâ : ha	
94 uv : Parthavaïy : âha : avam : kêra : avaharda : hamiçiya : abava : pasâva : Vishtâspa :	
95 ashiyava : hadâ : kêrâ : hyashaiy : anushiya : âha : Vishpauzâtish : nâma : varda	
96 nam : Parthavaïy : avadâ : hamaranam : akunaush : hadâ : Parthavaibish : Auramazdâmai	
97 : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : Vishtâspa : avam : kêram : tyam : hamiçiya	
98 m : aja : vasiy : Viyaxnahya : mâhyâ : XXII : raucabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam	

DB, COLUMN 3:

Text:	Translation:
1 : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : pasâva : adam : kêra	36. (3.1-9.) Darius the King says: After that I sent forth a Persian army to Hystaspes, from Raga. When this army came to Hystaspes, thereupon Hystaspes took that army (and) marched out. A town by name Patigrabana, in Parthia - there he joined battle with the rebels. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Garmapada 1 day was past -- then the battle was fought by them.
2 m : Pârsam : frâishayam : abiy : Vishtâspam : hacâ : Ragâ	
3 yâ : yathâ : hauv : kêra : parârasa : abiy : Vishtâspam	37. (3.9-10.) Darius the King says: After that the province became mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.
4 : pasâva : Vishtâspa : âyasatâ : avam : kêram : ashiyava : Patigraba	38. (3.10-9.) Darius the King says: A province named Margiana -- it became rebellious to me. One man named Frada, a Margian -- him they
5 nâ : nâma : vardanam : Parthavaïy : avadâ : hamaranam : akunaush : hadâ :	
6 hamiçiyaibish : Auramazdâmai : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramaz	

7 dâha : Vishtâspa : avam : kêram : tyam :
hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy : Ga

8 rmapadahya : mâhya : I : rauca : thakatam :
âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam : ka

9 rtam : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :
pasâva : dahyâush : ma

10 nâ : abava : ima : tya : manâ : kartam :
Parthavaïy : thâtiy : Dârayavau

11 sh : xshâyathiya : Margush : nâmâ :
dahyâush : hauvmaïy : hamiçiyâ : abava

12 : I martiya : Frâda : nâma : Mârgava : avam :
mathishtam : akunavatâ : pasâ

13 va : adam : frâishayam : Dâdarshish : nâma :
Pârsa : manâ : badaka : Bâxtriya

14 â : xshaçapâvâ : abiy : avam : avathâshaiy :
athaham : paraidiy : ava

15 m : kêram : jadiy : hya : manâ : naiy :
gaubataiy : pasâva : Dâdarshish : hadâ : k

16 ârâ : ashiyava : hamaranam : akunaush :
hadâ : Mârgavaibish : Auramazd

17 âmaiya : upastâm : abara : vashnâ :
Auramazdâha : kêra : hya : manâ : avam :
kêram

18 : tyam : hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy :
Âçiyâdihya : mâhyâ : XXIII : raucabi

19 sh : thakatâ : âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam :
kartam : thâtiy : Dârayavau

20 sh : xshâyathiya : pasâva : dahyâush : manâ :
abava : ima : tya : ma

21 nâ : kartam : Bâxtriya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâya

22 thiya : I martiya : Vahyazdâta : nâma :
Târavâ : nâma : vardanam

made chief. Thereupon I sent forth against him a Persian named Dadarshi, my subject, satrap in Bactria. Thus I said to him: "Go forth, smite that army which does not call itself mine!" After that, Dadarshi marched out with the army; he joined battle with the Margians. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Asiyadiya 23 days were past -- then the battle was fought by them.

39. (3.19-21.) Darius the King says: After that the province became mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.

40. (3.21-8.) Darius the King says: One man named Vahyazdata -- a town named Tarava, a district named Yautiya, in Persia -- there he abode. He made the second uprising in Persia. To the people he said thus: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." Thereupon the Persian army which (was) in the palace, (having come) from Anshan previously -- it became rebellious from me, went over to that Vahyazdata. He became king in Persia.

41. (3.28-40.) Darius the King says: Thereupon I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was by me. A Persian named Artavardiya, my subject -- I made him chief of them. The rest of the Persian army went forth behind me to Media. Thereupon Artavardiya with his army went forth to Persia. When he arrived in Persia, a town named Rakha, in Persia -- there this Vahyazdata who called himself Smerdis came with his army against Artavardiya, to join battle. Thereupon they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that army of Vahyazdata exceedingly; of the month Thuravahara 12 days were past -- then the battle was fought by them.

42. (3.40-9.) Darius the King says: After that, this Vahyazdata with a few horsemen fled; he went off to Paishiyauvada. From there he got an army; later he came against Artavardiya to join

23 : Yautiyâ : nâmâ : dahyâush : Pârsaiy : avadâ : adâraya : ha

24 uv : duivitiyâm : udapatatâ : Pârsaiy : kârahyâ : avathâ

25 : athaha : adam : Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kûraush : puça : pasâva

26 : kâra : Pârsa : hya : Vithâpatiy : hacâ : Yadâyâ : frataram : ha

27 uv : hacâma : hamiçiya : abava : abiy : avam : Vahyazdâta

28 m : ashiyava : hauv : xshâyathiya : abava : Pârsaiy : thâ

29 tiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : pasâva : adam : kâram : Pârsa

30 m : utâ : Mâdam : frâishayam : hya : upâ : mâm : âha : Artavard

31 iya : nâma Pârsa : manâ : badaka : avamshâm : mathishtam : aku

32 navam : hya : aniya : kâra : Pârsa : pasâ : manâ : ashiyava : Mâ

33 dam : pasâva : Artavardiya : hadâ : kârâ : ashiyava : Pârsam

34 : yathâ : Pârsam : parârasa : Raxâ : nâma : vardanam : Pârsaiy : a

35 vadâ : hauv : Vahyazdâta : hya : Bardiya : agaubatâ : âish :

36 hadâ : kârâ : patish : Artavardiyam : hamaranam : cartanaiy : pas

37 âva : hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdâmai : upastâm : abara : va

38 shnâ : Auramazdâha : kâra : hya : manâ : avam : kâram : tyam : Vahya

battle. A mountain named Parga -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that army of Vahyasdata exceedingly; of the month Garmapada 5 days were past -- then the battle was fought by them, and that Vahyazdata they took prisoner, and those who were his foremost followers they captured.

43. (3.49-52.) Darius the King says: After that I took that Vahyazdata and those who were his foremost followers -- a town named Uvadaicaya, in Persia -- there I impaled them.

44. (3.52-3.) Darius the King says: This is what was done by me in Persia.

45. (3.54-64.) The King says: This Vahyazdata who called himself Smerdis had sent an army to Arachosia -- a Persian named Vivana, my subject, satrap in Arachosia -- against him; and he had made one man their chief. Thus he said to them: "Go forth; smite Vivana and that army which calls itself King Darius's!" Thereupon this army marched off, which Vahyazdata had sent forth against Vivana to join battle. A fortress named Kapishakani -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Anamaka 13 days were past -- then the battle was fought by them.

46. (3.64-9.) Darius the King says: Again later the rebels assembled (and) came out against Vivana to join battle. A district named Gandutava -- there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda my army smote that rebellious army exceedingly; of the month Viyakhna 7 days were past -- then the battle was fought by them.

47. (3.69-75.) Darius the King says: After that, this man who was the chief of that army which Vahyazdata had sent forth against Vivana -- he fled with a few horsemen (and) got away. A

39 zdâtahya : aja : vasiy : Thûravâharahya :
mâhyâ : XII : raucabish : thaka

40 tâ : âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam :
thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xsâyathi

41 ya : pasâva : hauv : Vahyazdâta : hadâ :
kamnaibish : asabâraibish : a

42 mutha : ashiyava : Paishiyâuvâdâm : hacâ :
avadasha : kâram : âyasa

43 tâ : hyâparam : âish : patish : Artavardiyam :
hamaranam : cartana

44 iy : Parga : nâma : kaufa : avadâ :
hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdâma

45 iy : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha :
kâra : hya : manâ : ava

46 m : kâram : tyam : Vahyazdâtahya : aja :
vasiy : Garmapadahya : mâh

47 yâ : V : raucabish : thakatâ : âha :
avathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam : utâ : ava

48 m Vahyazdâtam : agarbâya : utâ : martiyâ :
tyaishaiy : fratham

49 â : anushiyâ : âhata : agarbâya : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xsh

50 âyathiya : pasâva : adam : avarn :
Vahyazdâtam : utâ : martiyâ :

51 tyaishaiy : frathamâ : anushiyâ : âhata :
Uvâdaicaya : nâma : var

52 danam : Pârsaiy : avadashish : uzmayâpatiy :
akunavam : thâ

53 tiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : ima : tya :
manâ : kartam : Pârsaiy

54 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : hauv :
Vahyazdâta : hya : Bardiya

fortress named Arshada, in Arachosia -- past that he went. Afterwards Vivana with his army went off in pursuit of them; there he took him prisoner and the men who were his foremost followers, (and) slew (them).

48. (3.75-6.) Darius the King says: After that the province became mine. This is what was done by me in Arachosia.

49. (3.76-83.) Darius the King says: While I was in Persia and Media, again a second time the Babylonians became rebellious from me. One man named Arkha, an Armenian, son of Haldita -- he rose up in Babylon. A district named Dubala -- from there he thus lied to the people: "I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidus." Thereupon the Babylonian people became rebellious from me, (and) went over to that Arkha. He seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.

50. (3.83-92.) Darius the King says: Thereupon I sent forth an army to Babylon. A Persian named Intaphernes, my subject -- him I made chief of them. Thus I said to them: "Go forth; that Babylonian army smite, which shall not call itself mine!" Thereupon Intaphernes with the army marched off to Babylon. Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda Intaphernes smote the Babylonians and led them in bonds; of the month Varkazana 22 days were past -- then that Arkha who falsely called himself Nebuchadrezzar and the men who were his foremost followers he took prisoner. I issued an order: this Arkha and the men who were his foremost followers were impaled at Babylon.

55 : agaubatâ : hauv : kêram : frâishaya :
Harauvatim : Vivâna :

56 nâma : Pârsa : manâ : badaka : Harauvatiyâ :
xshaçapâvâ : abiy : ava

57 m : utâshâm : I martiyarn : mathishtam :
akunaush avathâshâm : a

58 thaha : paraitâ : Vivânam : jatâ : utâ : avam :
kêram : hya : Dâraya

59 vahaush : xshâyathiyahyâ : gaubataiy :
pasâva : hauv : kêra : ashiya

60 va : tyam : Vahyazdâta : frâishaya : abiy :
Vivânam : hamaranam : cartanaiy : K

61 âpishakânish : nâmâ : didâ : avadâ :
hamaranarn : akunava : Auramazdâmai

62 y : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha :
kêra : hya : manâ : avam : kêram : tya

63 m : hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy : Anâmakahya :
mâhyâ : XIII : raucabish : thakatâ : âha : a

64 vathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : patiy : h

65 yâparam : hamiçiyâ : hagmatâ : paraitâ :
patish : Vivânam : hamaranam : cartana

66 iy : Gadutava : nâmâ : dahyâush : avadâ :
hamaranam : akunava : Auramazdâma

67 iy : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramazdâha :
: kêra : hya : manâ : avam : kêram : t

68 yam : hamiçiyam : aja : vasiy : Viyaxnahya :
mâhyâ : VII : raucabish : thakatâ :

69 âha : avathâshâm : hamaranam : kartam :
thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :

70 pasâva : hauv : martiya : hya : avahyâ :
kârahyâ : mathishta : âha : tyam : Va

71 hyazdâta : frâishaya : abiy Vivânâ : hauv :
amutha : hadâ : kamnaib

72 ish : asabâraibish : ashiyava : Arshâdâ :
nâmâ : didâ : Harauvatiyâ : a

73 vaparâ : atiyâish : pasâva : Vivâna : hadâ :
kârâ : nipadiy : tyaiy : ashiya

74 va : avadâshim : agarbâya : utâ : martiyâ :
tyaishaiy : frathamâ : anushiyâ :

75 âhatâ : avâja : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâyathiya : pasâva : dahyâush : ma

76 nâ : abava : ima : tya : manâ : kartam :
Harauvatiyâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâ

77 yathiya : yâtâ : adam : Pârsaiy : u(t)â :
Mâdaiy : âham : patiy : duvitîyam :

78 Bâbiruviyâ : hamiçiyâ : abava : hacâma : I
martiya : Arxa : nâma : Armini

79 ya : Halditahya : puça : hauv : udapatatâ :
Bâbirauv : Dubâla : nâmâ : dahyâ

80 ush : hacâ : avadasha : hauv : kârahyâ :
avathâ : adurujiya : adam : Nabukud

81 racara : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahya : puça :
pasâva : kâra : Bâbiruviya : hacâma : ha

82 miçiya : abava : abiy : avam : Arxam :
ashiyava : Bâbirum : hauv : agarbâyat

83 â : hauv : xshâyathiya : abava : Bâbirauv :
thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathi

84 ya : pasâva : adam : kâram : frâishayam :
Bâbirum : Vidafarnâ : nâma : Pârsa : manâ

85 : badaka : avamshâm : mathishtam :
akunavam : avathâshâm : athaham : paraitâ :
avam : kâram

86 : Bâbiruviyam : jatâ : hya : manâ : naiy :
gaubâtaiy : pasâva : Vidafarnâ : hadâ : kâr

87 â : ashiyava : Bâbirum : Auramazdâmaiy : upastâm : abara : vashnâ : Auramaz	
88 dâha : Vidafarnâ : Bâbiruviyâ : aja : utâ : bastâ : anaya : Varkazanahya : mâhyâ : XXII : ra	
89 ucabish : thakatâ : âha : avathâ : avam : Arxam : hya : Nabukudracara : duruxtam : a	
90 gaubatâ : utâ : martiyâ : tyaisaiy : fratomâ : anushiyâ : âhatâ : agarb	
91 âya : niyashtâyam : hauv : Arxa : utâ : martiyâ : tyaisaiy : fratomâ : an	
92 ushiyâ : âhatâ : Bâbirauv : uz(ma)yâpatiy : akariyatâ	

DB, COLUMN 4:

Text:	Translation:
1 : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : ima : t	51. (4.1-2.) Darius the King says: This is what was done by me in Babylon.
2 ya : manâ : kartam : Bâbirauv : thatiy : D	
3 ârayavaush : xshâyathiya : ima : tyâ : adam : akuna	52. (4.2-31.) Darius the King says: This is what I did by the favor of Ahuramazda in one and the same year after that I became king. 19 battles I fought; by the favor of Ahuramazda I smote them and took prisoner 9 kings. One was named Gaumata, a Magian; lied and said, "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus;" he made Persia rebellious. One, named Asina, an Elamite; lied and said, "I am king in Elam;" he made Elam rebellious to me. One, named Nidintu-Bel, a Babylonian; lied and said, "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus; he made Babylon rebellious. One, named Martiya, a Persian; lied and said, "I am Imanish, king in Elam;" he made Elam rebellious. One, named Phraortes, a Mede; lied and said, "I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares;" he made Media rebellious. One named Cisantakhma, a Sagartian; lied and said, "I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares;" he made Sagartia rebellious. One, named Frada, a
4 vam : vashna : Auramazdâha : hamahyâyâ : thar	
5 da : pasâva : yathâ : xshâyathiya : abavam : XIX : hamaran	
6 â : akunavam : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : adamshish : a	
7 janam : utâ : IX : xshâyathiyâ : agarbâyam : I Gaumâta :	
8 nâma : magush : âha : hauv : adurujiya : avathâ : athaha : adam :	
9 Bardiya : amiy : hya : Kûraush : puça : hauv : Pârsam : ha	

10 miçiyam : akunaush : I Âçina : nâma :
Ûvjia : hauv : adu

11 rujiya : avathâ : athaha : adam : xshâyathiya
: amiy : Ûvjaiy

12 : hauv : Ûvjam : hamiçiyam : akunaush :
manâ : I Naditabaira : n

13 âma : Bâbiruviya : hauv : adurujiya : avathâ
: athaha :

14 adam : Nabukudracara : amiy : hya :
Nabunaitahya : puça :

15 hauv : Bâbirum : hamiçiyam : akunaush : I
Martiya : nâ

16 ma : Pârsa : hauv : adurujiya : avathâ :
athaha : adam : Imani

17 sh : amiy : Ûvjaiy : xshâyathiya : hauv :
Ûvjam : hamiçiya

18 m : akunaush : I Fravartish : nâma : Mâda :
hauv : adurujiya

19 : avathâ : athaha : adam : Xshathrita : amiy :
Uvaxshtrahya : taumây

20 â : hauv : Mâdam : hamiçiyam : akunaush : I
Ciçataxma : nâma : Asa

21 gartiya : hauv : adurujiya : avathâ : athaha :
adam : xshâyath

22 iya : amiy : Asagartaiy : Uvaxshtrahya :
taumâyâ : hauv

23 : Asagartam : hamiçiyam : akunaush : I
Frâda : nâma :

24 Mârgava : hauv : adurujiya : avathâ : athaha
: adam :

25 xshâyathiya : amiy : Margauv : hauv :
Margum : hamici

Margian; lied and said, "I am king in Margiana;" he made Margiana rebellious. One, named Vahyazdata, a Persian; lied and said, "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus;" he made Persia rebellious. One, named Arkha, an Armenian; lied and said: "I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus;" he made Babylon rebellious.

53. (4.31-2.) Darius the King says: These 9 kings I took prisoner within these battles.

54. (4.33-6.) Darius the King says: These are the provinces which became rebellious. The Lie (druj) made them rebellious, so that these (men) deceived the people. Afterwards Ahuramazda put them into my hand; as was my desire, so I did to them.

55. (4.36-40.). Darius the King says: You who shall be king hereafter, protect yourself vigorously from the Lie; the man who shall be a Lie-follower, him do you punish well, if thus you shall think, "May my country be secure!"

56. (4.40-3.) Darius the King says: This is what I did; by the favor of Ahuramazda, in one and the same year I did (it). You who shall hereafter read this inscription let that which has been done by me convince you; do not think it a lie.

57. (4.13-5.) Darius the King says: I turn myself quickly to Ahuramazda, that this (is) true, not false, (which) I did in one and the same year.

58. (4.45-50.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda and of me much else was done; that has not been inscribed in this inscription; for this reason it has not been inscribed, lest whoso shall hereafter read this inscription, to him what has been done by me seem excessive, (and) it not convince him, (but) he think it false.

59. (4.50-2.) Darius the King says: Those who were the former kings, as long as they lived, by them was not done thus as by the favor of Ahuramazda was done by me in one and the same year.

26 yam : akunaush : I Vahyazdâta : nâma :
Pârsa : hauv : a

27 durujiya : avathâ : athaha : adam : Bardiya :
amiy : hya : Kû

28 raush : puça : hauv : Pârsam : hamiçiyam :
akunaush : I Ar

29 xa : nâma : Arminiya : hauv : adurujiya :
avathâ : athaha : adam : Nab

30 ukudracara : amiy : hya : Nabunaitahya :
puça : hauv : Bâbirum : ham

31 içiyam : akunaush : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâyathiya : imaiy :

32 IX : xshâyathiyâ : adam : agarbâyam : atar :
imâ : hamaranâ

33 : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :
dahyâva : imâ : tyâ : hamiçiy

34 â : abava : drauga : dish : hamiçiyâ :
akunaush : tya : imaiy : kâram : adur

35 ujiyasha : pasâva : dish : Auramazdâ : manâ
: dastayâ : akunaush : yathâ : mâm : k

36 âma : avatha : dish : akunavam : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathi

37 ya : tuvam : kâ : xshâyathiya : hya : aparam
âhy : hacâ : draugâ : darsham :

38 patipayauvâ : martiya : hya : draujana :
ahatiy : avam : ufrashtam : parsâ : ya

39 diy : avathâ : maniyâhaiy : dahyâushmai :
duruvâ : ahati

40 y : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xsâyathiya : ima :
tya : adam : akunavam :

41 vashnâ : Auramazdâha : hamahyâyâ : tharda
: akunavam : tuvam : kâ : hya

60. (4.52-6.) Darius the King says: Now let that which has been done by me convince you; thus to the people impart, do not conceal it: if this record you shall not conceal, (but) tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda be a friend to you, and may family be to you in abundance, and may you live long!

61. (4.57-9.) Darius the King says: If this record you shall conceal, (and) not tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda be a smiter to you, and may family not be to you!

62. (4.59-61.) Darius the King says: This which I did, in one and the same year by the favor of Ahuramazda I did; Ahuramazda bore me aid, and the other gods who are.

63. (4.61-7.) Darius the King says: For this reason Ahuramazda bore aid, and the other gods who are, because I was not hostile, I was not a Lie-follower, I was not a doer of wrong -- neither I nor my family. According to righteousness I conducted myself. Neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong. The man who cooperated with my house, him I rewarded well; whoso did injury, him I punished well.

64. (4.67-9.) Darius the King says: You who shall be king hereafter, the man who shall be a Lie-follower or who shall be a doer of wrong -- to them do not be a friend, (but) punish them well.

65. (4.69-72.) Darius the King says: You who shall thereafter behold this inscription which I have inscribed, or these sculptures, do not destroy them, (but) thence onward protect them, as long as you shall be in good strength!

66. (4.72-6.) Darius the King says: If you shall behold this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not destroy them and shall protect them as long as to you there is strength, may Ahuramazda be a friend to you, and may family be to you in abundance, and may you live long,

42 : aparam : imâm : dipim : patiparsâhy : tya :
manâ : kartam : varnavatâm

43 : thuvâm : mâtya : draugam : maniyâhay :
thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâ

44 yathiya : Auramazdâha : ragam : vartaiyaiy :
yathâ : ima : hashiyam : naiy : duru

45 xtam : adam : akunavam : hamahyâyâ :
tharda : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyâ

46 thiya : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : utâmai :
aniyashciy : vasiy : astiy : karta

47 m : ava : ahyâyâ : dipiyâ : naiy : nipishtam :
avahyarâdiy : naiy : n

48 ipishtam : mâtya : hya : aparam : imâm :
dipim : patiparsâtiy : avah

49 yâ : paruv : thadayâtiy : tya : manâ : kartam :
naishim : ima : varnavâtaiy : d

50 uruxtam : maniyâtaiy : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâyathiya : tyaiy

51 : paruvâ : xshâyathiyâ : yâtâ : âha : avaishâm :
avâ : naiy : astiy : kar

52 tam : yathâ : manâ : vashnâ : Auramazdâha :
hamahyâyâ : tharda : kartam : thâ

53 tiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : nûram :
thuvâm : varnavatâm : tya : man

54 â : kartam : avathâ : kârahyâ : râdiy : mâ :
apagaudaya : yadiy : imâm :

55 hadugâm : naiy : apagaudayâhy : kârahyâ :
thâhy : Auramazdâ : thuvâm :

56 daushtâ : biya : utâtaiy : taumâ : vasiy : biyâ :
utâ : dargam : jîvâ

57 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : yadiy :
imâm hadugâm : apagaudayâ

and what you shall do, that may Ahuramazda
make successful for you!

67. (4.76-80.) Darius the King says: If you shall
behold this inscription or these sculptures, (and)
shall destroy them and shall not protect them as
long as to you there is strength, may
Ahuramazda be a smiter to you, and may family
not be to you, and what you shall do, that for
you may Ahuramazda utterly destroy!

68. (4.80-6.) Darius the King says: These are
the men who were there at the time when I slew
Gaumata the Magian who called himself
Smerdis; at that time these men cooperated as
my followers: Intaphernes by name, son of
Vayaspara, a Persian; Otanes by name, son of
Thukhra, a Persian; Gobryas by name, son of
Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes by name, son
of Bagabigna, a Persian; Megabyzus by name,
son of Datuvahya, a Persian; Ardumanish by
name, son of Vahauka, a Persian.

69. (4.86-8.) Darius the King says: You who
shall be king hereafter, protect well the family
of these men.

70. (4.88-92.) Darius the King says: By the
favor of Ahuramazda this is the inscription
which I made. Besides, it was in Aryan, and on
clay tablets and on parchment it was composed.
Besides, a sculptured figure of myself I made.
Besides, I made my lineage. And it was
inscribed and was read off before me.
Afterwards this inscription I sent off
everywhere among the provinces. The people
unitedly worked upon it.

58 hy : naiy : thâhy : kêrahya : Auramazdâtay :
jatâ : biyâ : utâtaiy : taum

59 â : mâ : biyâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâyathiya : ima : tya : adam : akunavam :

60 hamahyâyâ : tharda : vashnâ : Auramazdâha
: akunavam : Auramazdâmaiyy : upas

61 tâm : abara : utâ : aniyâha : bagâha : tyaiy :
hatiy : thâtiy : Dârayavau

62 sh : xshâyathiya : avahyarâdiy : Auramazdâ :
upastâm : abara : utâ : ani

63 yâha : bagâha : tyaiy : haijy : yathâ : naiy :
arika : âham : naiy : draujana : âham : na

64 iy : zûrakara : âham : naiy : adam : naimaiy :
taumâ : upariy : arshatâm : upariy

65 âyam : naiy : shkaurim : naiy : tunuvatam :
zûra : akunavam : martiya : hya : hamata

66 xshâta : manâ : vithiyâ : avam : ubartam :
abaram : hya : viyanâthaya : avam : ufrasta

67 m : aparsam : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâyathiya : tuvam : kê : xshâyathiya :

68 hya : aparam : âhy : martiya : hya : draujana
: ahatiy : hyavâ : zurakara : ahat

69 iy : avaiy : mâ : daushtâ : biyâ : ufrashtâdiy :
parsâ : thâtiy : Dâra

70 yavaush : xshâyathiya : tuvam : kê : hya :
aparam : imâm : dipim : vainâhy : ty

71 âm : adam : niyapaisham : imaivâ : patikarâ :
mâtya : vikanâhy : yâvâ : u

72 tava : âhy : avathâshatâ : paribarâ : thâtiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : ya

73 diy : imâm : dipim : vainâhy : imaivâ :
patikarâ : naiydish : vikanâhy : utâ

74 taiy : yâvâ : taumâ : ahatiy : paribarâhadish :
Auramazdâ : thuvâm daushtâ : biy

75 â : utâtaiy : taumâ : vasiy : biyâ : utâ :
dargam : jîvâ : utâ : tya : kunavâhy

76 : avataiy : Auramazdâ : ucâram : kunautuv :
thâitiy : Dârayavaush : xshâ

77 yathiya : yadiy : imâm : dipim : imaivâ :
patikarâ : vainâhy : vikanâhadish : ut

78 âtaiy : yâvâ : taumâ : ahatiy : naiydish :
paribarâhy : Auramazdâtaiy : jatâ : b

79 iyâ : utâtaiy : taumâ : mâ : biyâ : utâ : tya :
kunavâhy : avataiy : Auramazd

80 â : nikatuv : thâitiy : Dârayavaush :
xshâyathiya : imaiy : martiyâ : tyaiy

81 : adakaiy : avadâ : âhatâ : yâtâ : adam :
Gaumâtam : tyam : magum : avâjanam :

82 hya : Bardiya : agaubatâ : adakaiy : imaiy :
martiyâ : hamataxshatâ : anushiyâ : man

83 â : Vidafarnâ : nâma : Vâyaspârahyâ : puça
Pârsa: Utâna : nâma : Thuxrahyâ

84 : puça : Pârsa : Gaubaruva : nâma :
Marduniyahyâ : puça : Pârsa : Vidarna : nâma :
Ba

85 gâbignahyâ : puça : Pârsa : Bagabuxsha :
nâma : Dâtuvahyâhyâ : puça : Pârsa :

86 Ardumanish : nâma : Vahaukahyâ : puça :
Pârsa : thâitiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyath

87 iya : tuvam : kê : xshâyathiya : hya : aparam
: âhy : tyâm : imaishâm : martiyânâ

88 m : taumâm : uba(r)tâm : paribarâ : thâitiy :
Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : vashnâ : Au

89 ramazdâha : i(ya)m : dipîmaiyy : ty(âm) :
adam : akunavam : patisham : ariyâ : âha : utâ :
pavast

90 âyâ : utâ : carmâ : grathitâ : âha : patishamaiy : patikaram : akunavam : patisham : uvadâ	
91 m : akunavam : utâ : niyapithiya : utâ : patiyafrasiya : paishiyâ : mâm : pasâva : i(mâ)m : d	
92 ipim : adam : frâstâyam : vispadâ : atar : dahyâva : kêra : hamâtaxshatâ	

DB, COLUMN 5:

Text:	Translation:
1 : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :	71. (5.1-14.) Darius the King says: This is what I did in both the second and the third year after I became king. A province named Elam became rebellious. One man named Atamaita, an Elamite -- they made him chief. Thereupon I sent forth an army. One man named Gobryas, a Persian, my subject -- I made him chief of them. After that, Gobryas with the army marched off to Elam; he joined battle with the Elamites. Thereupon Gobryas smote and crushed the Elamites, and captured the chief of them; he led him to me, and I killed him. After that the province became mine.
2 ima : tya : adam : akunavam : duvitîyâ	
3 mca : çitâmcâ : thardam : pasâva : yathâ : xshâya	
4 thiya : abavam : Ûvja : nâmâ : dahyâush : hau	
5 v : hamiçiyâ : abava : I martiya : Atamaita : nâma : Û	
6 vjiya : avam : mathishtam : akunavatâ : pasâva : ada	
7 m : kêram : fraishayam : I martiya : Gaubaruva :	72. (5.14-7.) Darius the King says: Those Elamites were faithless and by them Ahuramazda was not worshipped. I worshipped Ahuramazda; by the favor of Ahuramazda, as was my desire, thus I did to them.
8 nâma : Pârsa : manâ : badaka : avamshâm : mathishtam : aku	
9 navam : pasâva : Gaubaruva : hadâ : kêrâ : asiyava :	73. (5.18-20.) Darius the King says: Whoso shall worship Ahuramazda, divine blessing will be upon him, both (while) living and (when) dead.
10 Ûvjam : hamaranam : akunaush : hadâ : Ûvjiyaibish : pas	
11 âva : Gaubaruva : Ûvjiyâ : avâja : viyamarda :	74. (5.20-30.) Darius the King says: Afterwards with an army I went off to Scythia, after the Scythians who wear the pointed cap. These Scythians went from me. When I arrived at the sea, beyond it then with all my army I crossed. Afterwards, I smote the Scythians exceedingly; another (leader) I took captive; this one was led
12 utâ : tyamshâm : mathishtam : agarbâya : anaya : abi	

13 y : mâm : utâshim : adam : avâjanam :
pasâva : dahyâ

14 ush : manâ : abava : thâtiy Dârayavaush :
xshâyathi

15 ya : avaiy : Ūvjiyâ : arikâ : âha : utâshâm :
Aurama

16 zdâ : naiy : ayadiya : Auramazdâm : ayadaiy
: vashnâ : A

17 uramazdâha : yathâ : mâm : kâma :
avathâdish : akunavam

18 : thâtiy Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : hya :
Auramazdâ

19 m : yadâtaiy : yânam : avahâ : ahatiy : utâ :
jîvah

20 yâ : utâ : martahyâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :
xsh

21 âyathiya : pasâva : hadâ : kârâ : adam :
ashiyavam : abiy : Sak

22 âm : pasâ : Sakâ : tyaiy : xaudâm : tigrâm :
barati

23 y : imaiy : Sakâ : hacâma : âisha : yadiy :
abiy : draya : a

24 vârasam : parashim : avadâ : hadâ : kârâ :
visâ : viyatara

25 yam : pasâva : adam : Sakâ : vasiy : ajanam :
aniyam : aga

26 rbâyam : hauv : basta : anayatâ : abiy : mâm
: ut

27 âshim : avâjanam : mathishtashâm : Skuxa :
nâma : avam : aga

28 rbâya : utâ : anaya : abiy : mâm : avadâ :
aniyam : math

bound to me, and I slew him. The chief of them,
by name Skunkha -- him they seized and led to
me. Then I made another their chief, as was my
desire. After that, the province became mine.

75. (5.30-3.) Darius the King says: Those
Scythians... (= DB 5.15-7).

76. (5.33-6.) . . . (= DB 5.18-20).

29 ishtam : akunavam : yathâ : mâm : kâma : âha : pasâva : da	
30 hyâush : manâ : abava : thâtiy Dârayavaush : xshâya	
31 thiya : avaiy : Sakâ : arikâ : âha : utâ : naiy : Auramazd	
32 âshâm : ayadiya : Aurmazdâm : ayadaiy : vashnâ : Aurama	
33 zdâha : yathâ : mâm : kâma : avathâdish : akunavam : thât	
34 iy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : hya : Auramazdâm : yadâta	
35 iy : avahyâ : yânam : ahatiy : utâ : jîvahyâ : utâ	
38 : martahyâ	

TEXT OF DB, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DBa:

Text:	Translation:
1 : adam : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : vazraka : xshâya	1. (1-4.) ... (= DB 1.1-3).
2 thiya : xshâyathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : Pârsaiy : xsh	2. (4-8.) ... (= DB 1.3-6).
3 âyathiya : dahyunam : Vishtâspahyâ : puça :	3. (9-13.) ... (= DB 1.6-8).
4 Arshâmahyâ : napâ : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Dâra	4. (13-8.) ... (= DB 1.8-11).
5 yavaush : xshâyathiya : manâ : pitâ : Vishtâspa : Vi	
6 shtâspahyâ : pitâ : Arshâma : Arshâmahyâ : pi	
7 tâ : Ariyâramna : Ariyâramnahyâ : pitâ :	

8 Cishpish : Cispash : pitâ : Haxâmanish :	
9 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : avahya	
10 râdiy : vayam : Haxâmanishiyâ : thahyâ	
11 mahy : hacâ : paruviyata : âmâtâ	
12 : amahy : hacâ : paruviyata : hyâ : amâ	
13 xam : taumâ : xshâyathiyâ : âha : thâ	
14 tiy : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : VIII : ma	
15 nâ : taumâyâ : tyaiy : paruva	
16 m : xshâyathiyâ : âha : adam : na	
17 vama : IX : duvitâparanam : vayam : x	
18 shâyathiyâ : amahy :	

DBb

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Gaumâ	This is Gaumata the Magian. ... (= DB 4.8-9); I am king.
2 ta : hya : magush : a	
3 durujiya :	
4 avathâ : athaha : adam : Ba	
5 rdiya : amiy : hya : K	
6 ûraush : puça : adam : xsh	
7 âyathiya : amiy :	

DBc

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Âç	This is Asina (= DB 4.10-1).
2 ina : adu	

3 rujiya :	
4 avathâ	
5 : athaha : a	
6 dam : x	
7 shâyath	
8 iya : am	
9 iy : Û	
10 vjaiy :	

DBd

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Naditabaira :	This is Nidintu-Bel. ... (= DB 4.13-4); I am king in Babylon.
2 adurujiya : ava	
3 thâ : athaha : adam : Nab	
4 ukudracara : ami	
5 y : hya : Nabunaita	
6 hya : puça : adam : x	
7 shâyathiya : amiy : B	
8 âbiraub :	

DBe

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Fra	This is Phraortes. ... (= DB 4.18-20); I am king in Media.
2 vartish :	
3 aduru	
4 jiya : ava	

5 thâ : athaha : adam :	
6 Xshathrita : amiy	
7 : Uvaxshtrahya	
8 : taumâyâ : adam	
9 : xshâyathiya : amiy	
10 : Mâ	
11 daiy :	

DBf

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Martiya : a	This is Martiya. ... (= DB 4.16-7).
2 durujiya : a	
3 vathâ : athaha : a	
4 dam : Imanish : am	
5 iy : Ûvjaïy : x	
6 shâyathi	
7 ya :	

DBg

Text:	Translation:
1 iyam Ciça	This is Cisantakhma. ... (= DB 4.21-2).
2 taxma : ad	
3 urujiya	
4 : avathâ : a	
5 thaha : adam :	
6 xshâyathi	

7 ya : ami	
8 y : Asaga	
9 rtaiy : Uva	
10 xshtrahya	
11 : taumây	
12 â	

DBh

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Vahya	This is Vahyazdata. . . . (= DB 4.26-8); I am king.
2 zdâta : adu	
3 rujiya : ava	
4 thâ : athaha : ada	
5 m : Bardiya : a	
6 miy : hya : K	
7 ûraush : puça	
8 : adam : xshâ	
9 yathiya : amiy	

DBi

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyarn : Arxa	This is Arkha. ... (= DB 4.29-30); I am king in Babylon.
2 : aduruj	
3 iya : avathâ :	
4 athaha : adam :	
5 Nabuku(d)ra	

6 cara : amiy :	
7 hya : Nabuna	
8 itahya : pu	
9 ça : adam : xshâ	
10 yathiya : amiy	
11 : Bâbarauv :	

DBj

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Frada :	This is Frada. ... (= DB 4.24-5).
2 aduruji	
3 ya : avathâ : athaha	
4 : adam : xshâyath	
5 iya : amiy : Marga	
6 uv :	

DBk

Text:	Translation:
1 : iyam : Sku	This is Skunkha the Scythian.
2 xa : hya : Saka	

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS A. (DPa)

Trilingual inscription on doorposts of the inner room of the palace, above figures of Darius and his attendants.

Text:	Translation:
1 Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya :	Darius the Great king, King of Kings, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, who built this palace.
2 vazraka : xshâyathiya : xshâ	

3 yathiyânâm : xshâyathiya :	
4 dahyûnâm : Vishtâspahy	
5 â : puça : Haxâmanishiya : h	
6 ya : imam : tacaram : akunaush	

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS B. (DPb)

Trilingual inscription on garment of Darius

2>

Text:	Translation:
Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya	Darius the Great King, Son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS C. (DPc)

Trilingual inscription on window cornice, repeated 18 times.

Text:	Translation:
ardastâna : athagaina : Dârayavahaush : XSHhyâ : vithiyâ : karta	Stone window-frame, made in the house of King Darius.

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS D. (DPd)

OP only on south retaining wall of palace.

Text:	Translation:
1 Auramazdâ : vazraka : hya : mathishta : bag	1. (1-5.) Great Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods -- he created Darius the King, he bestowed on him the kingdom; by the favor of Ahuramazda Darius is King.
2 ânâm : hauv : Dârayavaum : xshâyathi	
3 yam : adadâ : haushaiy : xshaçam : frâba	
4 ra : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : Dârayavau	2. (5-12.) Darius the King says: This country Persia which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me, good, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men -- by the favor of Ahuramazda and of me, Darius the King, does not feel fear of (any) other.
5 sh : xshâyathiya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush :	
6 xshâyathiya : iyam : dahyâush : Pâr	
7 sa : tyâm : manâ : Auramazdâ : frâba	3. (12-24.) Darius the King says: May Ahuramazda bear me aid, with the gods of the
8 ra : hyâ : naibâ : uvaspâ : umarti	

9 yâ : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : manac	royal house; and may Ahuramazda protect this
10 â : Dârayavahaush : xshâyathiyahy	country from a (hostile) army, from famine,
11 â : hacâ : aniyânâ : naiy : tarsat	from the Lie! Upon this country may there not
12 iy : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâya	come an army, nor famine, nor the Lie; this I
13 thiya : manâ : Auramazdâ : upastâm :	pray as a boon from Ahuramazda together with
14 baratuv : hadâ : vithaibish : bagai	the gods of the royal house. This boon may
15 bish : utâ : imâm : dahyâum : Aura	Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal
16 mazda : pâtuv : hacâ : hainây	house give to me!
17 â : hacâ : dushiyârâ : hacâ : dra	
18 ugâ : abiy : imâm : dahyâum : mâ	
19 : âjamiyâ : mâ : hainâ : mâ : dush	
20 iyâram : mâ : drauga : aita : adam :	
21 yânam : jادیامی : Auramazd	
22 âm : hadâ : vithaibish : bagaibish : a	
23 itamaiy : yânam : Auramazdâ : dadât	
24 uv : hadâ vithaibish : bagaibish :	

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS E. (DPe)

OP only on south retaining wall of palace.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : vaz	1. (1-5.) I am Darius the Great King, King of
2 raka : xshâyathiya : xshâyathiyânâ	Kings, King of many countries, son of
3 m : xshâyathya : dahyûnâm : tyai	Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.
4 shâm : parûnâm : Vishtâspahyâ :	2. (5-18.) Darius the King says: By the favor of
5 puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Dâra	Ahuramazda these are the countries which I got
	into my possession along with this Persian folk,
	which felt fear of me (and) bore me tribute:
	Elam, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria,
	Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians

6 yavaush : xshâyathiya : vashnâ : Aurama	who are of the mainland and (those) who are by
7 zdâhâ : imâ : dahyâva : tyâ : adam	the sea, and countries which are across the sea;
8 : adarshiy : hadâ : anâ : Pârsâ : kê	Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria,
9 râ : tyâ : hacâma : atarsa : manâ : bâj	Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachosia,
10 im : abara : Ūvja : Mâda : Bâbiru	Sind, Gandara, Seythians, Maka.
11 sh : Arabâya : Athurâ : Mudrây	3. (18-24.) Darius the King says: If you shall
12 â : Armina : Katpatuka : Sparda : Ya	think thus, "May I not feel fear of (any) other,"
13 unâ : tyaiy : ushkahyâ : utâ : tya	protect this Persian people; if the Persian people
14 iy : drayahyâ : utâ : dahyâva : t	shall be protected, thereafter for the longest
15 yâ : para : draya : Asagarta : Parthava : Zra	while happiness unbroken -- this will by Ahura
16 ka : Haraiva : Bâxtrish : Suguda : Uv	come down upon this royal house.
17 ârazmîy : Thatagush : Harauvatish : H	
18 idush : Gadâra : Sakâ : Maka : thâtiy	
19 : Darayavaush : xshâyathiya : yadiy	
20 : avathâ : maniyâhay : hacâ : aniya	
21 nâ : mâ : tarsam : imam : Pârsam : kêram : pâdi	
22 y : yadiy : kêra : Pârsa : pâta : ahatiy : hyâ :	
23 duvaishtam : shiyâtish : axshatâ : hauvci	
24 y : Aurâ : nirasâtiy : abiy : imâm : vitham	

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS H. (DPh)

Trilingual on gold and silver plates.

Text:	Translation:
1 Dârayavaushi : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyanâm : XSH	1. (1-3.) Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.

2 : dahyûvnâm : Vishtâspahyâ : puça	2. (3-10.) Darius the King says: This is the kingdom which I hold, from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, thence to Ethiopia; from Sind thence to Sardis -- which Ahuramazda the greatest of the gods bestowed upon me. May Ahuramazda protect me, and my royal house.
3 : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Dârayavau	
4 sh : XSH : ima : xshaçam : tya : adam : dâray	
5 âmiy : hacâ : Sakaibish : tyaiy : para	
6 Sugdam : amata : yâtâ : â : Kûshâ :	
7 hacâ : Hidauv : amata : yâtâ : â : Spa	
8 rdâ : tyamaiy : Auramazdâ : frâbara	
9 : hya : mathishta : bagânâm : mâm : Au	
10 ramazdâ : pâtuv : utâmaiyy : vitham	

DARIUS, PERSEPOLIS I. (DPi)

Trilingual on doorknob of artificial lapis lazuli.

Text:	Translation:
mayûxa : kâsakaina : Dârayavahaush : XSHyâ : vithiyâ : karta	Door-knob of precious stone, made in the house of Darius the King.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NAQSH-I-RUSTAM.

Inscriptions on south face of steep ridge north of Persepolis

DARIUS, NAQSH-I-RUSTAM A. (DNa)

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : im	1. (1-8.) A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.
2 âm : bumâm : adâ : hya : avam : asm	
3 ânam : adâ : hya : martiyam : adâ : h	2. (8-15.) I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.
4 ya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahyâ	
5 : hya : Dârayavaum : xshâyathiyam : ak	
6 unaush : aivam : parûvnâm : xshâyath	
7 iyam : aivam : parûvnâm : framâtâ	

8 ram : adam : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : va
 9 zraka : xshâyathiya : xshâyathiyânâm
 10 : xshâyathiya : dahyûnâm : vispazanâ
 11 nâm : xshâyathiya : ahyâyâ : bûmi
 12 yâ : vazrakâyâ : dûraiapiy : Vishtâs
 13 pahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya : Pârsa : P
 14 ârsahyâ : puça : Ariya : Ariya : ci
 15 ça : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâya
 16 thiya : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : imâ :
 17 dahyâva : tyâ : adam : agarbâyam :
 18 apataram : hacâ : Pârsâ : adamshâm :
 19 patiyaxshayaïy : manâ : bâjim : abara
 20 ha : tvashâm : hacâma : athahya : ava : a
 21 kunava : dâtam : tya : manâ : avadish :
 22 adâraiya : Mâda : Ûvja : Parthava : Harai
 23 va : Bâxtrish : Suguda : Uvârazm
 24 ish : Zraka : Harauvatish : Thatagush : Ga
 25 dâra : Hidush : Sakâ : haumavargâ : Sa
 26 kê : tigraxaudâ : Bâbirush : A
 27 thurâ : Arabâya : Mudrâya : Armina
 28 : Katpatuka : Sparda : Yauna : Sakâ : tyaiy :
 pa
 29 radraya : Skudra : Yaunâ : takabarâ : Putây
 30 â : Kûshiyâ : Maciyâ : Karkâ : thâtiy : D
 31 ârayavaush : xshâyathiya : Auramazdâ : yath
 32 â : avaina : imâm : bûmim : yaudatim :

3. (15-30.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law -- that held them firm; Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, Sind, Amyrgian Scythians, Scythians with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, Scythians who are across the sea, Skudra, petasos-wearing Ionians, Libyans, Ethiopians, men of Maka, Carians.

4. (30-47.) Darius the King says: Ahuramazda, when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king; I am king. By the favor of Ahuramazda I put it down in its place; what I said to them, that they did, as was my desire. If now you shall think that "How many are the countries which King Darius held?" look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shall you know, then shall it become known to you: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to you: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.

5. (47-55.) Darius the King says: This which has been done, all that by the will of Ahuramazda I did. Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I did the work. May Ahuramazda protect me from harm, and my royal house, and this land: this I pray of Ahuramazda, this may Ahuramazda give to me!

6. (56-60.) O man, that which is the command of Ahuramazda, let this not seem repugnant to you; do not leave the right path; do not rise in rebellion!

33 pasâvadim : manâ : frâbara : mâm : xshâ
34 yathiyam : akunaush : adam : xshâyathiya
35 : amiy : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : a
36 damshim : gâthavâ : niyashâdayam : tyashâ
37 m : adam : athaham : ava : akunava : yathâ :
mâm :
38 kâma : âha : yadipatiy : maniyâhaiy : t
39 ya : ciyakaram : âha : avâ : dahyâva
40 : tyâ : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya
41 : adâraya : patikarâ : dîdiy : tyaiy : g
42 âthun : baratiy : avadâ : xshnâsâhy :
43 adataiy : azdâ : bavâtiy : Pârsahyâ :
44 martiyahyâ : dûraiyy : arshtish : pa
45 râgmatâ : adataiy : azdâ : bavâti
46 y : Pârsa : martiya : dûrayapiy : hacâ : Pâ
47 rsâ : partaram : patiyajatâ : thâtiy : Dâ
48 rayavaush : xshâyathiya : aita : tya : karta
49 m : ava : visam : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : ak
50 unavam : Auramazdâ(ma)iy : upastâm : aba
51 ra : yâtâ : kartam : akunavam : mâm : A
52 uramazdâ : pâtuv : hacâ : gastâ : utâma
53 iy : vitham : utâ : imâm : dahyâum : aita :
ada
54 m : Auramazdâm : jadiyâmiy : aitama
55 iy : Auramazdâ : dadâtuv :
56 martiyâ : hyâ : Auramazdâh

57 â : framânâ : hauvtaiy : gas	
58 tâ : mâ : thadaya pathim :	
59 tyâm : râstâm : mâ	
60 : avarada : mâ : stabava	

DARIUS, NAQSH-I-RUSTAM B. (DNb)

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : adadâ : i	7. (1-5.) A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this excellent work which is seen, who created happiness for man, who bestowed wisdom and activity upon Darius the King.
2 ma : frasham : tya : vainataiy : hya : adadâ : shi	
3 yâtim : martiyahyâ : hya : xrathum : ut	8a. (5-11.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend to right, I am not a friend to wrong. It is not my desire that the weak man should have wrong done to him by the mighty; nor is that my desire, that the mighty man should have wrong done to him by the weak.
4 â : aruvastam : upariy : Dârayavaum : xshâ	
5 yathiyam : nîyasaya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : xshâya	
6 thiya : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : avâkaram : a	
7 miy : tya : râstam : daushtâ : amiy : mitha : na	8b. (11-5.) What is right, that is my desire. I am not a friend to the man who is a Lie-follower. I am not hot-tempered. What things develop in my anger, I hold firmly under control by my thinking power. I am firmly ruling over my own (impulses).
8 iy : daushtâ : amiy : naimâ : kâma : tya : skauth	
9 ish : tunuvatahyâ : râdiy : mitha : kariyaish	
10 : naimâ : ava : kâma : tya : tunuvâ : skauthaish : r	8c. (16-21.) The man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative action, him thus do I reward. Who does harm, him according to the damage thus I punish. It is not my desire that a man should do harm; nor indeed is that my desire, if he should do harm, he should not be punished.
11 âdiy : mitha : kariyaish : tya : râstam : ava : mâm :	
12 kâma : martiyam : draujanam : naiy : daushtâ : am	
13 iy : naiy : manauvish : amiy : tyâmaiy : dartana	8d. (21-4.) What a man says against a man, that does not convince me, until he satisfies the Ordinance of Good Regulations.
14 yâ : bavatiy : darsham : dârayâmiy : manahâ :	8e. (24-7.) What a man does or performs (for me) according to his (natural) powers,

15 uvaipashiyahyâ : darsham : xshayamna :
amiy :

16 martiya : hya : hataxshataiy : anudim :
hakarta

17 hyâ : avathâdim : paribarâmiy : hya : v

18 inâithayatiy : anudim : vinastahyâ : avath

19 â : parsâmiy : naimâ : kâma : tya : martiya

20 : vinâthayais : naipatimâ : ava : kâma : yadi

21 y : vinâthayaish : naiy : frathiyaish : martiya
:

22 tya : patiy : martiyam : thâtiy : ava : mâm :

23 naiy : varnavataiy : yâtâ : uradanâm : hadu

24 gâm : âxshnautiy : martiya : tya : kunau

25 tiy : yadivâ : âbaratiy : anuv : tauman

26 ishaiy : xshnuta : amiy : utâ : mâm : vas

27 iy : kâma : utâ : uxshnaush : amiy :
avâkaram

28 camaiy : ushîy : utâ : framânâ : yathâmai

29 y : tya : kartam : vainâhy : yadivâ âxshnav

30 âhy : utâ : vithiyâ : uta : spâthma

31 idayâ : aitamaiy : aruvastam :

32 upariy : manashcâ : ushîcâ : ima : patimai

33 y : aruvastam : tyamaiy : tanûsh : tâvaya

34 tiy : hamaranakara : amiy : ushhamaranakara
: hakara

35 mciy : ushîyâ : gâthavâ : vainâtaiy : yaciy :

36 vainâmiy : hamiçiyam : yaciy : naiy : vainâ

(therewith) I am satisfied, and my pleasure is
abundant, and I am well satisfied.

8f. (27-31.) Of such a sort is my understanding
and my command: when what has been done by
me you shall see or hear of, both in the palace
and in the warcamp, this is my activity over and
above my thinking power and my
understanding.

8g. (31-40.) This indeed is my activity:
inasmuch as my body has the strength, as
battle-fighter I am a good battle fighter. Once
let there be seen with understanding in the place
(of battle), what I see (to be) rebellious, what I
see (to be) not (rebellious); both with
understanding and with command then am I
first to think with action, when I see a rebel as
well as when I see a not-(rebel).

8h. (40-45.) Trained am I both with hands and
with feet. As a horseman I am a good
horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman
both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I
am a good spear-man both afoot and on
horseback.

8i. (45-9.) And the (physical) skillfulnesses
which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me and
I have had the strength to use them -- by the
favor of Ahuramazda what has been done by
me, I have done with these skillfulnesses which
Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me.

9a. (50-5.) O menial, vigorously make you
known of what sort I am, and of what sort my
skillfulnesses, and of what sort my superiority.
Let not that seem false to you, which has been
heard by thy ears. That do you hear, which is
communicated to you.

9b. (55-60.) O menial, let that not be made (to
seem) false to you, which has been done by me.
That do you behold, which [has been inscribed].
Let not the laws [be disobeyed] by you. Let not
[anyone] be untrained [in obedience]. [O
menial], let not the king (feel himself obliged

37 miy : utâ : ushîbiyâ : utâ : framânâyâ

38 : adakaiy : fratarâ : maniyaiy : aruvâyâ : ya

39 diy : vainâmiy : hamiçiyam : yathâ : yadiy :

40 naiy : vainâmiy : yâumainish : amiy : u

41 tâ : dastaibiyâ : utâ : pâdaibiyâ : asabâ

42 ra : uvâsabâra : amiy : thanuvaniya : utha

43 nuvaniya : amiy : utâ : pastish : utâ

44 : asabâra : ârshtika : amiy : uvârshtika :

45 utâ : pastish : utâ : asabâra : utâ : ûvnrâ

46 : tyâ : Auramazdâ : upariy : mâm : nîyasaya :
utâ

47 dish : atâvayam : bartanaiy : vashnâ :
Auramazdâh

48 â : tyamaiy : kartam : imaibish : ûvnaraibish
: aku

49 navam : tyâ : mâm : Auramazdâ : upariy :
nîyasaya

50 : marîkâ : darsham : azdâ : kushuvâ :
ciyâkaram

51 : amiy : ciyâkaramcamaiy : ûvnrâ : ciyâkara

52 mcamaiy : pariyanam : mâtaiy : duruxtam :

53 thadaya : tyataiy : gaushâyâ : xshnnutam :
avash

54 ciy : âxshnudiy : tya : partamtaiy : asti

55 y : marîkâ : mâtaiy : avashciy : duruxta

56 m : kunavâtaiy : tya : manâ : kartam : astîy

57 : avashciy : dîdiy : yaciy : nipishtam : mâ :

58 taiy : dâtâ : +++++ : mâ : ++++++âtiy

to) inflict punishment (?) [for wrong-doing (?)
on the dwellers (in the land) (?)].

59 â : ayâu(ma)inish : bavâtiy : marîkâ : xshâyathiya	
60 : mâ : raxthatuv : ++++++ina :	

DN MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DNc

Text:	Translation:
1 Gaubaruva : Pâtishuvarish : Dâra	Gobryas, a Patischorian, spear-bearer of Darius the King.
2 yavahaush : xshâyathiyahyâ : arsh̄tbara	

DNd

Text:	Translation:
1 Aspacanâ : vaçabara : Dârayavahaush : xsh	Aspatbines, bowbearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the King.
2 âyathiyahyâ : isuvâm : dârayatiy	

DN

Text:	Translation:
I iyam : Pârsa	I: This is the Persian.
II iyam : Mâda	II: This is the Mede.
III iyam : Ûvja	III: This is the Elamite.
IV iyam : Parthava	IV: This is the Parthian.
XV iyam : Sakâ : tigraxaudâ	XV: This is the Scythian with pointed cap.
XVI iyam : Bâbirush	XVI: This is the Babylonian.
XVII iyam : Athuriya	XVII: This is the Assyrian.
XXIX iyam : Maciyâ	XXIX: This is the man of Maka.

DARIUS, SUSA A. (DSa)

OP only, on two broken clay tablets.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH XSHyân	1. (1-3.) I am Darius the Great king, King of Kings, King of countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.
2 âm : XSH DHnâm : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Ha	2. (3-5.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda I have done that which I have done; to everyone may it seem excellent.
3 xâmanishaya : thatiy : Dârayavaush : XSH	
4 : vashna : AMha : adam : ava : akunavam : tya :	
5 akunavam : visahyâ : frasham : thadayâtaiy	

DARIUS, SUSA B. (DSb)

Two clay tablets, one badly damaged.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavau	I am ... (= DPa 1-4), King in all the earth, ... (= DPe 4-5).
2 sh : xshâyathiya	
3 : vazraka : xshâya	
4 thiya : xshâyathi	
5 yânâm : xshâya	
6 thiya : dahyûnâ	
7 m : xshâyathiya :	
8 haruvahyâya :	
9 bûmiyâ : Visht	
10 âspahyâ : puça	
11 : Haxâmanishiya	

DARIUS, SUSA C. (DSc)

Triligual on base of column, two copies.

Text:	Translation:
adam : Darayavaush XSH : vazraka XSH XSHyânâm : Vishtâspahyâ : puça	I am ... (= DPa 1-3, 4-5).

DARIUS, SUSA D. (DSd)

Parts of 2 OP copies on columns.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam Dârayavaush XSH vazraka XSH XSHyânâm XSH DHnâm XSH	1. (1-2.) I am... (= DPa 1-4), King in this earth, ... (= DPe 4-5).
2 ahyâ BUyâ Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya thâ	2. (2-3.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda I built this palace.
3 tiy Dârayavaush XSH vashnâ AMha imam : dacaram akunavam	

DARIUS, SUSA E. (DSe)

10 OP fragments representing several copies.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hva : imâ	1. (1-7.) ... (= DNa 1-8).
2 m : bûmim : adadâ : hya : avam : as	2. (7-14.) ... (= DNa 8-15).
3 mânâm : adadâ : hya : martiyam : ada	3. (14-30.) ... (= DNa 15-24), men of Maka, ... (= DNa 24-8), Ionians, (those) who are by the sea and (those) who are across the sea, Skudra, Libyans, Ethiopians, Carians.
4 dâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adadâ : mart	
5 iyahyâ : hya : Dârayavaum : XSHm : ak	4. (30-41.) Darius the King says: Much which was ill-done, that I made good. Provinces were in commotion; one man was smiting the other. The following I brought about by the favor of Ahuramazda, that the one does not smite the other at all, each one is in his place. My law -- of that they feel fear, so that the stronger does not smite nor destroy the weak.
6 unaush : aivam : parûvnâm : XSHm : a	
7 ivam : parûvnâm : framâtâram : a	
8 dam : Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHy	
9 ânâm : XSH : dahyûnâm : vispazanâ	
10 nâm : XSH : ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : vaz	5. (41-9.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, much handiwork which previously had been put out of its place, that I put in its place. A town named ..., (its) wall
11 rakâyâ : dûraiyy : apiy : Vishtâs	

12 pahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya : Pâr
13 sa : Pârsahyâ : puça : Ariya : Ari
14 ya : ciça : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH :
15 vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : imâ : dahy
16 âva : tyâ : adam : agarbâyam : apata
17 ram : hacâ : Pârsâ : adamshâm : pat
18 iyaxshayaïy : manâ : bâjim : abara :
19 tyashâm : hacâma : athahya : ava : aku
20 nava : dâtam : tya : manâ : avadish : a
21 dâraya : Mâda : Ūja : Parthava : Haraiva :
22 Bâxtrish : Suguda : Uvârazmish
23 : Zraka : Harauvatish : Thatagush : Maci
24 yâ : Gadâra : Hidush : Sakâ : haumava
25 rgâ : Sakâ : tigraxaudâ : Bâbir
26 ush : Athurâ : Arabâya : Mudrâya :
27 Armina : Katpatuka : Sparda : Yaun
28 â : tyaiy : drayahyâ : utâ : tyai
29 y : paradraya : Skudra : Putâyâ :
30 Kûshiyâ : Karkâ : thâtiy : Dâra
31 yavaush : XSH : vasiy : tya : dushkarta
32 m : âha : ava : naibam : akunavam : da
33 hyâva : ayauda : aniya : aniyam :
34 aja : ava : adam : akunavam : vashnâ
35 : Auramazdâhâ : yathâ : aniya : a
36 niyam : naiy : jatiy : cinâ : gâ

fallen from age, before this unrepaired -- I built another wall (to serve) from that time into the future.

6. (49-52.) Darius the King says: May Ahuramazda together with the gods protect me, and my royal house, and what has been inscribed by me.

37 thavâ : kashciy : astiy : dâtam :	
38 tya : manâ : hacâ : avanâ : tarsati	
39 y : yathâ : hya : tauvîyâ : tyam : s	
40 kauthim : naiy : jatiy : naiy : vi	
41 mardatiy : thâtiy : Dâruyavaush :	
42 XSH : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : dastaka	
43 rtam : vasiy : tya : paruvam : naiy	
44 : gâthava : kartam : ava : adam gâtha	
45 vâ : akunavam : +++++ : nâma : varda	
46 nam : didâ : hanatâyâ : avagmat	
47 â : paruvam : akartâ : hacâ : ava	
48 dasha : â : pasâva : didâm : aniy	
49 âm : akunavam : thâtiy : Dârayavau	
50 sh : XSH : mâm : AM : pâtuv : hadâ : ba	
51 gaibish : utamaiy : vitham : u	
52 tâ : tyamaiy : nipishtam	

DARIUS, SUSA F. (DSf)

Fragments of many copies on clay and marble tablets, and on glazed tiles of the frieze of the great hall.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага vazraka Auramazdâ : hya : imâm : bûmim : a	1. (1-5.) ... (= DNa 1-8).
2 dâ : hya : avam : asmânam : adâ : hya : martiyam : adâ	2. (5-8.) ... (= DSd 1-2).
3 : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahyâ : hya : Dâra	3a. (8-12.) Darius the King says: Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods -- he created me; he made me king; he bestowed upon me this kingdom, great, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men.

4 yavaum : XSHyam : akunaush : aivam :
parûnâm : XSH

5 yam : aivam : parûnâm : framâtâram : adam :
Dâra

6 yavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm
: XSH : DHnâm : XSH

7 : ahyâyâ : BUyâ : Vishtâspahyâ : puca :
Haxâma

8 nishiya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH :
Auramazdâ :

9 hya : mathishta : bagânâm : hauv : mâm : adâ
: ha

10 uv : mâm : XSHyam : akunaush : haumaiy :
ima : xsha

11 çam : frâbara : tya : vazrakam : tya :
uvaspam : uma

12 rtiyam : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : hya : manâ
: pitâ

13 : Vishtâspa : utâ : Arshâma : hya : manâ :
niyâka :

14 tyâ : ubâ : ajîvatam : yadiy : Auramazdâ : mâ

15 m : XSHyam : akunaush : ahyâyâ : BUyâ :
Auramazd

16 âm : avathâ : kâma : âha : haruvahyâyâ :
BUyâ : mar

17 tiyam : mâm : avarnavatâ : mâm : XSHyam :
akunaush :

18 haruvahâyâ : BUyâ : adam : Auramazdâm :
ayadaiy :

19 Auramazdâmai : upastâm : abara : tyamaiy
: fram

20 âtam : cartanaiy : ava : ucâramaiy : akunaush
: t

3h. (12-5.) By the favor of Ahuramazda my
father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather -
- these both were living when Ahuramazda
made me king in this earth.

3c. (15-8.) To Ahuramazda thus was the desire:
he chose me as (his) man in all the earth; he
made me king in all the earth.

3d. (18-22.) I worshipped Ahuramazda.
Ahuramazda bore me aid. What was by me
commanded to do, that he made successful for
me. What I did, all by the favor of Ahuramazda
I did.

3e. (22-7.) This palace which I built at Susa,
from afar its ornamentation was brought.
Downward the earth was dug, until I reached
rock in the earth. When the excavation had been
made, then rubble was packed down, some 40
cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in
depth. On that rubble the palace was
constructed.

3f. (28-30.) And that the earth was dug
downward, and that the rubble was packed
down, and that the sun-dried brick was molded,
the Babylonian people -- it did (these tasks).

3g. (30-5.) The cedar timber, this -- a mountain
named Lebanon -- from there was brought. The
Assyrian people, it brought it to Babylon; from
Babylon the Carians and the Ionians brought it
to Susa. The yakâ-timber was brought from
Gandara and from Carmania.

3h. (35-40.) The gold was brought from Sardis
and from Bactria, which here was wrought. The
precious stone lapis lazuli and carnelian which
was wrought here, this was brought from
Sogdiana. The precious stone turquoise, this was
brought from Chorasmia, which was wrought
here.

3i. (40-5.) The silver and the ebony were
brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with
which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia
was brought. The ivory which was wrought

21 ya : adam : akunavam : visam : vashnâ :
Auramazdâha :

22 akunavam : ima : hadish : tya : Çûshâyâ :
akunavam :

23 hacâciy : dûradasha : arjanamshaiy : abariya
: frava

24 ta : BU : akaniya : yâtâ : athagam : BUyâ :
avârasam :

25 yathâ : katam : abava : pasâva : thikâ :
avaniya : aniyâ :

26 XL : arashanish : barshnâ : aniyâ : XX :
arashnish : barsh

27 nâ : upariy : avâm : thikâm : hadish :
frâsahya

28 : utâ : tya : BU : akaniya : fravata : utâ : tya :
thikâ :

29 avaniya : utâ : tya : ishtish : ajaniya : kêra :
hya : Bâ

30 biruviya : hauv : akunaush : tharmish : hya :
nau

31 caina : hauv : Labanâna : nâma : kaufâ : hacâ
: avanâ : aba

32 riya : kêra : hya : Athuriya : haudim : abara :
yâtâ :

33 Bâbirauv : hacâ : Bâbirauv : Karkâ : utâ :
Yau

34 nâ : abara : yâtâ : Çushâyâ : yakâ : hacâ :
Gadârâ

35 : abariya : utâ : hacâ : Karmânâ : daraniyam :
hacâ

36 : Spardâ : utâ : hacâ : Bâxtriyâ : abariya : tya

37 : idâ : akariya : kêsaka : hya : kapautaka : utâ
: sikab

here, was brought from Ethiopia and from Sind
and from Arachosia.

3j. (45-9.) The stone columns which were here
wrought, a village named Abiradu, in Elam --
from there were brought. The stone-cutters who
wrought the stone, those were Ionians and
Sardians.

3k. (49-55.) The goldsmiths who wrought the
gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The
men who wrought the wood, those were
Sardians and Egyptians. The men who wrought
the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The
men who adorned the wall, those were Medes
and Egyptians.

4. (55-8.) Darius the King says: At Susa a very
excellent (work) was ordered, a very excellent
(work) was (brought to completion). Me may
Ahuramazda protect, and Hystaspes my father,
and my country.

38 rush : hya : idâ : karta : hauv : hacâ : Sugudâ : aba

39 riya : kâsaka : hya : axshaina : hauv : hacâ : Uvâraz

40 miyâ : abariya : hya : idâ : karta : ardatam : utâ : a

41 sâ : dâruv : hacâ : Mudrâyâ : abariya : ar

42 janam : tyanâ : didâ : pishtâ : ava : hacâ : Yaun

43 â : abariya : pirush : hya : idâ : karta : haca : Kûsh

44 â : utâ : hacâ : Hidauv : utâ : hacâ : Harauvat

45 iyâ : abariya : stûnâ : athagainiya : tyâ : id

46 â : kartâ : Abirâdush : nâma : âvahanam : Ūjaiy

47 : hacâ : avadasha : abariya : martiyâ : karnuvakâ : t

48 yaivy : athagam : akunavatâ : avaiy : Yaunâ : utâ

49 : Spardiyâ : martiyâ : dâranityakarâ : tyaiy : daran

50 iyam : akunavasha : avaiy : Mâdâ : utâ : Mudrây

51 â : martiyâ : tyaiy : dâruv : akunavasha : avaiy :

52 Spardiyâ : utâ : Mudrâyâ : martiyâ : tyaiy

53 : agurum : akunavasha : avaiy : Bâbiruviy

54 â : martiyâ : tyaiy : didâm : apitha : avaiy : Mâd

55 â : utâ : Mudrâyâ : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH :

56 Çûshâyâ : paruv : frasham : framâtam : paruv : frasha	
57 m : âha : mâm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : utâ : V	
58 ishtâspam : hya : manâ : pitâ : utamaiy : DHum	

DARIUS, SUSA G. (DSg)

Parts of 2 OP copies on columns.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush XSH vazraka XSH XSHyânâm XSH DHnâm XSH ah	1. (1-2.) ... (= DSd 1-2).
2 yayâ BUyâ : Vishtâspahyâ puça Haxâamanishiya thât	2. (2-3.) Darius the King says: In (my) house I made these columns.
3 iy : Dârayavaush XSH vithiyâ imâ stûnâ adam akunavam	

DARIUS, SUSA I. (DSi)

OP and Elam. on column.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush XSH : vazraka : XSH XSHyânâm : XSH DHnâm : XSH a	1. (1-2.) ... (= DSd 1-2).
2 hyâyâ BUyâ : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Haxâamanishiya : th	2. (2-4.) Darius the King says: After Ahuramazda made me king in this earth, by the favor of Ahuramazda everything (that) I did (was) good.
3 âtiy : Dârayavaush XSH : yathâ : AM : mâm : XSHyam akunaush :	
4 ahyâyâ BUyâ : vashnâ : AMha : visam : naibam : akunavam	

DARIUS, SUSA J. (DSj)

Trilingual on column.

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Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush XSH : vazraka XSH XSHyânâm : XSH ahyâyâ BUyâ : Vishtâspahyâ :	1. (1-2.) (= DSd 1-2, with an omission).
2 puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush XSH : visam : tya : adam : akunava	2. (2-4.) Darius the King says: All that I did, I did not do otherwise, (but) as was Ahuramazda's desire, so I did. Ahuramazda was a friend to me; what I did, all that was successful for me.
3 m : aniyathâ : naiy : akunavam : yathâ : AM m : kâma: âha : avathâ: akunava	3. (4-6.) Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, to every one who shall see this palace which has been built by me, may it seem excellent. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and my country.
4 m : mâm : AM : daushtâ : âha : tya : akunavam : avamaiy : visam : ucâram : âha :thâ	
5 tiy : Dârayavaush XSH : vashnâ AMhâ : hya : ima : hadish : vainâtiy : tya : manâ : ka	
6 rtam : visahyâ : frasham : thadayâtaiy : mâm : AM L pâtuv : utamaiy : DHum	

DARIUS, SUSA K. (DSk)

OP only on a baked clay brick.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHy	1. (1-3.) I am ... (= DPa 1-5).
2 ânâm : XSH : DHnâm : Vishtâspahyâ :	2. (3-5.) Darius the King says: Ahuramazda is mine, I am Ahuramazda's. I worshipped Ahuramazda; may Ahuramazda bear me aid.
3 puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Dâ	
4 rayavaush : XSH : manâ : AM : AMha : adam : Amm :	
5 ayadaiy : AMmai : upastâm : baratuv	

DARIUS, SUSA L. (DSl)

OP inscription on baked clay brick.

Text:	Translation:
1 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : x	Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, what I thought I will do, all that

2 shâyathiya : vashnâ : Aura	was successful for me.
3 mazdâha : tya : amaniyai	
4 y : kunavânaiy : avamai	
5 y : visam : ucâram : âha :	

DARIUS, SUSA M. (DSm)

Trilingual inscription on enameled bricks forming a frieze in one of the halls.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâ : 2 XSH : DHnâm : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Haxâmanisiya : 3 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH : AMmaiy : xshaçam : frâbara : 4 tya : vazrakam : tya : umartiyam : mâm : xshâyathiyam : 5 ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : akunaush : vashnâ : AMhâ : imâ : dah 6 yâva : tyâishâm : adam : xshâyathiya : abavam: Pârsa : 7 Êja : Bâbirush: Athurâ : Arabâya : Mudrâya : Sparda : 8 Yauna : Mâda : Armina : Katpatuka : Parthava : Zraka : 9 Haraiva : Uvârazmish : Bâxtrish : Suguda : Gadâra : 10 Thatagush : Harauvatish : Hidush : Skudra : Yaunâ : taka 11 barâ :	1. (1-2.) I am ... (DPa 1-5). 2. (3-11.) Darius the king says: Ahuramazda bestowed upon me the kingdom, great, possessed of good men; he made me king in this earth. By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries of which I became king: Persia, Elarn, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Sind, Skudra, petasos-wearing Ionians, ...

DARIUS, SUSA N. (DSn)

Trilingual, small fragments of an inscription on the garment of a statue.

Text:	Translation:
1 imam : patikaram : Dârayavaush : XSH : niyashtâya : cartanaiy : +++...	This Sculpture Darius the King commanded to make; ... May Ahuramazda protect Darius the King, and what was made (by him).
2 ... +++na : Dârayavaum : XSHyam : AM : pâtuv : utâ : tya : kartam	

DARIUS, SUSA O. (DSO)

OP and Akk. on a marble plaque.

Text:	Translation:
1 ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ nasha	... I made. Darius the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, I constructed here at Susa an excellent (building).
2 tam : akunavam : thâtiy : Dâ	
3 rayavaush : XSH : vashnâ : AMha : Çûsh	
4 âyâ : idâ : frasham : akunavam	

DARIUS, SUSA P. (DSp)

OP frag. on marble plaque.

Text:	Translation:
1 Auramazdâ : vazraka : hya : mathishta : bagânâm : hauv : Dâ	Great Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods -- he created Darius the King, he bestowed upon him the kingdom, good, possessed of good charioteers, of good horses, of good men ...
2 rayavaum : XSHyam : adâ : haushaiy : xshaçam : frâbara : tya : nai	
3 bam : tya : uratharam : uvaspam : umartiyam :	

DARIUS, SUSA Q. (DSq)

Two frags. on marble plaque.

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Text:	Translation:
1 ... a Darius the King ... eye ... he knew ... let not ... let not ...
2 ... : Dârayavaush : XSH : ... : casham : ...	
3 : adâna : nasatâ ...	
4 m : mâ : ka ... : mâ : yâ ...	

DARIUS, SUSA S. (DSs)

OP on marble plaque.

Text:	Translation:
1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : frasham : ah	A great god is Ahuramazda, who makes excellence in this earth, who makes man in this earth, who makes happiness for man, who makes good horses and good chariots. On me he bestowed them. May Ahuramazda protect me and what has been built by me.
2 yâyâ : bûmiyâ : kunautiy : hya : mart	
3 iyarn : ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : kunau	
4 tiy : hya : shiyâtîm : kunautiy :	
5 martiyahyâ : hya : uvaspâ : urathâcâ :	
6 kunautiy : manâ : haudish : frâbara : mâm : Au	
7 ramazdâ : pâtuv : utâ : tyamaiy : kartam :	

DARIUS, SUSA T. (DSt)

OP on both sides of a marble plaque.

Text:	Translation:
1 baga : vasraka : Auramazdâ : hya : imâ	1. (1-6.) ... (= DNa 1-6).
2 m : bûmim : adâ : hya : avam : as	2. (6-10.) ... (= DSe 49-51) and you, whoever shall be king hereafter.
3 mânâ : adâ : hya : martiyam : a	
4 dâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : mart	
5 iyahyâ : hya : Dârayavaum : xsh	

6 âyathiyam : akunaush : thâti	
7 y : Dârayavaush : XSH : mâm : Auramaz	
8 dâ : pâtuv : hadâ : багаибish	
9 : utamaiy : vitham : utâ : thuv	
10 âm : kê : XSH : hya : aparam : âhy	

DARIUS, SUSA Y. (DSy)

Trilingual on base of a column.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush XSH : vazraka XSH XSHyânâm	... (= DSd 1-2).
2 XSH DHyunâm XSH : ahyâyâ BUyâ : Vi	
3 shtâspahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya	

DZ = DARIUS, SUEZ INSCRIPTIONS.

Granite stele, not far from the 33d kilometer-stone commemorating Darius's opening of a canal between the Red Sea and the Nile.

DARIUS, SUEZ A. (DZa)

Text:	Translation:
1 Dâ 2 raya 3 va 4 ush	Darius.

DARIUS, SUEZ B. (DZb)

Text:	Translation:
1 Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka	... (= DNa 8-12, lacking two words)
2 : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : dahy	
3 ûnâm : XSH : ahyâyâ :	
4 bûmiyâ : vazrakâyâ :	

5 Vishtâspahyâ pu	
6 ça: Haxâmanishiya	

DARIUS, SUEZ C. (DZc)

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : avam : asmânam : adâ : hya : imâm : bûm	1. (1-4.) ... (= DNa 1-6, with one change of order); who upon Darius the King ... (= Dsf 11-2).
2 im : adâ : hya : martiyam : adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahy	2. (4-7.) ... (=Dna 8-13).
3 â : hya : Dârayavaum : XSHyam : akunaush : hya : Dârayavaush : XSHyâ : xshaça	3. (7-12.) Darius the King says: I am a Persian; from Persia I seized Egypt; I gave order to dig this canal from a river named Nile which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes from Persia. Afterward this canal was dug thus as I had ordered, and ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia thus as was my desire.
4 m : frâbara : tya : vazrakam : tya : uvaspam : umartiyam : adam : Dârayavaush :	
5 XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : dahyûnâm : vipazanânâm : XSH : ahyây	
6 â : bûmiyâ : vazrakâyâ : dûrai : apiy : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Ha	
7 xâmanishiya : thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH : adam: Pârsa : amiy : hacâ : Pâ	
8 rsâ : Mudrâyam : agarbâyam : adam : niyashtâyam : imâm : yauviyâ	
9 m : katanaiy : hacâ : Pirâva : nâma : rauta : tya : Mudrâyaiy : danuvatiy : ab	
10 iy : draya : tya : hacâ : Pârsâ : aitiy : pasâva : iyam : yauviyâ : akaniya :	
11 avathâ : yathâ : adam : niyashtâyam : utâ : nâva : âyatâ : hacâ : Mudrâ	
12 yâ : tara : imâm : yauviyâm : abiy : Pârsam : avathâ : yathâ : mâm : kâma : âha	

DARIUS, ELVEND. (DE)

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ	1. (1-11.) ... (= DNa 1-8).
2 : hya : imâm : bûmim :	2. (11-20.) ... (= DNa 8-10), containing many
3 adâ : hya : avam : asmâ	men, ... (= DNa 11-3).
4 nam : adâ : hya : martiya	
5 m : adâ : hya : shiyâti	
6 m : adâ : martiyahyâ :	
7 hya : Dârayavaum : xshâya	
8 thiyam : akunaush : aiva	
9 m : parûnâm : xshâyath	
10 iyam : aivam : parûnâm	
11 : framâtâram : adam :	
12 Dârayavaush : xshâyathi	
13 ya : vazraka : xshâyathiya :	
14 xshâyathiyânâm : xsh	
15 âyathiya : dahyûnâm : pa	
16 ruzanânâm : xshâyath	
17 iya : ahyâyâ : bûmiy	
18 â : vazrakâyâ : dûrai	
19 : apiy : Vishtâspahy	
20 â : puça : Haxâmanishiya	

DARIUS, HAMADAN. (DH)

Trilingual, duplicates on gold and silver plates.

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Text:	Translation:
1 Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyanâm : XSH : dahy	1. (1-2.) ... (= DPh 1-3).
2 ûvnâm : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya :	2. (3-8.) ... (= DPh 3-10).
3 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH : ima : xshaçam : tya : ada	
4 m : dârayâmiy : hacâ : Sakaibish : tyaiy : pa	
5 ra : Sugdam : amata : yâtâ : â : Kûshâ : hacâ : Hida	
6 uv : amata : yâtâ : â : Spardâ : tyamaiy : Aurama	
7 zdâ : frâbara : hya : mathishta : bagânâm : m	
8 âm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : utâmaiyy : vitham	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS A. (XPa)

Trilingual engraving on inner walls of the great doorway.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : imâm : bûmim : a	1. (1-6.) ... (= DNa 1-4), who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.
2 dâ : hya : avam : asmânam : adâ : hya : martiyam :	2. (6-11.) I am Xerxes, ... (= DE 12-9), son of King Darius, an Achaemenian.
3 adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahyâ : hya	3. (11-7.) Xerxes the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, this Colonnade of All Lands, I built. Much other good (construction) was built within this (city) Persepolis, which I built and which my father built. Whatever good construction is seen, all that by the favor of Ahuramazda we built.
4 : Xshayârshâm : xshâyathiyam : akunaush : aivam :	
5 parûnâm : xshâyathiyam : aivam : parûnâm : fram	
6 âtâram : adam : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : vazraka :	4. (17-20.) Xerxes the King says: May Ahuramazda protect me, and my kingdom, and what was built by me, and what was built by my father, that also may Ahuramazda protect.
7 xshâyathiya : xshâyathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : dahy	

8 ûnâm : paruv : zanânâm : xshâyathiya : ahyây	
9 â : bûmiyâ : vazrakâyâ : dûrai : apiy : Dâ	
10 rayavahaush : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça : Hâxâmanish	
11 iya : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : vashnâ :	
12 Auramazdâhâ : imam : duvarthim : visadahyum	
13 : adam : akunavam : vasiy : aniyashciy : naibam	
14 : kartam : anâ : Pârsâ : tya : adam : akunavam :	
15 utamaiy : tya : pitâ : akunaush : tyapatiy : ka	
16 rtam : vainataiy : naibam : ava : visam : vashnâ : A	
17 uramazdâhâ : akumâ : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ :	
18 xshâyathiya : mâm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : utamai	
19 y : xshaçam : utâ : tya : manâ : kartam : utâ : tyamai	
20 y : piça : kartam : avashciy : Auramazdâ : pâtuv	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS B. (XPb)

OP on north side of the colonnade hall of Xerxes with copy on east side.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ	1. (1-11.) ... (=XPa 1-6).
2 : hya : imâm : bûmim :	2. (11-21.) ... (= XPa 6-11).
3 adâ : hya : avam : asmâ	3. (21-30.) Xerxes the Great King says: What
4 nam : adâ : hya : martiya	has been built by me here, and what has been built by me at a distance (from here), all that by

5 m : adâ : hya : shiyâti
6 m : adâ : martiyahyâ :
7 hya : Xshayârshâm : xshâ
8 yathiyam : akunaush : ai
9 vam : parûnâm : xshâyath
10 iyam : aivam : parûnâm
11 : framâtâram : adam : X
12 shayârshâ : xshâyathiya :
13 vazraka : xshâyathiya : xsh
14 âyathiyânâm : xshâyath
15 iya : dahyûnâm : paruv
16 zanânâm : xshâyathiya :
17 ahiyâyâ : bûmiyâ :
18 vazrakâyâ : dûraiya : a
19 piy : Dârayavahaush : xsh
20 âiyathiyahyâ : puça : Hax
21 âmanishiya : thâtiy : X
22 shayârshâ : xshâyathiya :
23 vazraka : tya : manâ : karta
24 m : idâ : utâ : tyamaiy
25 : apataram : kartam : ava : v
26 isam : vashnâ : Auramazdâ
27 ha : akunavam : mâm : Aura
28 mazdâ : pâtuv : hadâ : ba
29 gaibish : utâmaiya : xshaça

the favor of Ahuramazda I built. Me may
Ahuramazda together with the gods protect, and
my kingdom, and what has been built by me.

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS C. (XPc)

Trilingual on west pillar of the portico of Darius's palace, with copies on south boundary wall of the terrace, an on the east pillar of the portico.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : imâm : bûmim :	1. (1-5.) ... (=XPa 1-6).
2 adâ : hya : avam : asmânam : adâ : hya : marti	2. (6-9.) ... (= XPa 6-11).
3 yam : adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahyâ	3. (9-15.) Xerxes the Great King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda this palace Darius the King built, who was my father. May
4 : hya : Xshayârshâm : XSHm : akunaush : aivam : pa	Ahuramazda together with the gods protect me, and what was built by me, and what was built by my father Darius the King, that also may
5 rûnâm : XSHm : aivam : parûnâm : framâtâram	Ahuramazda together with the gods protect.
6 : adam : Xshayârshâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHânâm : XSH :	
7 dahyûnâm : paruv : zanânâm : XSH : ahyâyâ : b	
8 ûmiyâ : vazrakâyâ : dûraiyy : apiy : Dârayava	
9 haush : XSHhyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : X	
10 shayârshâ : XSH : vazraka : vashnâ : Aurahya Mazdâha : i	
11 ma : hadish : Dârayavaush : XSH : akunaush : hya : manâ :	
12 pitâ : mâm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : hadâ : бага	
13 ibish : upâ : tyamaiy : kartam : utâ : tyamaiy :	
14 piça : Dârayavahaush : XSHhyâ : kartam : avashciy	
15 : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : hadâ : багаibish	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS D. (XPd)

Trilingual, 2 copies on pillars of Xerxes' palace, 2 more on walls beside the steps of front terrace.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : i	1. (1-8.) ... (= XPa 1-6).
2 mâm : bûmim : adâ : hya : avam	2. (8-14.) ... (= Xpa 6-11).
3 : asmânam : adâ : hya : martiya	3. (15-9.) Xerxes the Great King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda this palace I built. ... (= XPb 27-30).
4 m : adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : mar	
5 tiyahyâ : hya : Xshayârshâm : x	
6 shâyathiyam : akunaush : aivam : par	
7 ûnâm : xshâyathiyam : aivam : parû	
8 nâm : framâtâram : adam : Xshayârsh	
9 â : xshâyathiya : vazraka : xshâyathiya :	
10 xshâyathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : dahy	
11 ûnâm : paruvzanânâm : xshâyathiya	
12 : ahiyâyâ : bûmiyâ : vazrakâyâ	
13 : dûraiyy : apiy : Dârayavahaush : xsh	
14 âyathiyahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya :	
15 thâtiy : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : va	
16 zraka : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : ima : had	
17 ish : adam : akunavam : mâm : Auramaz	
18 dâ pâtuv : hadâ : багаibish : utama	
19 iy : xshaçam : utâ : tyamaiy : kartam	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS E. (XPe)

Trilingual, in duplicate on door posts, above sculptures of the king. Numerous copies on doors and windows.

Text:	Translation:
1 Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : vazra	... (= Xpa 6-7, 9-11).
2 ka : xshâyathiya : xshâyathiyâ	
3 nâm : Dârayavahaush : xshâyath	
4 iyahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya :	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS F. (XPf)

OP and Akk. on limestone tablet simulating a clay tablet.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : imâ	1. (1-8.) ... (=XPa 1-6).
2 m :bûmim : adâ : hya : avam : asm	2. (8-15.) ... (= Xpa 6-11).
3 ânam : adâ : hya : martiyam : adâ :	3. (15-27.) Xerxes the King says: My father was Darius; Darius's father was named Hystaspes; Hystaspes's father was named Arsames. Both Hystaspes and Arsames were both living, at that time -- thus to Ahuramazda was the desire -- Darius, who was my father, him he made king on this earth. When Darius became king, he built much excellent (construction).
4 hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahy	
5 â : hya : Xshayârshâm : xshâyathiyam	
6 : akunaush : aivam : parûnâm : xsh	
7 âyathiyam : aivam parûnâm : fram	
8 âtâram : adam : Xshayârshâ : xshâ	
9 yathiya : vazraka : xshâyathiya : xshâ	
10 yathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : dahyû	
11 nâm : paruv : zanânâm : xshâyath	
12 iya : ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : vazrak	
13 âyâ : dûraiyy : apiyy : Dârayavaha	
14 ush : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça : Haxâ	
15 manishiya : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ :	4. (27-43.) Xerxes the King says: Other sons of Darius there were, (but) -- thus to Ahuramaida was the desire -- Darius my father made me the greatest after himself. When my father Darius went away from the throne, by the will of Ahuramazda I became king on my father's throne. When I became king, I built much excellent (construction). What had been built by my father, that I protected, and other building I added. What moreover I built, and what my father built, all that by the favor of Ahuramazda we built.
	5. (43-48.) ... (= XPa 17-20).

16 xshâyathiya : manâ : pitâ : Dâraya
17 vaush : Dârayavahaush : pitâ : Vish
18 tâspa : nâma : âha : Vishtâspahy
19 â : pitâ : Arshâma : nâma : âha : u
20 tâ : Vishtâspa : utâ : Arshâma :
21 ubâ : ajîvatam : aciy : Auramaz
22 dâm : avathâ : kâma : âha : Dârayava
23 um : hya : manâ : pitâ : avam : xsh
24 âyathiyam : akunaush : ahyâyâ :
25 bûmiyâ : yathâ : Dârayavahaush : xsh
26 âyathiya : abava : vasiy : tya : frathara
27 m : akunaush : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ
28 : xshâyathiya : Dârayavaush : puçâ :
29 aniyaiciy : âhatâ : Auramazdâm
30 : avatha : kâma : âha : Dârayavaushi : hya
31 : manâ : pitâ : pasâ : tanûm : mâm
32 : mathishtam : akunaush : yathâmaiy
33 : pitâ : Dârayavaush : gâthavâ : a
34 shiyava : vashnâ : Auramazdahâ : ada
35 m : xshâyathiya : abavam : piça : gâ
36 thavâ : yathâ : adam : xshâyathiya : a
37 bavam : vasiy : tya : fratharam : aku
38 navam : tyamaiy : piça : kartam : âha
39 : ava : adam : apayaiy : utâ : ani
40 ya : kartam : abîjâvayam : tyapati

41 y : adam : akunavam : utamaiy : tya	
42 : pitâ : akunaush : ava : visam :	
43 vashnâ : Auramazdahâ : akumâ : th	
44 âtiy : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya :	
45 mâm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : utama	
46 iy : xshaçam : utâ : tya : manâ : kar	
47 tam : utâ : tyamaiy : piça : kartam	
48 : avashciy : Auramazdâ : pâtuv	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS G. (XPg)

Ornamental plaque in colored enameled bricks.

Text:	Translation:
1 thâtiy : xshayârshâ :	Xerxes the Great King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, King Darius my father built and ordered (to be built) much good (construction). By the favor also of Ahuramazda I added to that construction and built further (buildings). ... (= XPb 27-30).
2 xshâyathiya : vazraka : vash	
3 nâ : Auramazdâha : vasi	
4 y : tya : naibam : akunau	
5 sh : utâ : frâmâyatâ :	
6 Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya	
7 : hya : manâ : pitâ : vash	
8 nâpiy : Auramazdâha	
9 : adam : abiyajâvayam	
10 : abiy : ava : kartam :	
11 utâ : frataram : akuna	
12 vam : mâm : Auramazdâ	
13 : pâtuv : hadâ : bagai	

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS H. (XPh)*The Daiva Inscription: Trilingual, on stone tablets, 2 copies.*

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : imâm : bûm	1. (1-6.) ... (= XPa 1-6).
2 im : adâ : hya : avam : asmânâ : adâ : hya	2. (6-13.) ... (=XPa 6-11, DNa 13-5).
3 : martiyam : adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ :	3. (13-28.) Xerxes the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries of which I was king ... (= DNa 18-22); Media, Elam, Arachosia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sardis, Egypt, Ionians, those who dwell by the sea and those who dwell across the sea, men of Maka, Arabia, Gandara, Sind, Cappadocia, Dahae, Amyrgian Scythians, Pointed-Cap Scythians, Skudra, men of Akaufaka, Libyans, Carians, Ethiopians.
4 martiyahyâ : hya : Xshayârshâm : xshâyathi	
5 yam : akunaush : aivam : parûnâm : xshâyath	
6 iyam : aivam : parûnâm : framâtâram : ada	
7 m : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : vazraka : xshâya	
8 thiya : xshâyathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : dahy	4a. (28-35.) Xerxes the King says: When that I became king, there is among these countries which are inscribed above (one which) was in commotion. Afterwards Ahuramazda bore me aid; by the favor of Ahuramazda I smote that country and put it down in its place.
9 ûnâm : paruv : zanânâm : xshâyathiya : ah	
10 yâya : bûmiyâ : vazrakâyâ : dûrai : a	
11 piy : Dârayavahaush : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça	
12 : Haxâmanishiya : Pârsa : Pârsahyâ : puça	4b. (35-41.) And among these countries there was (a place) where previously false gods [[Daevas]] were worshipped. Afterwards, by the favor of Ahuramazda, I destroyed that sanctuary of the demons, and I made proclamation, "The demons shall not be worshipped!" Where previously the demons were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahuramazda and Arta [[Asha]] reverent(ly).
13 : Ariya : Ariyaciça : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ	
14 : xshâyathiya : vashnâ : Auramazdahâ : imâ :	
15 dahyâva : tyaishâm : adam : xshâyathiya : âh	
16 âm : apataram : hacâ : Pârsâ : adamshâm :	
17 patiyaxshayaïy : manâ : bâjim : abaraha : t	4c. (41-6.) And there was other (business) that had been done ill; that I made good. That which I did, all I did by the favor of Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I completed the work.
18 yashâm : hacâma : athahiya : ava : akunava : d	
19 âtam : tya : manâ : avadish : adâraya : Mâda	

20 : Ūja : Harauvatish : Armina : Zraka :
Parthava

21 : Haraiva : Bâxtrish : Sugda : Uvârazmi

22 sh : Bâbirush : Athurâ : Thatagush : Sparda

23 : Mudrâya : Yaunâ : tya : drayahiyâ : dâ

24 rayatiy : utâ : tyaiy : paradraya : dârayat

25 iy : Maciyâ : Arabâya : Gadâra : Hidush :

26 Katpatuka : Dahâ : Sakâ : haumavargâ :
Sakâ

27 : tigraxaudâ : Skudrâ : Âkaufaciyâ :

28 Putâyâ : Karkâ : Kûshiya : thâtiy : Xsha

29 yârshâ : xshâyathiya : yathâ : tya : adam : x

30 shâyathiya : abavam : astiy : atar : aitâ

31 : dahyâva : tyaiy : upariy : nipishtâ : a

32 yauda : pasâvamaïy : Auramazdâ : upastâm :

33 abara : vashnâ : Auramazdahâ : ava :
dahyâvam

34 : adam : ajanam : utashim : gâthavâ : nîdâda

35 yam : utâ : atar : aitâ : dahyâva : âha : yad

36 âtya : paruvam : daivâ : ayadiya : pasâva : va

37 shnâ : Auramazdahâ : adam : avam :
daivadâna

38 m : viyakanam : utâ : patiyazbayam : daivâ :

39 mâ : yadiyaisha : yadâyâ : paruvam : daivâ :

40 ayadiya : avadâ : adam : Auramazdâm :
ayada

41 iy : artâcâ : brazmaniya : utâ : aniyash

4d. (46-56.) Thou who (shall be) hereafter, if
you shall think, "Happy may I be when living,
and when dead may I be blessed," have respect
for that law which Ahuramazda has established;
worship Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly).
The man who has respect for that law which
Ahuramazda has established, and worships
Ahuramazda and Arta reverent(ly), he both
becomes happy while living, and becomes
blessed when dead.

5. (56-60.) Xerxes the King says: ... (= DNa 51-
5).

42 ca : âha : tya : dushkartam : akariya : ava :
ada

43 m : naibam : akunavam : aita : tya : adam :
ak

44 unavam : visam : vashnâ : Auramazdahâ :
aku

45 navam : Auramazdâmaiy upastâm : abara : y

46 âtâ : kartam : akunavam : tuva : kê : hya :

47 apara : yadimaniyâiy : shiyâta : ahaniy

48 : jîva : utâ : marta : artâvâ : ahaniy :

49 avanâ : dâtâ : parîdiy : tya : Auramazd

50 â : nivashtâya : Auramazdâm : yadaishâ : a

51 rtâcâ : brazmaniya : martiya : hya : avan

52 â : dâtâ : pariyaita : tya : Auramazdâ : n

53 îshtâya : utâ : Auramazdâm : yadataiy : a

54 rtâcâ : brazmaniya hauv : utâ : jîva :

55 shiyâta : bavatiy : utâ : marta : artâvâ

56 : bavatiy : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ : xshâyath

57 iya : mâm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : hacâ : ga

58 stâ : utamaiy : vitham : utâ : imâm : dah

59 yâvam : aita : adam : Auramazdâm : jadiy

60 âmiy : aitamaiy : Auramazdâ : dadâtuv

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS I. (XPi)

OP and Elamite on doorknob, from harem building.

Text:	Translation:
mayûxa : kâsakaina : Xshayârshâha : XSHhyâ :	... (= DPi) of Xerxes.

vithiyâ : karta	
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XERXES, PERSEPOLIS J. (XPj)

Trilingual, on bases of at least 5 columns.

Text:	Translation:
adam : Xshayârshâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyûnâm : XSH : ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : Dârayavahaush : XSHyâhyâ : Puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ : XSH : imam : tacaram : adam : akunavam	1. (1-3.) ... (= XPa 6-11, with two omissions). 2. (3-4.) Xerxes the King says: This palace I built.

XERXES, PERSEPOLIS K. (XPk)

OP and Elam. on the king's garment, middle door of the tacara.

Text:	Translation:
Xshayârshâ : Dârayavahaush : XSHyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya	Xerxes, son of King Darius, an Achaemenian.

XERXES, SUS A. (XSa)

Trilingual on base of column

Text:	Translation:
1 thâtiy : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : vashnâ : Auramazdâha : ima :	... (= XPc 9-12, with slight omissions).
2 hadish : Dârayavaush : xshâyathiya : akunaush : hya : manâ : pitâ	

XERXES, SUS C. (XSc)

OP on fragmentary marble tablet.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : vazraka : xshâyathiya : xshâyathiyânâm : xshâya	1. (1-2.) ... (= XPa 6-8, 9-11). 2. (2-5.) Xerxes the King says: I built this palace after I became king. This I ask as a boon

2 thiya : dahyûnâm : Dârayavahaush : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya : thât	from Ahuramazda: ... (= XPb 27-30).
3 iy : Xshayâshâ : xshâyathiya : ima : hadish : akunâm : pasâva : yathâ : adam : xshâya	
4 thiya : abavam : aita : adam : yânam jadiyâmiy : Auramazdâm : mâm : Au	
5 ramazdâ : pâtuv : hadâ : bagaibish : utamaiy : xshaçam : utâ : tyamaiy : kartam	

XERXES, ELVEND. (XE)

Trilingual, to the right of Darius's inscription.

Text:	Translation:
1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdâ :	1. (1-11.) ... (= XPa 1-6).
2 hya : mathishta : bagânâm :	2. (12-20.) ... (= XPa 6-11).
3 hya : imâm : bûmim : ad	
4 â : hya : avam : asmânam :	
5 adâ : hya : martiyam : ad	
6 â : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ	
7 : martiyahyâ : hya : Xsha	
8 yârshâm : xshâyathiyam :	
9 akunaush : aivam : parûn	
10 âm : xshâyathiyam : aivam	
11 : parûnâm : framâtâram	
12 : adam : Xshayârshâ : xshâ	
13 yathiya : vazraka : xshâyathi	
14 ya : xshâyathiyânâm : xsh	
15 âyathiya : dahyûnâm : par	

16 uzanânâm : xshâyathiya :	
17 ahiyâyâ : bumiya : va	
18 zrakâyâ : dûraiya : apiy	
19 : Dârayavahaush : xshâyathiya	
20 hyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya	

XERXES, VAN. (XV)

Trilingual, in niche on precipitous rocky wall of the castle.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : mathi	1. (1-9.) A great god is Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods, ... (= XPa 1-6).
2 shta : bagânâm : hya : imâm : bûm	2. (9-16.) ... (- XPa 6-11).
3 im : adâ : hya : avam : asmânâm :	3. (16-27.) Xerxes the King says: King Darius, who was my father -- he by the favor of Ahuramazda built much good (construction), and this niche he gave orders to dig out, where he did not cause an inscription (to be) engraved. Afterwards I gave order to engrave this inscription. ... (= XPb 27-30).
4 adâ : hya : martiyam : adâ : hya :	
5 shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahyâ :	
6 hya : Xshayârshâm : xshâyathiyam	
7 : akunaush : aivam : parûnâm : x	
8 shâyathiyam : aivam : parûnâm :	
9 framâtâram : adam : Xshayârshâ :	
10 xshâyathiya : vazraka : xshâyathiya :	
11 xshâyathiyânâm : xshâyathiya : da	
12 hyûnâm : paruv : zanânâm : xsh	
13 âyathiya : ahyâyâ : bûmiya : va	
14 zrakâyâ : dûraiya : apiy : Dâraya	
15 vahaush : xshâyathiyahyâ : puça : Ha	
16 xâmanishiya : thâtiy : Xshayârshâ	

17 : xshâyathiya : Dârayavaush : xshâya	
18 thiya : hya : manâ : pitâ : hauv : va	
19 shnâ : Auramazdâha : vasiy : tya :	
20 naibam : akunaush : utâ : ima : st	
21 ânam : hauv : niyashtâya : katanaiy	
22 : yaniy : dipim : naiy : nipisht	
23 âm : akunaush : pasâva : adam : ni	
24 yashtâyam : imâm : dipim : nipa	
25 ishtanaiy : mâm : Auramazdâ : pâ	
26 tuv : hadâ : bagaibish : utâmai	
27 y : xshaçam : utâ : tyamaiy : kartam	

XERXES, HAMADAN. (XH)

OP on fragment of silver pitcher.

Text:	Translation:
Xshayârshâha : XSHhyâ : vithiyâ : kartam	(Pitcher) made in the house of Xerxes the King.

ARTAXERXES I, PERSEPOLIS A. (A1Pa)

OP and Akk. on marble block found in the court before palace.

Text:	Translation:
1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya :	1. (1-8.) ... (= DNa 1-4), who made Artaxerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many.
2 imâm : bûmim : adâ : hya : ava	2. (9-16.) I am Artaxerxes, ... (= DE 12-9), son of Xerxes the King, grandson of Darius, an Achaemenian.
3 m : asmânam : adâ : hya . marti	3. (17-24.) Artaxerxes the Great King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda, this palace Xerxes the King, my father, previously (began to
4 yam : adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : ad	
5 â : martiyahyâ : hya Artaxshaç	
6 âm : xshâyathiyam : akunaush : a	

7 ivam : parûnâm : xshâyathiyam :	build), afterwards I built (to completion). ... (= XPb 27-30).
8 aivam : parûnâm : framâtâram	
9 : adam : Artaxshaçâ : xshâyathiya	
10 : vazraka : xshâyathiya : xshâyathi	
11 yânâm : xshâyathiya : dahyûnâ	
12 m : paruzanânâm : xshâyathiya :	
13 ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : vazrak	
14 âyâ : dûraiya : apiy : Xshay	
15 ârshahyâ : xshâyathiyahyâ : pu	
16 ça : Dârayavaush : napâ : Haxâmanishiya	
17 : thâtiy : Artaxshaçâ : xshâ	
18 yathiya : vazraka : vashnâ : Au	
19 ramazdahâ : ima : hadish : Xshayâ	
20 rshâ : xshâyathiya : hya : manâ : pi	
21 tâ : frataram : pasâva : adam : aku	
22 navam : mâm : Auramazdâ : pât	
23 uv : hadâ : bagaibish : utamaiy :	
24 xshaçam : utâ : tyamaiy : kartam	

ARTAXERXES I, INCERTO LOCO. (A1I)

OP on silver dishes, 4 copies.

Text:	Translation:
Artaxshaçâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyûnâm : Xshayârshahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Xshayârshahyâ : Dârayavaushahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya : hya : imam : bâtugara : siyamam : vithiyâ : karta	Artaxerxes the Great King, King of Kings, King of Countries, son of Xerxes the King, of Xerxes (who was) son of Darius the King; in whose royal house this silver saucer was made.

DARIUS II, SUS A. (D2Sa)

OP on base of column.

Text:	Translation:
1 imam : apadânam : stûnâya : athagainam : 2 Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : akunaush : Dâraya 3 vaum : XSHm : AM pâtuv : hadâ : BGibish	This palace, of stone in its column(s), Darius the Great King built; Darius the King may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect.

DARIUS II, SUS B. (D2Sb)

2 copies on base of columns, OP and Akk.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyânâm XSH : a 2 hyâyâ : BUyâ : Artaxshaçahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Haxâmanishiya : 3 thâtiy : Dârayavaush : XSH : ima : hadish : Artaxshaçâ : paranam : akunaush : 4 hya : manâ : pitâ : ima : hadish : pasâva : vashnâ : AMha : adam : akunavam	1. (1-2.) ... (= DNa 8-12, with one omission), son of Artaxerxes the King, an Achaemenian. 2. (3-4.) Darius the King says: This palace Artaxerxes previously built, who was my father; this palace, by the favor of Ahuramazda, I afterwards built (to completion).

ARTAXERXES II, SUS A. (A2Sa)

Trilingual on bases of 4 columns.

Text:	Translation:
1 thâtiy : Artaxshaçâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyânâm : XSH : ahyâyâ : BUyâ : Dârayavaushahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : D 2 ârayavaushahyâ : Artaxshaçâhyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Artaxshaçâhyâ : Xshayâcahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Xshayâcahyâ : Dâra	Artaxerxes the Great King, King of Kings, King of Countries, King in this earth, son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Artaxerxes the King, of Artaxerxes (who was) son of Xerxes the King, of Xerxes (who was) son of Darius the King, of Darius (who was) son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, says: This palace Darius my great-great-grandfather built;

3 yavaushahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Dârayavaushahyâ : Vishtâspahyâ : puça : Haxamânashiya : imam : apadâna : Dârayavaush : apanayâkama : ak 4 unash : abayapara : upâ : Artaxshaçâm : nayâkama : ++++ : vashnâ : AM : Anahata : utâ : Mithra : imam : apadâna : adam : akunâm : AM : A 5 nahata : utâ : Mithra : mâm : pâtuv : hacâ : vispâ : gastâ : upâ : imam : tya : akunâm : mâ : vijanâtiy : mâ : vinâthayâtiy	later under Artaxerxes my grandfather it was burned; by the favor of Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra, this palace I built. May Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra protect me from all evil, and that which I have built may they not shatter nor harm.
--	--

ARTAXERXES II, SUSA B. (A2Sb)

Trilingual on base of column.

Text:	Translation:
adam : Artaxshaçâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH XSHyânâ : XSH : Dârayavaush : XSHhyâ : Puça	... (= A2Sa 1, with omissions).

ARTAXERXES II, SUSA C. (A2Sc)

OP on stone tablet.

Text:	Translation:
0 Dârayavaushahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : 0 Dârayavaushahyâ : Vishtâspahyâ : puça 1 : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Artaxshaçâ : 2 xshâyathiya : vazraka : xshâyathiya : x 3 shâyathiyanâm : xshâyathiya : dahyûn 4 âm : xshâyathiya : ahyâyâ : bûmiyâ : i 5 mâm : hadish : utâ : imâm : usta 6 canâm : tya : athagainâm : ta +++++ 7 : Auramazdâ :	1. (0-1.) ... (= A2Sa 2-3). 2. (1-7.) ... (= A2Sa 1): This palace and this stone staircase ... Ahuramazda ...

ARTAXERXES II, SUSA D (A2Sd)

Trilingual on base of column, with fragments of other copies.

(COPIES BA, DB, DC).

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Artaxshaçâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyûnâm : XSH : ahyâyâ :	1. (1-2.) ... (= A2Sa 1), an Achaemenian.
2 BUyâ : Dârayavaush : XSHâhya : puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Artaxshaçâ : XSH :	2. (2-4.) Artaxerxes the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda this is the palace which I built in my lifetime as a pleasant retreat. May Ahuramazda, Anahita, and Mithra protect me from all evil, and my building.
3 vashnâ : AMhâ : imâm : hadish : tya : jivadiy : paradayadâm : adam : akunavâm : AM : Anah	
4 ita : utâ : Mitra : mâm : pâtuv : hacâ : vispâ : gastâ : utamaiy : kartam	

ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN A. (A2Ha)

Trilingual on fragment of column base.

Text:	Translation:
1 thâtiy : Artaxshaçâ : XSH : vazraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyûnâm : XSH : ah	1. (1-5.) ... (= A2Sa 1-3).
2 yâyâ : BUyâ : Dârayavashahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça: Dârayavashahyâ : Artaxshathra	2. (5-7.) ... (= A2Sa 4-5).
3 hyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Artaxshathrahyâ : Xshayârshahyâ : XSHhyâ : Xshayâr	
4 shahyâ : Dârayavashahyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Dârayavashahyâ : Vishtâspahyâ : puça :	
5 : Haxâmanishiya : imam : apadâna : vashnâ : AM : Anahata : utâ : Mitra : adam : akun	
6 âm : AM : Anahata : utâ : Mitra : mâm : pâtuv : hacâ : vispâ : gastâ : ut	

7 â : imam : tya : akunâ : mâ : vijanâtiy : mâ : vinâthayâtiy	
--	--

ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN B. (A2Hb)

OP on base of column.

Text:	Translation:
apadânam : stûnâya : athagainam : Artaxshaça : XSH : vazraka : akunaush : hya : Dârayavaush : XSH : puça : Haxâmanishiya : Mitra : mâm : pâtuv	This palace, of stone in its column(s), Artaxerxes the Great King built, the son of Darius the King, an Achaemenian. May Mithra protect me ...

ARTAXERXES II, HAMADAN C. (A2Hc)

OP on gold tablet.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya : mathishta :	1. (1-7.) A great god is Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods, ... (= A1Pa 1-8).
2 bagânâm : hya : imâm : bûmim : adâ :	2. (7-15.) ... (= A2Sa 1): I (am) ... (= A2Sa 1-2), son of Hystaspes by name, an Achaemenian.
3 hya : avam : asmânam : adâ : hya : martiya	
4 m : adâ : hya : shiyâtîm : adâ : martiyahy	3. (15-20.) Artaxerxes the King says: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am king in this great earth far and wide; Ahuramazda bestowed the kingdom upon me. May Ahuramazda protect me, and the kingdom which he bestowed upon me, and my royal house.
5 â : hya : Artaxshaçâm : XSHm : akunaush : ai	
6 vam : parûnâm : XSHm : aivam : parûnâm :	
7 framâtâram : thâtiy : Artaxshaça : XSH : va	
8 zraka : XSH : XSHyânâm : XSH : DHyânâm : XSH	
9 : ahyâyâ : BUyâ : adam : Dârayavaushahy	
10 â : XSHhyâ : puça : Dârayavaushahyâ : Artax	
11 shaçâhyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Artaxshaçâhy	
12 â : Xshayârshâhyâ : XSHhyâ : puça : Xshay	

13 ârshâhyâ : Dârayavaushahyâ : XSHhyâ : p	
14 uça : Dârayavaushahyâ : Vishtâspahyâ : nâ	
15 ma : puça : Haxâmanishiya : thâtiy : Artaxsha	
16 çâ : XSH : vashnâ : Auramazdâhâ : adam : XSH : a	
17 hyâyâ : BUyâ : vazrakâyâ : dûrai : a	
18 piy : amiy : Auramazdâ : xshaçam : manâ : frâba	
19 ra : mâm : Auramazdâ : pâtuv : utâ : xshaça	
20 m : tyamaiy : frâbara : utâmai : vitham	

ARTAXERXES II OR III, PERSEPOLIS. (A?P)

Trilingual, labeling the throne-bearers of the south tomb.

Text:	Translation:
1 iyam : Pârsâ :	1. This is the Persian. 2. This is the Mede. 3.
2 iyam : Mâda :	This is the Elamite. 4. This is the Parthian. [5-7.
3 iyam : Ûvja :	This is the Arian, the Bactrian, the Sogdian.] 8.
4 iyam : Parthava :	This is the Chorasmian. 9. This is the Drangian.
8 iyam : Uvârazmiya	10. This is the Arachosian.
9 iyam : Zrakâ	11. This is the Sattagydian. 12. This is the
10 iyam : Harauvatiya	Gandarian. 13. This is the man of Sind. 14. This
11 iyam : Thataguiya	is the Amyrgian Scythian. 15. This is the
12 iyam : Gadâraya :	Pointed-Cap Scythian. 16. This is the
13 iyam : Hiduya	Babylonian. 17. This is the Assyrian. 18. This is
14 iyam : Sakâ : haumavargâ :	the Arab. 19. This is the Egyptian. 20. This is
15 iyam : Sakâ : tigraxaudâ :	the Armenian.
	21. This is the Cappadocian. 22. This is the
	Sardian. 23. This is the Ionian. 24. This is the
	Scythian across the sea. 25. This is the
	Skudrian. 26. This is the Petasos-Wearing
	Ionian. 27. This is the Libyan. 28. This is the
	Ethiopian. 29. This is the man of Maka. 30.
	This is the Carian.

16 iyam : Bâbirush :	
17 iyam : Athuriya	
18 iyam : Arabâya	
19 iyam : Mudrâya	
20 iyam : Arminiya	
21 iyam : Katpatuka :	
22 imay : Spardiya	
23 iyam : Yaunâ :	
24 iyam : Sakâ : paradraiya :	
25 iyam : Skudra :	
26 iyam : Yauna : takabarâ :	
27 iyam : Putâya :	
28 iyam : Kûshâya	
29 iyam : Maciya	
30 iyam : Karka :	

ARTAXERXES III. PERSEPOLIS A, B, C, D. (A3Pa)

OP, 3 copies on north wall of terrace of palace of Artaxerxes, 1 copy on palace of Darius.

Text:	Translation:
1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdâ : hya :	1. (1-8.) ... (= DNa 1-4), who made me, Artaxerxes, king, ... (= DNa 6-8).
2 imâm : bûmâm : adâ : hya : a	2. (8-21.) ... (= A2Sa 1): I am the son (of) Artaxerxes the King, (of) Artaxerxes (who was) the son (of) Darius the King, (of) Darius (who was) the son (of) Artaxerxes the King, (of) Artaxerxes (who was) the son (of) Xerxes the King, (of) Xerxes (who was) the son (of) Darius the King, (of) Darius (who was) the son of Hystaspes by name, of Hystaspes (who was) the son (of) Arsames by name, an Achaemenian.
3 vam : asmânâm : adâ : hya : marti	
4 yam : adâ : hya : shâyatâm : adâ : marti	
5 ihyâ : hya : mâm : Artaxshaçâ : xshâya	
6 thiya : akunaush : aivam parûvnâm :	

7 xshâyathiyam : aivam : parûvnâm	3. (21-3.) Artaxerxes the King says: This stone staircase was built by me in my time.
8 : framatâram : thâtiy : Artaxsaçâ :	
9 xshâyathiya : vasraka : xshâyathiya	4. (23-6.) Artaxerxes the King says: May Ahuramazda and the god Mithra protect me, and this country, and what was built by me.
10 : xshâyathiyanâm : xshâyathiya :	
11 DHyûnâm : xshâyathiya : ahyâyâ : BUyâ : ada	
12 m : Artaxshaçâ : xshâya	
13 thiya : puça : Artaxshaçâ : Darayavau	
14 sh : xshâyathiya : puça : Dârayavaush : A	
15 rtaxshaçâ : xshâyathiya : puça : Artaxsha	
16 çâ : Xshayârshâ : xshâyathiya : puça : X	
17 shayârshâ : Dârayavaush : xshâyath	
18 iya : puça : Dârayavaush : Vishtâspa	
19 hyâ : nâma : puça : Vishtâspahyâ :	
20 Arshâma : nâma : puça : Haxâmanishi	
21 ya : thâtiy : Artaxshaçâ : xshâyathi	
22 ya : imam : ustashanâm : athaganâm : mâ	
23 m : upâ : mâm : kartâ : thâtiy : Arta	
24 xshaçâ : xshâyathiya : mâm : Auramazdâ :	
25 utâ : Mithra : бага : pâtuv : utâ : imâ	
26 m : DHyaum : utâ : tya : mâm : kartâ :	

INSCRIPTIONS ON WEIGHTS.

Trilingual inscription on blunt pyramid of dark green diorite.

DARIUS, WEIGHT A. (Wa)

Text:	Translation:
1 II karshâ	II (units) by weight. ... (= Wb 1-2, 7-9):
2 adam : Dâra	
3 yavaush : xsh	
4 âyathiya : va	
5 zraka : Vish	
6 tâspahyâ	
7 : puça : Hax	
8 âmanishiya	

DARIUS, WEIGHT B. (Wb)

Trilingual inscription on blunt pyramid of dark green.

Text:	Translation:
1 adam : Dârayavaush : x	... (= DSf 5-8).
2 shâyathiya : vazraka : x	
3 shâyathiya : xshâyath	
4 iyânâm : xshâyath	
5 iya : dahyûnâm : xsh	
6 âyathiya : ahyâyâ	
7 : bûmiyâ : Vishtâ	
8 spahyâ : puça : Haxâ	
9 manishiya	

DARIUS, WEIGHT C. (Wc)

Trilingual inscription on blunt pyramid of grayish-green diorite, found in Treasurt at Persepolis.

Text:	Translation:

1 CXX karshayâ	120 (units) in weight.
2 adam : Dârayavaush : x	... (= Wb 1-9).
3 shâyathiya : vazraka : x	
4 shâyathiya : xshâyath	
5 iyânâm : xshâyath	
6 iya : dahyûnâm : x	
7 shâyathiya : ahyây	
8 â : bûmiyâ : Visht	
9 âspahyâ : puça : Hax	
10 âmanishiya	

DARIUS, WEIGHT D. (Wd)

Trilingual inscription on blunt pyramid of grayish-green diorite, found in Treasury at Persepolis.

Text:	Translation:
1 LX karshayâ	60 (units) in weight. ... (= Wb 1-9).
2 adam : Dârayavaush :	
3 xshâyathiya : vazraka :	
4 xshâyathiya : xshâyath	
5 iyânâm : xshâyath	
6 iya : dahyûnâm : xsh	
7 âyathiya : ahyâyâ	
8 : bûmiyâ : Vishtâ	
9 spahyâ : puça : Hax	
10 âmanishiya	

INSCRIPTIONS ON SEALS

Text:	Translation:
DARIUS, SEAL A: (SDa)	
adam : Darayavaush XSH	I (am) Darius the King.
DARIUS, SEAL B: (SDb)	
adam : Dârayavaush	I (am) Darius.
XERXES, SEAL A: (SXa)	
1 Xshayârshâ	Xerxes the Great King.
2 : XSH : vazraka	
XERXES, SEAL B: (SXb)	
1 adam : Xshay	I (am) Xerxes the King.
2 ârshâ : XSH	
XERXES, SEAL C: (SXc)	
1 adam : Xshayârshâ : XSH	I (am) Xerxes the King.
2	
SEAL A: (Sa)	
1 Arsha	Arshaka by name, son of Athiyabaushna.
2 ka : n	
3 âma :	
4 Âthi	
5 yâba	
6 ushna	
7 hyâ :	
8 puça	
SEAL B: (Sb)	
1 Hadaxaya	???
2	
3 thadatha : ...	
SEAL C: (Sc)	

Vashdâsaka	???
SEAL D: (Sd)	
Vahyavishdâpaya	???
SEAL E: (Se)	
1 ma : Xa 2 rsha 3 dashyâ	???
SEAL F: (Sf)	
1 upâ 2 Artâ 3 xshaç 4 âm	Under Artaxerxes.

VASE INSCRIPTIONS.

Text:	Translation:
XERXES, VASE: (XVs)	
Xshayârshâ : XSH : vazraka	Xerxes the Great King.
ARTAXERXES, VASE A: (AVsa)	
Ardaxcashca : XSH : vazraka	Artaxerxes the Great King.
ARTAXERXES, VASES B, C, D: (AVsb-d)	
Artaxshaçâ : xshâathiya	Artaxerxes the King.

IRAN, ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

POLITICAL CONTACTS

I

The geographical, historical and cultural links between Iran and the Caucasian area extend into remote antiquity. The Caucasus range has been from time immemorial the barrier separating the Eurasian steppe lands from more advanced civilizations centred on Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The Armenian plateau, with its mighty volcanic peaks, later imposed a formidable barrier to the westward drive of the Iranian people, once they were firmly established in their historical habitat. There is little doubt that some of the ancestors of the Iranians, like the Hittites and other Indo-European warrior aristocracies, entered Armenia from the north along the Caspian littoral, which was to be for centuries the classic invasion route for northern nomads attracted by the wealth and economic opportunities of the ancient Near East.

During the Early Bronze Age, extending through the 3rd millennium B.C., north-western Iran formed a single cultural zone with Armenia and southern Georgia,¹ which all entered into the orbit of what is generally known as the Kuro-Araxes culture. This in turn links up with the Khirbet-Kerak pottery culture of Palestine and Syria. The connections between the Armenian and Iranian Middle and Late Bronze Ages are well known,² while the Luristān bronzes are sometimes now attributed to Cimmerians who had entered Iran by way of the Caucasus (pl. 36(a)).

During recent decades, archaeologists have devoted increasing interest to the civilization of Urartu, the mighty rival of Assyria. The kingdom of Urartu flourished in a vast region centred on Lake Vān in Armenia, and incorporated at one time the advanced culture of the

¹ C. A. Burney, "Excavations at Yanik Tepe, north-west Iran", *Iraq* XXIII (1961), pp. 138-53; XXIV (1962), pp. 138-52; XXVI (1964), pp. 54-61; T. Burton Brown, *Excavations in Azerbaijan, 1948* (London, 1951).

² "Anatolia and Armenia was the original centre from which metallurgy spread over the lands of the Ancient East as well as over Europe and eastern Asia." - E. Herzfeld, *Iran and the Ancient East* (Oxford, 1941), p. 160.

Mannians, around Lake Urmia. The influence of Urartian art and architecture on that of the Medes and Persians has long been suspected. The latest in a series of scholars who have studied this question is David Stronach, who has published a suggestive study linking the lofty Urartian tower temples with Persian Achaemenian structures known from examples at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i Rostam.¹ The Urartians, incidentally, live on in the pages of Greek authors under the name "Alarodians"; both these ethnic terms correspond to the name Ararat, traditionally given to Armenia's highest mountain, which the Armenians themselves know as Masis.

During the heyday of the Achaemenian dynasty, the Armenians and the ancestors of the Georgians came under the aegis of the Great Kings of Iran.² Herodotus informs us of the tribute which the various tribes paid to their Persian overlord, while Xenophon's *Anabasis* provides the classic account of the life of the Armenians and south-western Georgian tribes whom he encountered on his toilsome march from Mesopotamia to Trebizond.

The transition from tribal-patriarchal organization to independent monarchies in both Armenia and Georgia is traditionally linked with the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and the eventual replacement of the Achaemenian empire by the much weaker Seleucid state.

In Armenia, the initiative in building up a unified state was taken by the dynasty of the Orontids, who were descended from the satrap Orontes who is mentioned by Xenophon.³ This Orontes was married about 401 B.C. to the Princess Rhodogune, daughter of the Persian Great King Artaxerxes II. During the fraternal strife between Artaxerxes II and his brother Cyrus the Younger, in which Xenophon and his Ten Thousand played a role, Orontes took the side of his father-in-law Artaxerxes, thus contributing to his victory.

Artaxerxes II turned out to be a feeble ruler, under whom the Persian empire fell into decay. Profiting by this, Orontes set himself up in Armenia as a virtually independent dynast, and became extremely wealthy, having a personal fortune of three thousand talents of silver.

¹ D. Stronach, "Urartian and Achaemenian Tower Temples", *JNES* xxvi (1967), pp. 278-88.

² Armenia and the Armenians feature prominently in the Behistun inscriptions of Darius, in which we hear of an Armenian named Dadarshi, sent by the Persians to crush an insurrection in his homeland. See Roland Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, Conn., 1950), pp. 117-24. Mention of Armenia also occurs in Persepolis E (Kent, p. 136) and Naqsh-i Rostam (Kent, p. 138); also in the inscription of Xerxes, Persepolis H (Kent, p. 151) and the inscription of Xerxes at Van itself (Kent, pp. 152-3). See further a Persepolis inscription of Artaxerxes II or III: "This is the Armenian" (Kent, p. 156).

³ *Anabasis* II. iv. 8, 9, v. 40; III. iv. 13, v. 17; IV. iii. 4.

In later years, Orontes turned against his father-in-law and overlord, Artaxerxes, and led the revolt of the satraps which broke out in 366 B.C. Eventually Orontes submitted and was pardoned; he obtained the satrapy of Mysia and died in 344 B.C.

The name Orontes is itself of Iranian origin, deriving from Avestan *aurvant-* ("mighty, hero"), and being related closely to Pahlavi *arvand*, with the same meaning. The local, Armenian forms of the name are Erwand, Arawan, and also Hrant. The Orontid dynasty spans the gap between the old Urartian kings (the First Monarchy in Armenia), and the Third Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads, in Classical times. Until recently, little was known about the offspring and successors of Orontes I, but their existence as a regular dynasty over three centuries is attested by the inscriptions on the funeral monument of King Antiochus I of Commagene (69-34 B.C.) at Nimrūd Dāgh in eastern Turkey (pls. 37, 38). Antiochus was himself a scion of the Orontid line, and evidently proud of his Armenian royal ancestors, many of whom he enumerates, making it possible to compile a provisional list of this most interesting dynasty:¹

A. *Satraps of Armenia*

Orontes I, 401-344 B.C.

Orontes II, 344-331 B.C.

B. *Kings of Armenia*

Orontes II (*continued*), 331 B.C.

Mithranes, 331-317 B.C.

(Neoptolemus, satrap, 323-321 B.C.)

Orontes III, 317-260 B.C.

Samus, 260 B.C.

Arsames, 260-228 B.C.

Xerxes, 228-212 B.C.

Abdissares, c. 212 B.C.

Orontes IV, 212-200 B.C.

C. *Kings of Sophene*

Zariadris (Zareh), Strategos, 200 B.C.; King, 190 B.C.
and after

Mithrobuzanes I, a contemporary of Artaxias I of
Greater Armenia, around 170 B.C.

Orontes V, about 95 B.C.; annexation of
Sophene by Tigranes II of Greater Armenia

¹ Toumanoff, "The Orontids of Armenia", in *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, pp. 277-354.

Under the last Persian king of the Achaemenian dynasty, Armenia enjoyed peace and prosperity. The rulers of Iran now interfered little in Armenian internal affairs, and trade and agriculture flourished. This state of things was abruptly shattered by the invasion of Alexander the Great of Macedon. The battle of Arbela (Gaugamela) on 1 October 331 resulted in decisive victory for the Macedonians and Greeks over the last of the Achaemenians, Darius III Codomannus. Loyal to the last, the Armenians furnished 40,000 infantry and 7,000 horsemen to the Persian Great King, under the personal command of their own sovereign, King Orontes II. The Armenian cavalry made up the right flank of the Persian line of battle at Arbela.

During this catastrophic defeat, Orontes II apparently lost his life. At any rate, Alexander the Great celebrated his victory by sending Mithranes, a son of Orontes II, to be satrap of Armenia in his father's stead. It is interesting to note that this Mithranes was a former Iranian governor of Sardis in western Asia Minor, who had defected to the side of the Macedonians, and thus found himself ranged at the battle of Arbela on the opposite side to his own father.

Alexander the Great died at the zenith of his power, at the age of thirty-three; but his cultural and imperial heritage lived on (pl. 36(b)). Far to the east, in Bactria, Parthia, and at many sites in modern Afghanistan, India and Pakistan, Greek or rather Hellenistic cities grew up almost overnight. Stagnant, sleepy backwaters were revitalized, and decayed trade routes brought swiftly back into operation. Greek taste in building, sculpture and the arts, and knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy spread to out of the way corners of Anatolia and Central Asia. Greek science and technology produced rapid improvements in living standards, hygiene and sanitation, and in domestic amenities, at least for the select few. Greek ingenuity in engineering and construction left its mark over many regions of the old Persian empire.¹

Armenia, which lay close to Alexander's expansion route towards India, could not escape the impact of the new Greco-Oriental world civilization which he helped to create. At the same time, in this new world of Hellenism, the vestiges of the earlier world of "Iranianism" were not effaced, nor were the elements of local advanced culture inherited from Urartu. Armenia now found herself in close touch with a number of Hellenistic countries, and thus open to new economic and social influences. The exclusively agricultural economy and rural exis-

¹ J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London, 1962), pp. 154-72.

tence of Achaemenian Armenia, where the use of coined money was scarcely known, were suddenly altered. The important overland route of transit trade, connecting China, India and Central Asia with the Mediterranean world, passed through Armenia, while there was a parallel northern route through Caucasian Albania (Āzarbāijān), Iberia and Colchis debouching on the Black Sea.

Great cities arose along these routes, which became homes of foreign merchants and centres of diffusion for Greek culture. The growth of a money economy and of urban life generally made for the decay of Armenia's traditional tribal-patriarchal society, and for the emergence of new patterns of urban stratification, including the growth of a town bourgeoisie and artisan class, and the commercial exploitation of slaves, though this latter institution never reached the massive proportions which it did in Greece and Rome. From the 3rd century B.C., Armenian royal authority grew more absolute, and the administrative machinery more complex, especially in regard to the royal court and the taxation and fiscal systems. The clan chiefs and rustic headmen began to turn into a more sophisticated courtier and squire class, enjoying greater luxury and ease, and accustomed to a higher standard of living.

To appreciate Armenia's international position within the Hellenistic world, we must take stock briefly of the general situation in the Near East and Asia Minor. After Alexander's sudden death in 323 B.C., his generals quarrelled over the partition of his dominions. Ptolemy created a Greek kingdom in Egypt; Seleucus did the same in Syria and Mesopotamia, with his capital first at Seleucia, replacing ancient Babylon, and then at Antioch on the Orontes. Antipater conserved the old kingdom of Macedon, with its European dependencies as far as the Black Sea and also the Adriatic, with sovereignty over the city states in Greece. The attempts of Lysimachus to create a kingdom of the Bosphorus, with a capital on the Gallipoli peninsula, united his rivals against him, and failed at his death in 281 B.C.

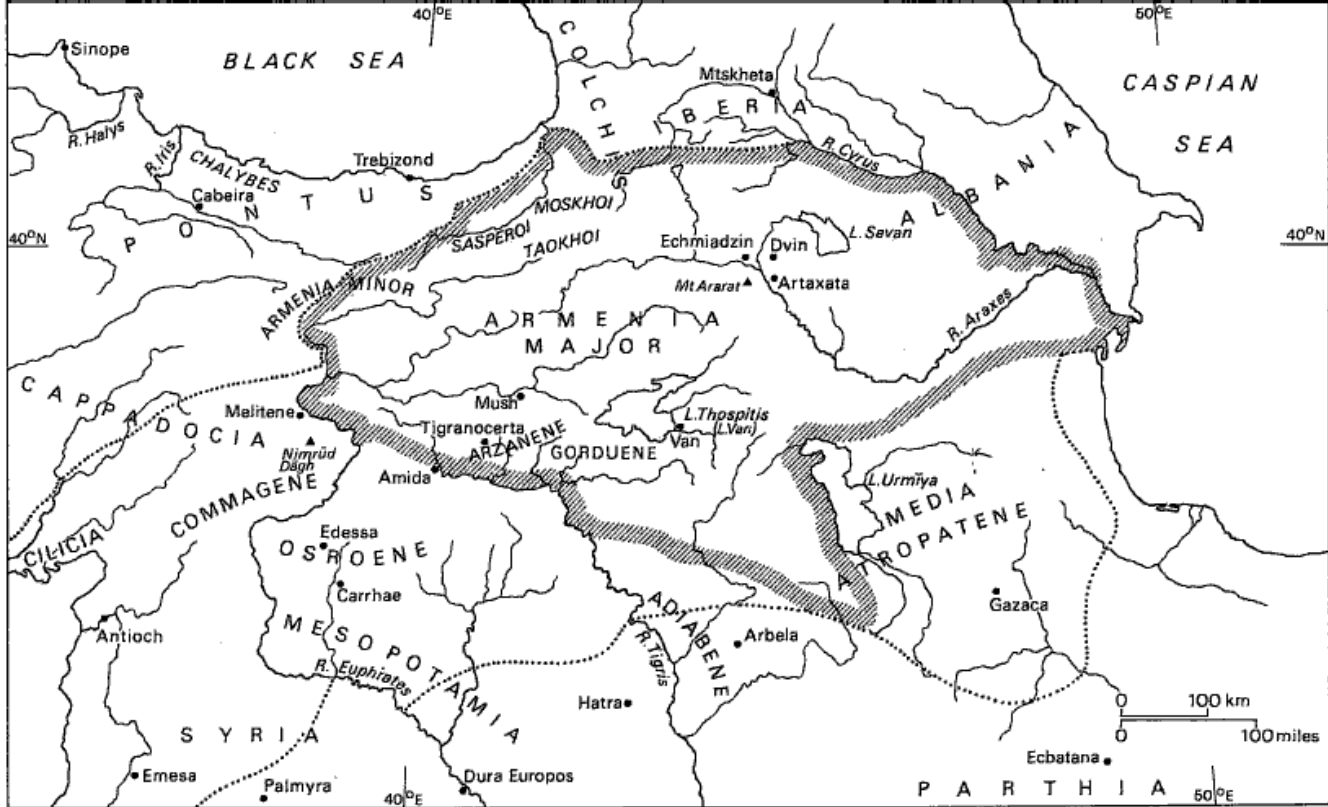
Hardly had Alexander's successors established an uneasy balance of power in the Near East and Aegean region, when new disturbances burst upon the civilized world from outside. Celtic tribes from the middle Danube shattered Macedon, devastated Thrace and Phrygia, and established themselves on the Asia Minor plateau to the west of Armenia, under the name of Galatians. Here they remained until Roman and Christian times, being the recipients of one of St Paul's epistles. Soon afterwards the Iranian-speaking people of Parthia overran the

Persian plateau and deprived the Seleucids of their possessions east of the Euphrates. The Parthians effectively separated the Seleucids of Syria, as well as the Armenians, from those eastern provinces of Alexander's realm which developed into the Greek kingdom of Bactria and also took in large regions of the Indus valley. These eastern losses led the Greco-Syrian kings of the Seleucid dynasty to seek compensation at the expense of Egypt to the south, and of Armenia and other independent states of Asia Minor to the north.

During the Seleucid period, Armenia became divided into several virtually independent kingdoms and principalities. The classification adopted at this epoch persisted, with certain changes, well into the Byzantine era.¹ The most important region, of course, was Greater Armenia, situated east of the upper Euphrates, and including vast areas all round Lake Vān, along the Araxes valley, and northwards to take in Lake Sevan, the Karabagh, and even the southern marches of Georgia. Lesser Armenia, on the other hand, was a smaller and less fertile kingdom, to the west of the upper Euphrates; it included the present-day districts of Sīvās and Erzinjān, and bordered on ancient Cappadocia. To the south-west lay the two little kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene, separated from one another by the middle Euphrates, and having the fertile and desirable Melitene (Malatya) plain running between them. Sophene and Commagene often featured as buffer states between Parthia and Armenia on the one hand, and Syria and Rome on the other. Their royal houses had strong dynastic links with the Armenian Orontid house. Through their proximity to such great cities as Antioch and Palmyra, the kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene early became great centres of Hellenistic and then of Roman art and civilization, which they in turn helped to transmit eastwards into Greater Armenia and Transcaucasia.

The Seleucid kings never succeeded in asserting direct rule over Armenia proper. They collected tribute from local Armenian princes, whom they used to confirm in office by granting them the title of "strategos", corresponding to the old Persian viceregal title of satrap. This situation changed somewhat under the Seleucid King Antiochus III, known as the Great (223-187 B.C.), an ambitious monarch who cherished dreams of restoring the empire of Alexander the Great. The Armenian King Xerxes rashly declined to pay tribute to Antiochus, who besieged him in his capital of Arsamosata and forced him to sub-

¹ The best guide to this classification is given by Adontz, pp. 7-182.



Map 9. Armenia at the time of the Parthian empire.

mit. Xerxes then received the sister of Antiochus in marriage. This lady, Antiochis by name, soon had the unfortunate Xerxes, her spouse, murdered, and united the Armenian kingdom of Sophene to the dominions of Antiochus III, her brother. The ill-fated King Xerxes has left some small coins bearing his portrait. We see on them a dignified, bearded, somewhat donnish-looking figure, wearing a pointed hat or tiara of unusual shape, with a peak in front and a streamer or tassels floating down the back. He has a thoughtful expression on his face, as if wondering how to cope with the political and marital troubles which eventually proved too much for him.

Antiochus III appointed a scion of the Armenian Orontids, Zariadris (Zareh) to be strategos of Sophene in 200 B.C. At this time, in Greater Armenia, the power of the main Orontid dynasty was drawing to a close. The last ruler of this line was Orontes IV (212-200 B.C.). Both he and his brother Mithras, High Priest of the Temple of the Sun and Moon at the city of Armavir, are mentioned in Greek inscriptions discovered there in 1927. One inscription contains an address of High Priest Mithras to his brother King Orontes; another evidently alludes to the king's tragic death.¹ This event was the result of the uprising headed by a local dynast called Artaxias, and evidently instigated from Syria by King Antiochus III. Following this coup, Antiochus appointed Artaxias to be the strategos of Greater Armenia in place of the dead Orontes.

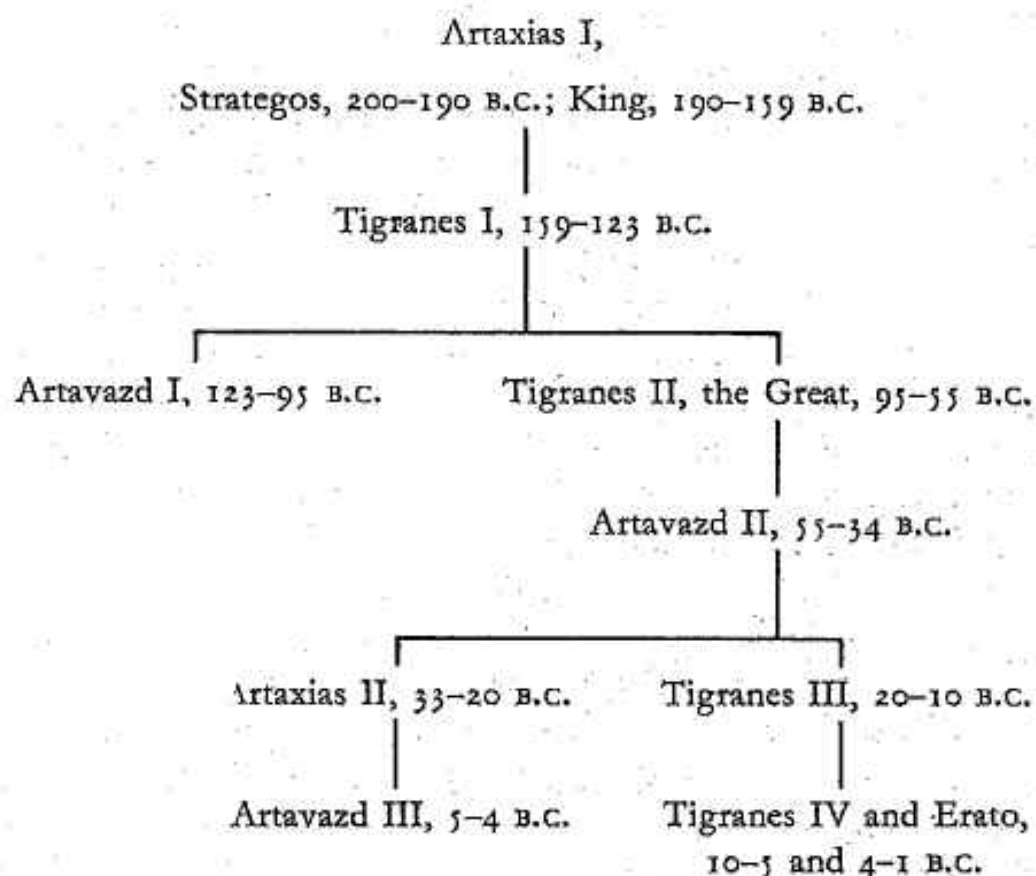
Artaxias was the founder of the Third and greatest Armenian monarchy, counting the Urartian kingdom founded by Aramé as the first, as does Moses of Khorene, and the Orontids as the second. The name Artaxias is the equivalent of the Persian Artaxerxes, and the Armenian Artashes. The table opposite showing the basic sequence of the Artaxiad line is based on the researches of the French numismatist Henri Seyrig.²

For a decade after being installed by Antiochus III, from 200 to 190 B.C., Artaxias and his junior partner, Zariadris of Sophene, bided their time. Ultimately, Antiochus overreached himself by challenging the mighty Roman Republic to a trial of strength. No sooner had Antiochus sustained at Magnesia his great defeat at the hands of the Romans (190 B.C.) than Artaxias and Zariadris seceded from the Seleucid state.

¹ These inscriptions, with other essential epigraphic material, are collected and discussed by Trever, *Očerki po istorii kul'tury drevnei Armenii*.

² See particularly H. Seyrig, "Trésor monétaire de Nisibe", RN 1955, pp. 85-128; more recently, Bedoukian, "A Classification".

THE ARTAXIAD DYNASTY



In the Peace of Apamea (188 B.C.), which sealed the Roman victory, the Senate in Rome granted them the status of independent rulers. This was Armenia's first juridical contact with the Roman Senate, which was glad to acquire two grateful allies in that strategic part of the world – pending completion of the usual preliminaries to swallow them up and annex their lands to the Roman Republic itself.

Under this new-found Roman patronage, the two Armenian kingdoms of Greater Armenia and Sophene pursued a lively expansionist policy. From the Medes and Persians, Artaxias took Media Atropatene, the modern Āzarbāijān, extending virtually to the banks of the Caspian Sea. From the Georgians he seized a broad slice of territory to the north-west of Lake Sevan. From the Chalybes, Mossynoeci and Tao-khoi, the Armenians took much of the upland plateau round Erzerum, and some of the wild mountain country of the Pontic Alps. The province of Taron, round about the town of Mush, was cleared of remaining Seleucid garrisons.

One important result of this territorial growth was the cultural and linguistic consolidation of the Armenian people. Except for the Georgian marches, and for a few remote tribal districts, such as Sassoun, Armenian became the dominant spoken language of the peasant masses, the hunters and tribesmen, and the townspeople, except for those of Jewish and Greek birth. The Greek geographer Strabo (58 B.C.—A.D. 25) lays special stress on this result of the conquests of Artaxias and Zariadris: "Thanks to their work of unification", he says, "all the inhabitants of these various districts to-day speak the same language."¹ It must be remembered, however, that prior to the invention of the Armenian national alphabet after A.D. 400, all works of literature, religious texts, and government decrees, were written down and transmitted in Iranian written in Aramaic characters, or else in Greek. The Armenian royal family and aristocracy were bilingual, speaking Greek or Iranian as well as Armenian — rather like the Russian Court prior to the 1917 Revolution, where English and French were spoken in preference to Russian.

Like the Orontid monarchy in Armenia, the kingdom of Iberia or eastern Georgia has its origins in the era of Alexander the Great. Although Alexander never invaded Georgia or the Caucasus, he is credited throughout the region with all manner of buildings and mighty feats. According to the Georgian Annals *Kartlis tskebovreba* ("The Life of Georgia"), Alexander entrusted the administration of Georgia to a relative of his by the name of Azon (very likely a confusion with the name Jason, of Argonaut fame), who proved such a tyrant as to alienate not only the Georgians, but even the Greeks whom he had brought with him.

The oppressed Georgians then revolted under the lead of Parnavaz, a descendant of Kartlos, eponymous ancestor of the Kartvelian or Georgian nation, after whom Sakartvelo, land of the Georgians, is named. This Parnavaz was a nephew of Samara, patriarch or tribal leader of the Iberians of Mtskheta; with the help of King Kuji of Colchis, Parnavaz drove out Azon and his Greek mercenaries, and was recognized by the Kings of Syria and Armenia as legitimate ruler of Iberia.

Parnavaz reorganized the army of the Kartlosids and appointed seven or eight *eristavis* or "heads of the people", to one of whom he accorded the Iranian title of *spaspet* or commander-in-chief. These

¹ *Geography* xi. 14. 5.

officers were each assigned one province of Georgia to govern, the spaspespet being responsible for the central area of Inner Kartli, around Mtskheta and Uplistsikhe. It seems that this office of spaspespet was in fact occupied by the member of the Iberian royal family next in seniority to the king: Strabo states that in the royal hierarchy of Iberia "the second in line administers justice and commands the army".¹ It is also possible to equate these high dignitaries with the viceroys of Iberia, whose hereditary necropolis was uncovered in Mtskheta-Armazi, together with engraved gems bearing portraits of two of them, Zevakh and Asparukh.² The difficulty is that these viceroys of Mtskheta bore the Iranian title of *pitiakhsh* or *vitaxa*, roughly approximating to that of satrap, and suggesting that they were officials appointed by the Persians to supervise the Iberian kings.³ No doubt the Persian Great Kings appointed such officials whenever they were strong enough to impose their will on the Georgians, but at other times, we must conclude that the *vitaxae* were in fact deputy monarchs, with the duties of a High Constable. This latter interpretation is supported by the bilingual epitaph of a Georgian princess named Serapita, inscribed in Greek and an unusual form of Aramaic which has been called the Armazi script. Deciphered and published by Professor Giorgi Tsereteli, the epitaph runs:

I am Serapita, daughter of Zevakh the younger, *pitiakhsh* of Farsman the king, and wife of Iodmangan the victorious, winner of many conquests, master of the court of Ksefarnug, the great king of the Iberians, and son of Agrippa, master of the court of King Farsman. Woe, woe, for the sake of her who was not of full age, whose years were not completed, and so good and beautiful that no one was like her in excellence; and she died at the age of twenty-one.⁴

This inscription makes it abundantly clear that, during the 2nd century A.D. at least, the *vitaxa* of Iberia was no foreign official, but a high dignitary of the royal court, allied by marriage with the highest aristocrats in the Georgian land.

The political history of Iran during the Parthian and Sasanian periods is scarcely intelligible without reference to Armenia and Georgia. The last great opponent of Rome in the Black Sea region, King Mithradates

¹ *Geography* xi. 3. 6.

² Lang, *The Georgians*, pp. 84-5, fig. 18, plate 26.

³ See the discussion in Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 156-64.

⁴ G. V. Tsereteli, "Armazskaya bilingva" (The bilingual inscription from Armazi), *Izvestiya Instituta Yazyka i Material'noi Kul'tury* (Bulletin of the Institute of Language and Material Culture) XIII (Tbilisi, 1942).

Eupator of Pontus (113–63 B.C.), was to a great extent a Caucasian dynast, being ruler of Colchis or Western Georgia, and the land of the Laz, around Trebizond. His son-in-law, King Tigranes the Great of Armenia (95–55 B.C.) spent some years as a hostage at the court of King Mithradates II of Parthia. When at the summit of his power, Tigranes had four vassal kings, including the ruler of Atropatene (Āzarbāijān) attending him like slaves wherever he went.¹

At one time, the domains of Tigranes the Great stretched from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean, from Mesopotamia up to the Pontic Alps. The vast empire, formed of a varied mixture of diverse tribes, with their own dialects and cultures, could hardly be turned overnight into a cohesive and durable political structure. Inner disunity aided the designs of the Romans, who launched a series of onslaughts on the Armenian dynast, beginning with the invasion by Lucullus in 69–68 B.C., and culminating in the campaigns of Pompey in Armenia, Iberia and Colchis in 66–65 B.C. The downfall of Tigranes the Great was precipitated by the flight of his son, Tigranes the Younger, to the court of the Parthian king Phraates III, who supplied him with an army with which to invade Armenia, and join forces with the victorious Romans.

This débâcle was typical of the situation of Armenia, and to a lesser extent, Georgia, in the succeeding centuries, when Transcaucasia was a bone of contention between the two warring empires of Rome and Iran. Rome's interests were best served when Armenia was courted and reinforced as a buffer state. Spasmodic Roman attempts to annex and assimilate Armenia and Georgia led in the long run to disastrous confrontations with the mobile and warlike Parthians and Sasanians, whom the Romans were seldom able to beat in open combat.

There is no space here to chronicle the vicissitudes of the wars between Rome and Parthia, and later between Byzantium and Sasanian Iran, over Armenia's largely defenceless territory. Lucullus and Pompey, Crassus and Mark Antony, Corbulo and Trajan, are but a few of the Roman leaders who campaigned in this region with varying degrees of success or disastrous failure. One unforgettable moment in these bloodthirsty, and in the long run, fruitless wars occurred after the battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C., in which Crassus and his legions were completely wiped out. The Armenian king Artavazd had urged Crassus to attack Parthia by way of the Armenian highlands, but Crassus had ignored his advice. Artavazd, thus rebuffed, allied himself with the Parthian king

¹ Plutarch, *Lives*, "Lucullus", xxi. 5.

Orodes II, and was entertaining him at the Armenian capital, Artaxata, when a messenger arrived carrying the head of the unhappy Roman general. Artavazd, though in close personal and political touch with the Parthians, was so well versed in Greek literature that he composed plays in Greek, which were acted at the Armenian court. When the head of Crassus was brought in, a performance of the *Bacchae* by Euripides was taking place, in honour of the king of Parthia. The head of Crassus was thrown down into the midst of the assembled company, and the leading actor picked it up and danced round in a bacchanalian frenzy, crying:

"We've hunted down a mighty chase today,
And from the mountain bring the noble prey!"¹

Such were the hybrid manners and culture of an Armenia divided between the sophisticated Western influences of Greek and Rome, and the virile eastern world of Parthia.

A new chapter opened in Armenian history when the Parthian Arsacid prince Tiridates was crowned king of Armenia by the Emperor Nero in A.D. 66. From then on, the destinies of Armenia were closely linked with those of the Parthian royal house of the Arsacids. Indeed, during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the Armenian throne was regularly reserved for the Parthian Great King's nearest kin, who was known as "Great King of Armenia" – rather as the heir apparent to the British throne is called the Prince of Wales. This custom, political conditions allowing, continued into early Sasanian times: thus prior to 293, the future Great King Narseh was viceroy of Armenia with the title of *Vaxurg Armenān Shāh* ("Great King of Armenia").²

The following are the principal rulers of the Arsacid line, to whom Armenia owed the preservation of so much of her ancient glory: dates are approximate only.

ARMENIAN ARSACIDS

Tiridates I (53–75). Officially crowned by Nero, A.D. 66

Sanatruk (75–110)

Axidares (110–13)

Parthamasiris (113–14). Deposed and murdered by the Emperor Trajan

Parthamaspates (116–17)

¹ Plutarch, *Lives*, "Crassus", xxxiii.

² Not "King of Great Armenia", as proposed by Henning, "A Farewell to the Khagan", p. 517. See on this point Honigsmann and Maricq, *Recherches*, p. 172, n. 1.

Valarsh I (117-40). Founder of the city of Vagharshapat

Aurelius Pacorus (161-3)

Valarsh II (180-91)

Khusrau I (191-217)

Tiridates II (217-52)

Tiridates III (298-330). First Christian king of Armenia

Khusrau II, called Kotak (330-8). Founder of the city of Dvin

Tigranes V or Tiran (338-51)

Arshak (Arsaces) II (351-67)

Pap (369-74)

Varazdat (374-80)

Arshak III (380-9). Died as the last king of Roman Armenia

Originally co-king with:

Valarshak (380-6). King of Persarmenia

Khusrau III (386-92)

Vramshapuh (392-414). Encouraged invention of the Armenian alphabet

Artaxias IV (423-8)

When the Parthians were overthrown by the Sasanians in A.D. 226, the old Armenian royal house became redoubtable foes of the new Great Kings of Iran. The Armenian Arsacids remained, as they claimed, the champions of Iranian legitimacy. This helps to explain the singular bitterness of the relations between Arsacid Armenia and Sasanian Iran, extending right up to and even after the abolition of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty in 428. We are further confronted with the singular spectacle of a Parthian king, Tiridates III, whose forbear, Tiridates I, was a Magian who was forbidden to defile the sea by sailing to Rome in a boat, being the first ruler of a substantial kingdom to embrace Christianity as the state religion (traditionally, in A.D. 301). We even have a dynasty of Patriarchs of the Armenian Church, descending from the Parthian nobleman who became St Gregory the Illuminator, being proudly remembered by the Armenian Church to this day by the surname Partev, the Parthian.¹

To be fair to the Sasanians, it must be borne in mind that weakness of Iranian control over Armenia directly contributed to the ignominious defeats which the declining Parthian realm had suffered at the hands of Rome at the end of the 2nd century. The Romans had exploited their dominance in Syria and Armenia to stage a series of aggressive raids against the nerve centres of Parthian royal power. To seal off this

¹ Ormanian, pp. 8, 196.

Roman military corridor was one of the prime and fully justified aims of Great King Ardashir Pāpakān, who spent the year 230 in a whole series of campaigns against Roman Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Media and Armenia. The Armenians, however, put up a spirited resistance, and succeeded in beating off the Persian offensive.

The resurgence of Iranian power gathered momentum under Ardashir's son Shāpūr I (241-72). In 244, the Roman army of Emperor Gordian III was decisively beaten at Meshik, near Ctesiphon, where Gordian lost his life. The new emperor, Philip the Arab, was forced to cede suzerain rights over Armenia to the Persian Great King. Eight years later, in 252, Shāpūr invaded Armenia, forcing King Tiridates II of the Arsacid line to flee to the Rōman Empire, while his sons went over to the Persians.¹ Shāpūr's culminating triumph, in the defeat and capture of the Emperor Valerian in 260, was full of import for the future destinies of Armenia and also of the Georgian lands.

Many controversial points remain to be cleared up in the political history of Armenia during the 3rd and early 4th centuries. For this important period, the Armenian national sources are inextricably mingled with semi-legendary elements, while Roman authors tend to be extremely laconic in regard to Armenian affairs. All the more interest attaches to the well-known inscriptions of Shāpūr I and his high priest, the Magus Kartir, on the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rostam. From Kartir's inscription, we learn of the efforts of the Zoroastrian hierarchy to stamp out idolatry and other heresies throughout the Persian empire, and to impose orthodox beliefs and the pure Avestan ritual.² With its sophisticated syncretistic religious traditions, Armenia must have been a prime target for the zeal of Kartir and his acolytes. This religious offensive was itself made possible by the military successes of Shāpūr, commemorated in his own inscription on the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht, where he asserts his suzerainty over Armenia. The inscription of Kartir alludes to an Iranian invasion of Caucasian Iberia and Albania some time after 260. The inscription of Shāpūr numbers Iberia and Albania among his vassal states, and reveals the existence of a puppet ruler, Hamazāsp, installed by him in Iberia.³

Likewise of prime importance for the history of Armenia is the inscription of Paikuli. Published by Herzfeld in 1924, this document has

¹ Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids", p. 253.

² Chaumont, *Recherches*, pp. 74-6.

³ For the text of the inscriptions, see M. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran* (Chicago, 1953); a commentary is provided by Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids", pp. 252-6. For developments in Caucasian Albania, see Movses Daskhurantsi, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians*.

been all too seldom utilized in Armenian historical scholarship.¹ The value of the Paikuli inscription for Armenian history lies in the reliable chronological framework which it affords for events leading up to the accession of Narses as Great King of Iran (293), as also in its mention of a certain "Tirdāt the King" among the monarchs who offered Narses, the former Viceroy of Armenia, their congratulations on his triumph.² Whether this Tirdāt is to be identified with the first Christian king of Armenia, or whether he is an earlier king with the same name, remains a moot point.³

II

The situation in Georgia at this period was somewhat different from that prevailing in Armenia. The Romans, and later, the Byzantines, exploited their naval supremacy in the Black Sea to maintain garrisons and trading points at strategic localities in Abkhazia, Colchis and Lazistan. The local western Georgian population was ruled by petty princes and clan leaders, until the emergence of a strong dynasty in Lazica in the 6th century. In eastern Georgia (Iberia), our knowledge of the dynastic history of the powerful kings of Mtskheta-Armazi is incomplete, in spite of the noteworthy researches of Professor Cyril Toumanoff.⁴ It seems that at some time in the eighties of the 2nd century A.D., the last Iberian king of the Third Parnabazid dynasty, Amazaspes or Hamazasp II, was replaced by his sister's son, Rev, son of the king of Armenia. There then existed for over a century an Arsacid or Parthian dynasty in eastern Georgia, allied by blood to the Armenian Arsacids. These Iberian Arsacids became extinct in the 4th century, when the Iberian throne passed to King Mirian III, subsequently St Mirian, the first Christian king of Iberia. The dynasty which he founded is called that of the Chosroids: they were a branch of the Iranian Mihranids, one of the Seven Great Houses of the Sasanian Empire.

The adoption of Christianity by the Armenians and Georgians was to some extent a political move, designed to place the country within the orbit of Greco-Syrian civilization, and to resist cultural and religious assimilation by the Persians. For three centuries, up to the destruction of Sasanian Iran by the forces of Islam, the history of Armenia and Georgia

¹ There is, for instance, no reference to the Paikuli inscription in Grousset's *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1947).

² E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli: Monument and inscription of the early History of the Sasanian Empire* 1 (Berlin, 1924), p. 119.

³ Toumanoff, "The Third Century Armenian Arsacids", pp. 261-75, makes a good case for regarding the two Tirdāts as separate and distinct historical figures.

⁴ *Studies*, pp. 81-4.

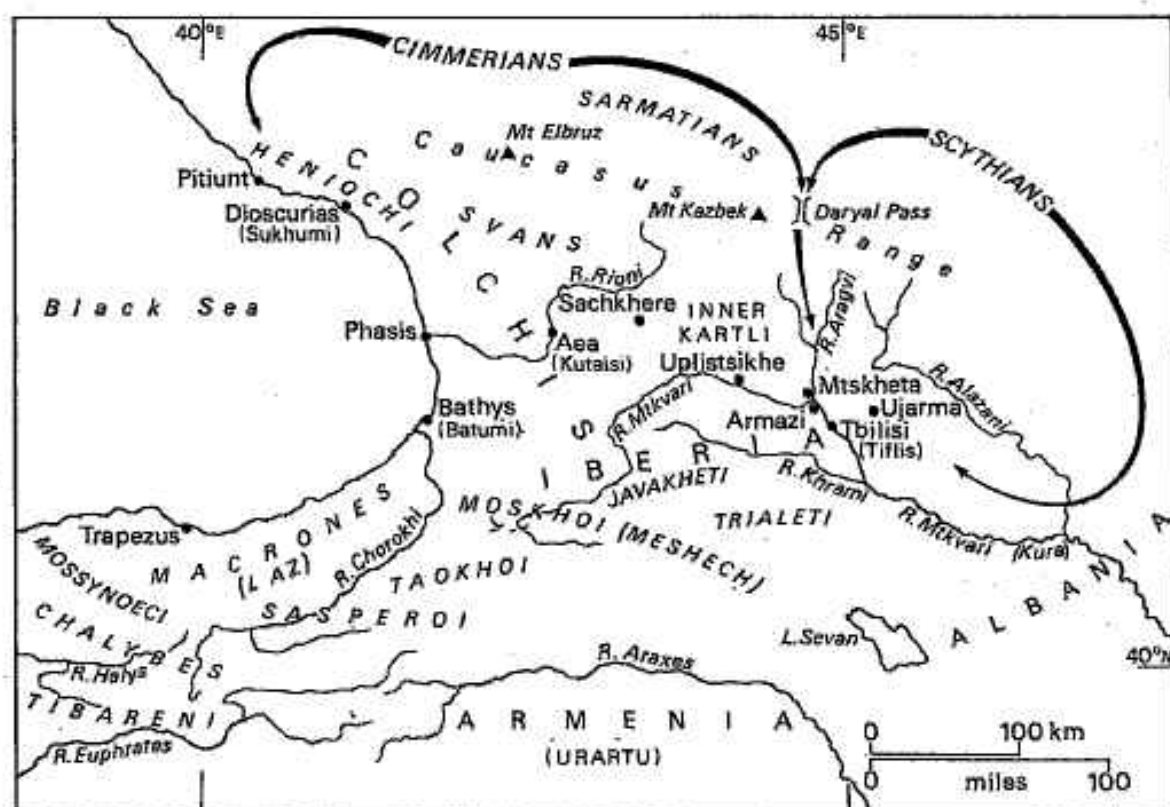
is a sad chronicle of deportations, forced conversions and cruel martyrdoms. In 365 Shāpūr II systematically sacked and destroyed every major town in Armenia, deporting the inhabitants, who included a large number of Jews. By his edict of 449, Yazdgard II sought to impose Zoroastrianism upon Armenia and Georgia. This provoked vigorous resistance. At the battle of Avarair on 2 June 451, sixty-six thousand Armenians under the national hero, Prince Vardan Mamikonian, encountered an army of two hundred and twenty thousand Persians. Vardan and many thousands of his followers perished on the battlefield, and the death of these martyrs is commemorated to this day in the Armenian calendar on Shrove Thursday.¹ Resistance to the Persians continued in Georgia under the semi-legendary King Vakhtang Gorgaslan (c. 446–510), whose name means “the wolf-lion”. After Vakhtang Gorgaslan’s death, Georgia too was reduced to becoming a province of the Persian state.

The extinction of royal power in Iberia left a vacuum in the local power structure of the Georgian lands. This gap was filled now by a resurgent monarchy in western Georgia, where royal power had been in abeyance since the days of Mithradates Eupator of Pontus, the foe of Pompey and the Romans. The new kingdom included that of ancient Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece, and much of Pontus itself; it was called Lazica, being under the leadership of the Laz tribes of the Black Sea coast. In 523 King Tsate of Lazica was baptized and installed a Byzantine garrison in the mighty fortress of Petra (Tsikhis-dziri) overlooking the Black Sea north of Batumi; the site has been excavated by the Batumi Research Institute, under its director, Aslan Inaishvili.

Throughout the reign of Justinian (527–65) and that of his adversary, Khusrāu I Anūshirvān (531–79), the Persians and the Byzantines fought for control of Lazica, as well as of upland Svaneti. The Lazic kings did their best to play off the Persians and Byzantines against one another. They had little reason to prefer the Christian Greeks to the Persians, since agents of Justinian even assassinated the Lazic king Gubaz II in 553. These wars are chronicled in detail by Procopius and his continuator Agathias of Myrina, who provide valuable data on Persian operations in the Caucasus, as well as almost verbatim reports of speeches and dialogues, which bring the period vividly to life.²

¹ On the ideological front, the struggle was carried on by the remarkable 5th-century Armenian polemist Eznik of Kolb, with his eloquent *Refutation of the Sects* (Russian trans. by V. K. Chaloyan, Erevan, 1959; French version by L. Mariès and Ch. Mercier, in *Patrologia Orientalis* xxviii. 4 (1959), pp. 549–776).

² For Agathias see bibliography.



Map 10. Colchis and Iberia (Georgia).

Byzantine expansion was resumed by the Emperor Maurice (582–602). Maurice is supposed to have been a simple Armenian peasant, who made his way to Constantinople on foot, and there worked his way up to the supreme dignity. A stone obelisk marking his home is shown to visitors in the Armenian village of Oshakan, close to the memorial chapel of St Mesrop Mashtots, who invented the Armenian alphabet. However, the treatment meted out by Maurice to the Armenians generally was not very liberal. In 591, he signed a peace treaty with Persia, which advanced the Byzantine frontier roughly to the line between lakes Vān and Sevan, with Dvin (pl. 41(b)) in the reduced Iranian part.¹ Finding the Armenians troublesome in their homeland, Maurice conceived a plan to co-operate with the Great King of Iran in removing all the main Armenian nobles and their followers from their homes.

According to the Armenian chronicler Sebēos, Maurice wrote to the Persian Great King.

The Armenians are a knavish and indocile nation. They are situated between us and are a source of trouble. I am going to gather mine and send them to

¹ See A. A. Kalantarian, *Material culture of Dvin, 4th–8th centuries* (Armenian, Russian and English texts) (Erevan, 1970).

Thrace; you send yours to the East. If they die there, it will be so many enemies that will die. If, on the contrary, they kill, it will be so many enemies that they will kill. As for us, we shall live in peace. But if they remain in their country, there will never be any quiet for us.¹

The two rulers apparently agreed to carry out this plan, but the Persians failed to collaborate fully. When the Byzantines began to carry out the deportation order, many Armenians fled to Persia, which they now found less tyrannical than Christian Byzantium.

The successes of the Emperor Maurice emboldened the Georgians to reassert their independence under Byzantine protection. The Iberian princes Guaram and Stephen I and II took the unusual step of issuing coins modelled on the silver drachm of Hormizd IV of Iran (579-90), but embodying various independent elements in the design, beginning with the addition of the initials of the respective Georgian princes, and culminating in the substitution of the Christian Cross for the sacred flame normally portrayed on the Zoroastrian fire-altar on the coin's reverse.² This was, of course, a political act of the first magnitude, and points to the efforts of Duke Stephen I of Iberia between 590 and 607 to re-establish the political autonomy of eastern Georgia, and strengthen the Christian faith. This Duke Stephen I, who received the Byzantine title of Patrikios (Patrician) is portrayed on one of the sculptures on the eastern facade of the church of Jvari ("the Cross") on a high hill overlooking the Kura valley near Mtskheta (pl. 40). It was in Duke Stephen's time also that the Georgian Church finally broke with the Gregorian Church of Armenia, and was reunited with that of orthodox Byzantium.

The reign of Khusrau II Parvêz (590-628) was marked by violent fluctuations in the balance of power in the Near East. The assassination of Emperor Maurice in 602 enabled the Persians to ravage Syria, capture Antioch and Damascus, and in 614, to raid Jerusalem and carry off the relic of the Holy Cross. The Emperor Heraclius (610-41) staged a counter-attack and invaded Armenia, Georgia and Āzarbāijān. With the aid of a Khazar khan named Jibghu, Heraclius captured Tiflis. A contingent of Armenian troops led by Mjej Gnuni was also largely instrumental in the success of these campaigns, which culminated in 628 in the overthrow and murder of Khusrau himself.

The triumph of Heraclius and his Armenian and Khazar auxiliaries proved irrelevant to the long-term evolution of Christian Caucasia. Under the Prophet Muḥammad, the Arabs were already on the move to

¹ P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, (Lisbon, 1963), pp. 14-15.

² D. M. Lang, "Notes on Caucasian Numismatics", *NC* xvii (1937), pp. 139-40, pl. xvii.

world dominance. Weakened by two centuries of religious schism, Byzantium was in no state to resist their advance, while the Sasanian empire was also in a decayed and precarious state. The caliphate of 'Umar (634-44) saw Islam's transformation from a religious sect to an imperial power, and the subjugation of both Iran and Armenia to the heirs of Muḥammad. At the decisive battle on the River Yarmuk, a tributary of the Jordan, in August 636, the Byzantine commander-in-chief was an Armenian named Vahan or Baanes. Shortly before the battle, Vahan was actually proclaimed emperor by his troops. The catastrophic defeat of his forces put an end to Vahan's imperial dreams, and he later retired to Sinai and became a monk.

Within a decade, the Arabs had overthrown the Sasanians and subjugated Armenia and Georgia also. Arab amīrs sat in Dvin and Tiflis, and a new era had opened for the Caucasian peoples.

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTACTS

So far, we have concentrated on providing a concise, perhaps oversimplified historical outline, without which it would be difficult to grasp the pattern of political and dynastic cross-currents between Iran and the Armenian and Georgian peoples. However, this is only part of the story. Even more interesting, and certainly more durable, were the social, cultural and religious influences which connected the Iranian nation with its smaller north-western neighbours during the millennium under review. Indeed, there is good reason to assert that the Armenians, equally with the Parsees, rank as the true spiritual heirs of Parthian and Sasanian civilization. But for the records of the Armenian chroniclers of the 6th and subsequent centuries, such as Faustus of Buzanda and Sebēos, we should be hard put to it to reconstruct the chronological outline of events in Iran and neighbouring lands of the Near East.¹

There are many references among the writers of antiquity to similarities of dress and manners between the Armenians and the Medes, Persians and Parthians. That excellent authority Strabo, while adhering to his unlikely story that the ancestor of the Armenians was a certain Thessalian called Armenus, who accompanied Jason and the Argonauts to Colchis, also lays stress on the points of outward resemblance

¹ Similarly, it would be hard to overestimate the value of the Paikuli inscription of Great King Narses for the chronology of late 3rd-century Armenia. In addition to Herzfeld's original publication, see Henning, "A Farewell to the Khagan", pp. 317-22, and Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids", pp. 261-75.

between the Armenians and the Medes. Speaking of the Medes, Strabo remarks:

As for customs, most of theirs and of those of the Armenians are the same, because their countries are similar. The Medes, however, are said to have been the originators of customs for the Armenians, and also, still earlier, for the Persians, who were their masters and their successors in the supreme authority over Asia. For example, their "Persian" *stola* (robe), as it is now called, and their zeal for archery and horsemanship, and the court they pay to their kings, and their ornaments, and the divine reverence paid by subjects to kings, came to the Persians from the Medes. And that this is true is particularly clear from their dress; for tiara, *citaris* (head-dress), *pilus* (skull-cap), tunics with sleeves reaching to the hands, and trousers, are indeed suitable things to wear in cold and northerly regions, such as the Medes wear, but by no means in southerly regions.¹

The similarity of costume remarked on by Strabo is confirmed by evidence of ancient Armenian and Parthian sculpture, and especially by coins, showing Armenian rulers wearing the famous Armenian pointed tiara, which is also paralleled in Median models (cf. pls. 37(a), 39(b)). Reference to the divine reverence paid to kings is interesting, since both Tigranes the Great of Armenia and his son Artavazd laid claim to the title "theos", which is occasionally inscribed on their silver coinage.

Strabo also remarks on parallels between the way of life of the Armenians and Medes, and that of the Iberians of the less mountainous regions of Eastern Georgia:

Now the plain of the Iberians is inhabited by people who are rather inclined to farming and to peace, and they dress after both the Armenian and the Median fashion; but the major, or warlike, portion occupy the mountainous territory, living like the Scythians and Sarmatians, of whom they are both neighbours and kinsmen; however, they engage also in farming.²

Nowhere is this Iranian influence seen more clearly than in the many linguistic borrowings from Median, Old Persian and Parthian, which exist in the Armenian language, and to a much less extent, in Georgian, even today. Many numerals and names of basic necessities of life in Armenian are Middle Iranian, showing conclusively that the linguistic influences were not confined to a narrow aristocratic section of society.³

¹ *Geography* xi. 13. 9.

² *Geography* xi. 3. 3.

³ A. Meillet, "De l'influence parthe dans la langue arménienne", *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 1 (Paris, 1920), p. 9. Other sources cited by Grousset, *Histoire*, pp. 116-17. See further R. N. Frye, "Continuing Iranian influences on Armenian", in *Yād-Nāms-ye Irānī-ye Minorsky*, ed., Minovi and Afshar, Publications of Tehran University, No. 1241, 1969, pp. 80-9.

Armenian personal names are very largely Iranian in origin, and predominantly Parthian. This will have become clear from the many names of kings and prominent personages cited earlier in this chapter. Frequently the names are compounds of names of Iranian gods – the most common being of course Mithradates and Tiridates. (Tir was the Armenian counterpart of Mercury and Hermes.) The Armenian mother goddess, Anahit, also revered in Parthia, lives on today in the popular Armenian Christian name Anahit. Common Armenian names of Parthian origin include Tigran, Vahram, Suren, Babken, Khoren and Arshak. The Supreme Catholicos of All the Armenians since 1955, Vazken I, bears a name which goes back to Parthian times. It is also interesting to note that in 8thth and 9th-century Constantinople, when groups of ambitious Armenians were in the habit of seizing the throne for shorter or longer periods, they nearly always bore ancient Armenian names of the Parthian era: a Bardanes or Vardan was actually Emperor from 711 to 713, while other leading Byzantine generals and politicians included a Tiridates, several more Vardans, three individuals named Artavasdos, and even one Ardashir.¹

With regard to proper names, the situation in Georgia is more complicated, partly as a result of the Greek and Roman settlements around the Black Sea coastline. As a result, Georgian personal names both in ancient and in modern times are a fascinating amalgam of local, indigenous ones, mingled with Classical, Biblical, Byzantine, Persian, and more recently, Russian, French and even English ones. During the period under review, a number of Parthian and Sasanian names feature in the annals of Georgia, such as Varaz-Bakur, Parnavaz, Mihran and Farsman (Farasmanes), also Mihrandukht and Bakurdukht. Alongside these we encounter other Iranian names like Artag, Ksefarnug and Asparukh, which have more in common with the Iranian steppe world of the Scythians and Alans, which extended down into North Caucasia. Asparukh was one of the prominent viceroys (*pitiakhsh*) of Iberia about A.D. 200: it is interesting to find this name cropping up later as that of a famous Sublime Khan of the Bulgars, who migrated from the North Caucasus in the 7th century and invaded the Balkans in the reign of the Emperor Constantine IV (A.D. 680–81).²

Unlike the Armenians, the Georgians later became very fond of Iranian romance and epic literature; translations of Firdausi's *Shāh-*

¹ Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 22; *Cambridge Medieval History* iv, pt. 1, pp. 21, 62, 73.

² *Cambridge Medieval History* iv, pt. 1, p. 484.



Fig. 1. Intaglio sardonyx ring bezel of the pitakhsh (governor) Asparukh of Iberia, c. 200 A.D., 2 x 2 x 1.8 cm. From Armazi.

nāma and of Gurgānī's *Vīs and Rāmīn* make their appearance in later medieval times, while the Georgians were close neighbours of Nizāmī Ganjavī (1140–1209). As a result, another wave of linguistic borrowings, including proper names, occurs during the Georgian Golden Age associated with the reign of Queen Tamar (1184–1213). The glories of the Sasanian era, and of Persian romantic literature, are conjured up in such popular Georgian names as Rostom, Kaikhosro and Vakhtang, also Leila and Nestan-Darejan.

The political systems of Armenia and Georgia had much in common with the great monarchies of Iran. Considering that the Arsacids of

Armenia were Parthian princes, and the Mihranids, Chosroids and Guaramids of Iberia all closely connected with one or other of the Seven Great Houses of Iran, this was only to be expected. The connection with Parthia does much to explain the early transition in Armenia from a partly tribal and patriarchal, partly slave-owning social and economic system, to one of full-fledged feudal relations. If the system of Tigranes the Great was one of Oriental despotism on the Seleucid model, the Arsacids are already recognizable as forerunners of feudal monarchs of medieval times. The same can be said of the Mihranid (Chosroid) kings of Iberia, about whose political and social arrangements, a number of early hagiographical works give useful data.¹

Virtually all the attributes of medieval European feudalism can be found in Parthia, Armenia and Iberia. Allodium and fiefs, investiture and homage, immunity and vassalage, all these familiar concepts have their Parthian and Caucasian counterparts. Feudalism in its most flourishing age was, of course, anything but systematic, and it is an institution very difficult to define. However, certain fundamental principles have been distinguished by medieval historians, and these apply quite well to both Parthia and to Armenia and Georgia. These include: the relation of vassal and lord; the principle that every holder of land is a tenant and not an owner, until the highest rank is reached – sometimes the concept even rules in that rank also; that the tenure by which a thing or estate of value is held is one of honourable service, not primarily economic, but moral and political in character; the principle of mutual obligations of loyalty, protection and service binding together all the ranks of this society from the highest to the lowest; and the principle of contract between lord and tenant, as determining all rights, controlling their modification, and forming the foundation of law.

Naturally, there are other, conflicting trends at work even in the most typical feudal societies. The king would tend to group around himself a personal corps of retainers, bodyguards and officials, with the aid of whom he would try to control, and even remove, unsatisfactory vassals. Then again, holders of great feudal estates and offices invariably aimed to hand down their possessions and dignities to their offspring, so that a network of dynastic aristocracy would grow up. In Armenia and Iran, great noble houses would tend to monopolize offices of state, so that the Bagratids, for instance, were the hereditary coronants of the Arsacid kings.

¹ Lang, *Lives and Legends*, pp. 55–6, 58–60.

Feudalism would often come to an end, permanently or temporarily, when kings such as Henry VII, Louis XI, or Ivan the Terrible, built up a burgher and bureaucratic class, and a royal standing army, and were in a position to impose their dictates on a cowed aristocracy. A comparable situation seems to have existed in Iran at some phases of the Sasanian monarchy, whenever the Great Kings felt strong enough to override the local princes and vassal tribal leaders. In Armenia and Georgia, the opposite trend predominated. First in Armenia, in A.D. 428, and later in Iberia, around A.D. 530, the feudal princes took the initiative in petitioning the Great King of Iran to abolish the monarchy, in the mistaken hope that this would leave the local aristocracy free to manage their own affairs undisturbed. In effect, as we know, the abolition of these monarchies simply led to the appointment of Iranian *marz-pāns* or governors-general, so that the latter state was worse than the first.

We owe to Professor Cyril Toumanoff a singularly full description of the various grades of Armenian and Georgian feudal aristocracy – princes, dukes, margraves, knights, gentry, and so forth – also of the high offices of state which were usually assigned exclusively to members of the great houses.¹ Soviet historians, notably Professor S. T. Eremian, have been active in analysing the social status and economic condition of the Armenian peasantry (*shinakank*), and of the trading, artisan and working class generally (*ramik*). For what it is worth, Moses of Khorene gives a sketch of the Armenian state, as organized on Parthian lines by the first Arsacid ruler Tiridates I, shortly after A.D. 60. Posts about the royal person, and the important positions of master of the royal hunts, chamberlain, head of sacrifices, grand falconer, guardian of the summer residences, and so forth, were distributed among the members of the great families. Fiefs were granted to Tiridates' vassals, and four territorial Wardens of the Marches were appointed, one to the region at each cardinal point of the compass. (These Wardens bore the title of *bdeashkeb*, and are no doubt successors of the four client kings who attended on Tigranes the Great.) The army was divided into the standing frontier garrisons, and the feudal levies summoned only in time of war. Local justices were appointed for town and country, and times for royal audiences, and also public entertainments, were fixed.²

The Sasanians destroyed most of the official records of the Parthians; the Arabs destroyed most of the archives of the Sasanian kings. In view of the close connection between Armenia and Iran, and the

¹ Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 33–144.

² Colledge, p. 64.

early date – 5th century A.D. onwards – of the beginnings of Armenian historiography, the accounts of the classical Armenian historians of political events and social relations in Iran generally, and in Armenia specifically, acquire enhanced value and interest. In his monograph on Iranian feudalism, Professor Widengren had the happy idea of grouping together a selection of extracts from the classical Armenian historians bearing on feudal relationships, alongside passages from Iranian sources such as the *Kārnāmak ī Artakhsbēr ī Pāpakān*.¹ Without going into technicalities, it may be worth citing verbatim a few key passages from the early Armenian historians relating to feudal relations in Armenia, which also have bearing on political and social relationships in contemporary Iran. Widengren also makes the interesting point that the Iranian word *pasānik*, which stems from Sasanian times, and signifies an armed guard or retainer, also occurs in Georgian, in the form *pasaniki*, or more commonly, *pasenaki*.²

Among the many texts illustrating feudal relations and institutions in ancient Armenia and Parthia, the following present special interest:

1. King Pap (369–74) suspects the *sparapet* or generalissimo Mushegh Mamikonian of disloyalty: "Then placing his hand in that of King Pap, Mushegh swore fealty to him, saying: 'I shall live and die for you, as my ancestors have done for your ancestors, as my father has done for your father King Arshak, thus will I do for you also, only do not lend ear to my slanderers.'"³

2. King Tiridates orders Mamgon, ancestor of the Mamikonian Princes, to exterminate the rebellious family of Selkuni: "Mamgon hastened to inform the king of the success of his mission. Tiridates, filled with joy, immediately wrote for him a royal charter [*brovartak*, from Parthian *fravartak*], granting him suzerainty over all the lands which he had promised him; and the king appointed him prince [*nakharar*] in place of the rebel, calling the fief after his name: Mamgonian."⁴

3. King Arshak II (351–67) tries to weaken the feudal nobility: "And he slew many *nakharars*. From several he removed their hereditary fiefs, and he confiscated several princely domains for the crown. But the

¹ G. Widengren, "Recherches sur le féodalisme iranien" in *Orientalia Suecana* v (Uppsala, 1956), pp. 79–182.

² Widengren, *op. cit.*, p. 89; D. Chubinov, *Gruzino-Russky slovar'* (Georgian–Russian dictionary) (St. Petersburg, 1887), col. 1006.

³ Faustus of Buzanda, *History of Armenia* v. 4 (Venice, 1933), p. 199.

⁴ Moses of Khorene, *History of Armenia* II. 84 (Tbilisi, 1913), p. 229.

Kamsarakan family, who were the lords of Shirak and Arsharunik, were utterly destroyed, and their districts annexed to the crown lands [ostan]."¹

4. While the Armenian kings could sometimes confiscate the domains and fiefs of the leading princes, they were often powerless to deprive them of hereditary feudal offices. The following incident relates to the reign of King Varazdat (374-80) when Manuel Mamikonian comes back from long captivity in Iran: "But when Manuel had returned to the glory of his princely estate, without any prior authorization from King Varazdat, he took over the position of sparapet or generalissimo, because this was something which had come down to him from his ancestors in direct succession. However, King Varazdat had granted the title to his own foster-father Bat as a mark of favour."²

As we have seen, the history of Armenia and ancient Georgia is one of ceaseless tensions between the monarchy and the feudal nobility, though the sentiment of aristocratic pride was often combined with one of touching loyalty to the king. The prowess of the princes and of the nobles was inherent in a knightly society, spending much of its time heavily armoured upon horseback, in warfare or in hunting. The Iberian crown of Eastern Georgia appears to have been stronger than the Armenian in relation to the dynastic aristocracy. In Georgia, the feudal office of duke (*eristavi*, or "head of the people") was not extended to all of the princes, only a few more powerful ones becoming dukes of the provinces of Iberia. However, neither the Iberian nor the Armenian monarchy could survive the dual strain of feudal disobedience, and Sasanian imperial centralism, so that monarchy was eventually abolished in both countries, for a period of close on four centuries.³

Finally, it is necessary to stress the many close links between Iran, Armenia and Georgia in religion, architecture and the arts, which continued even after the two latter countries had officially adopted Christianity. These links were closest under the Parthians, when Armenia was ruled by the Parthian Arsacids, the first monarch of this line being himself a Magian. However, community of cult and religious beliefs between Iran and Armenia were in evidence as long ago as Urartian times, then during the Achaemenian monarchy, and again much later

¹ Faustus of Buzanda, *History of Armenia* IV. 19, p. 137.

² Faustus of Buzanda, *History of Armenia* V. 37, p. 243.

³ Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 140-2. See Widengren, "Recherches", p. 178, for a list of 39 Armenian terms relating to feudal institutions and economic conditions, together with their parallels in Middle Iranian.

under the Sasanians, though here this community was more the result of alien imposition from outside than of spontaneous sharing of common traditions and experience.

In Georgia, however, contacts were particularly strong during the Sasanian period. Beautiful silver dishes and other splendid examples of Sasanian metal ware, with cult representations and Pahlavī inscriptions, have been recovered from ducal and viceregal burials and other excavation sites in a number of places in Georgia. Both in Armenia and in Georgia, Sasanian influence is evident in many details of church and secular architecture (pls 40(a), 41(a)). In fact, there have even been quite convincing attempts to link the design of the characteristic Armenian and Georgian cruciform domed church with the Zoroastrian fire temple. Besides the cruciform pattern, circular domed churches are also found. Certainly the lion and wild beast motifs so common in friezes and capital decorations of early Georgian and Armenian churches and palaces owe much to Sasanian models.¹

Georgia and Armenia by their geographical situation were particularly well suited to be a bridge between the religious world of the Gathas and the Avesta, and that of the Greek and Asianic pantheons. In Iran generally, the arrival of Hellenism in the wake of Alexander the Great sparked off an immense new religious movement – the syncretism of Greek and Oriental deities. Henceforth, Semitic (including Babylonian), Iranian and Greek deities began to be considered interchangeable. Thus Ahuramazda became the Iranian equivalent of Bel, Mithra of Shamash, and Anahita of Ishtar or Nanai. Apollo in the Susan hymn is addressed as Mara, a Syrian title denoting "Lord". Heracles was usually the Hellenic aspect of the Semitic Nergal or the Iranian Verethraghna, and Athena of the Arab goddess Allat.²

This eclectic, syncretizing tendency is very apparent when we come to study the religious cults of ancient Iberia and Colchis.³ As direct descendants of ancient peoples of Anatolia, some of the tribes who helped to form the nucleus of the Iberian nation inherited cults and

¹ Apart from the interesting pioneer work of J. Strzygowski (e.g. *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1918), we refer to Sh. Amiranashvili, *Istoriya gruzinskogo iskusstva*, (Moscow, 1963), pp. 74–81 and 92–6, Plates 18–21, 24–7; also S. Der Nersessian, *Agbi'amar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 25–6.

² Colledge, pp. 107–8.

³ Charachidzé, *Le Système religieux de la Géorgie païenne*; M. G. Tseretheli, "The Asianic elements in national Georgian paganism", *Georgica* 1 (London, 1935), pp. 28–66; O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum", *Caucasica* 1 (1924), pp. 1–102; "Nachträge zum georgischen Heidentum", *Caucasica* 11 (1925), pp. 121–30.

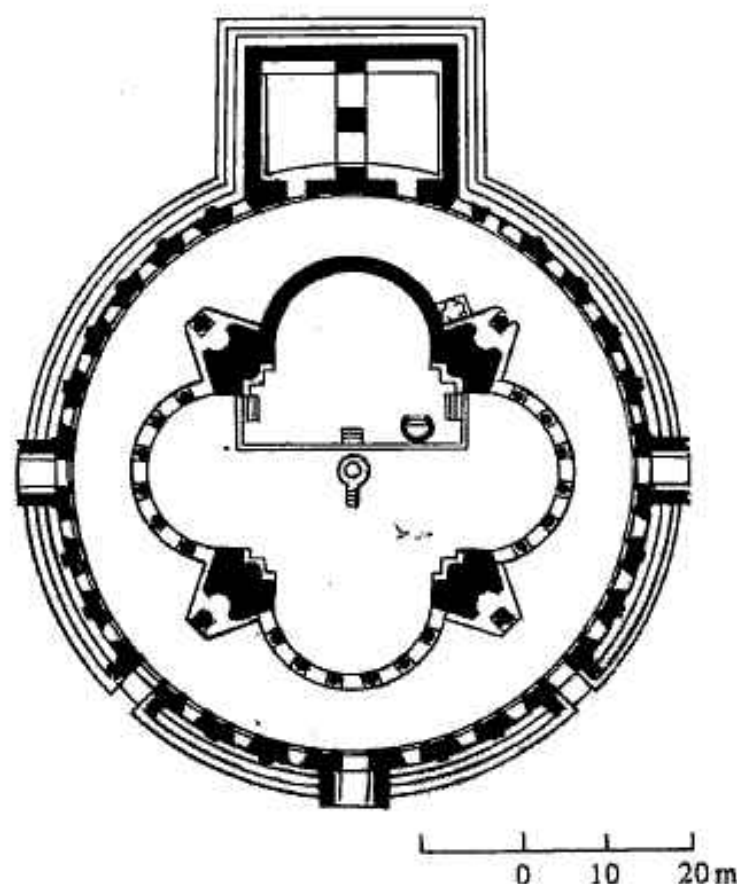


Fig. 2. Ground plan of Zvartnotz Cathedral, Armenia, the circular form recalling the outline of a Zoroastrian fire temple.

beliefs closely akin to those of the Hittites, Phrygians, perhaps even the Sumerians, Assyrians and Babylonians. Testifying to this is the Trialeti goblet (dating from about 1500 B.C.), with its scenes from a fertility rite connected with the Tree of Life and the potion of immortality. The colonization of the Black Sea coast by Milesian settlers from the 7th century B.C. onwards led to the spread of Hellenistic cults which were to become popular in Parthia at a later period. A temple of Apollo existed at Phasis (Poti) at the mouth of the Rioni as early as the 5th century B.C., as witness the discovery in north Caucasia in 1901 of a silver drinking bowl of that period with the inscription: "I belong to Apollo the Supreme of Phasis". Later a huge statue of the goddess Rhea also stood in a conspicuous site on the Phasis estuary. Strabo speaks of a temple of the sun-goddess Leucothea and an oracle of Phrixus in the land of the Moskhoi—the Georgian province of Samtskhe; this temple was formerly rich but was later desecrated and robbed of its treasures.¹ Tree worship is attested in Georgia through the cult of the wood goddess Dali, corresponding to Artemis; a moon

¹ *Geography* xi. 2. 17.

cult lives on in Georgia to this day, having become merged with that of Saint George, also known as *Tetri Giorgi*, or "White George".¹

The prevalence of Mazdaism in Georgia is confirmed by the archaeological evidence, which includes bowls showing the sacrificial figure of a horse standing before the ritual fire-altar. According to the "Life of Saint Nino", who converted eastern Georgia about A.D. 330, the Georgian national gods were named Armazi (to be identified with Ahuramazda of the Zoroastrian pantheon), Zaden, Gatsi and Gaim. When Saint Nino offered up prayers to God, the Almighty sent down hail "in lumps as big as two fists" on to the abode of the heathen idols and smashed them into little pieces. Simple folk whom Saint Nino encountered at the town of Urnisi worshipped the sacred fire of the Zoroastrians, and also images of stone and wood.²

The pantheon of ancient Armenia was likewise an international, syncretic one. The complex edifice of Armenian paganism began to take shape during the ascendancy of the Orontids and the early Artaxiads. In addition to the famous temple of the Sun and Moon at Armavir, the Armenians maintained a whole group of sanctuaries in the holy forest at Ashtishat (Acesilene), in the province of Taron, not far from Mush. Here stood a mighty golden statue of Anahita, patron and protectress of Armenia, and famed all over the Iranian world as goddess of waters and fertility. A bronze head of Aphrodite/Anahit from Satala is in the British Museum (pl. 39(a)). Anahit's father was Aramazd, the mighty Ahuramazda of the Iranians, the Olympian Zeus of the Greek pantheon. Mithra, god of covenants and of light, was also widely popular; a high priest of that name officiated at the temple of Armavir around 200 B.C. In the form "Meherr", Mithra features later in the Armenian national epic "David of Sassoun" as the Great Meherr, Lion of Sassoun, who planted a splendid garden in Dzovasar and filled it with every kind of animal and fowl which God had created.³

The popular goddess Astghik, whose statue was often found alongside that of Anahit, corresponded on the one hand to the Assyrian Ishtar, on the other to the Roman goddess Venus. Astghik's lover was the Iranian deity Verethragna, god of war and victory, known in Armenian as Vahagn. Venerated in the guise of Heracles the dragon slayer, Vahagn was the son of Aramazd (Ahuramazda), as well as being identified with Ares, the Greek god of battle.

¹ Lang, *Georgians*, pp. 88-90.

² Lang, *Lives and Legends*, pp. 23-5.

³ Surmelian, p. 93; S. K. Chatterji, "Armenian hero-legends, and the Epic of David of Sasun", *JASB*, 4th ser. 1 (1959), pp. 199-220.



Fig. 3. Horse standing before Mithraic fire altar, engraved on the inside of a silver bowl from Armazi, 2nd century A.D.

The most striking example of the syncretism of gods in ancient Parthia actually occurs in a former Armenian satellite kingdom, namely Commagene, the modern Malatya district. Here a scion of the Armenian Orontid house, King Antiochus I (69–34 B.C.) built himself a funeral hill at Nimrūd Dāgh (pls 37, 38). The sanctuary is grandiose, being surrounded on three sides by terraces and dominated by an artificial mound nearly five hundred feet high. On the east and west terraces stood a row of five colossal seated figures, many times life-size, which represented four deities and King Antiochus himself. The chief statue represents the compound deity Zeus–Oromasdes, or Ahuramazda. A second depicts Apollo–Mithra–Helios–Hermes. And a third presents to us Verethragna–Heracles–Ares. Into the terrace walls were sunk some ninety stone reliefs, depicting in most cases a pair of figures, one of whom is usually Antiochus. We see the king's paternal ancestors, traced back to the Achaemenian monarch Darius, son of Hystaspes, while Greek inscriptions record the dead ruler's connections with the Armenian dynasty of the Orontids.

Armenian and Georgian demonology has many Iranian counterparts. Thus, the *daeva* or demon spirit of the Avesta was feared in Armenia as in Georgia. The Armenian word is *dev*, Georgian *devi*. These devs preferred stony places and ruins; they appeared as serpents and other

monstrous forms, some physical and others incorporeal. The *druzhbes*, like their Avestan counterpart, were lying, perjuring, harmful spirits, believed to be of female sex. The *yātns* or sorcerers of the Avesta also have their Armenian equivalents, who were even able to slay men. There existed destructive female demons called *parik*, whose husbands were known as *kaj*. The *kajis* also feature prominently in medieval Georgian demonology.¹

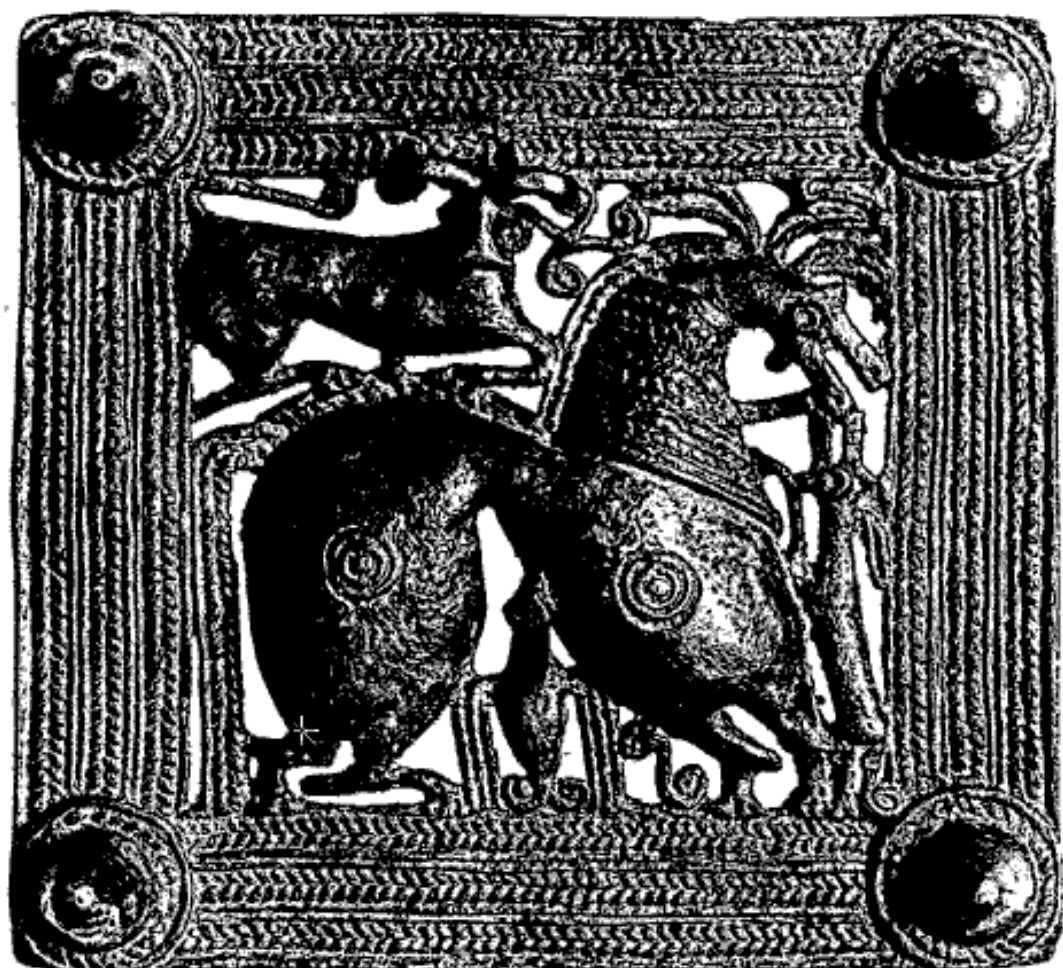
Manichaeism, one of the most original of Iranian religious movements, had many adepts in Armenia and Georgia. Armenia was the stronghold of the Paulicians, a later sect of Manichees, who then gave rise to the insurgent sect of the Thondrakites.² One of the vehicles for Manichaean teachings in Georgia and Armenia was the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which began as an edifying Buddhist tract, but acquired many Manichaean features. As Professor Henning discovered, a metrical version of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat was contained in the oldest poetic manuscript written in Classical Persian so far known to us.³

In other cultural spheres also, there was much mutual enrichment arising from contacts between Iran and the Caucasian nations during the Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian eras. One has only to think of the perpetuation of the ancient Iranian *gōsān* or minstrel in the Armenian *gusans* (Georgian, *mgosani*), who have continued to delight popular audiences right up to modern times, composing both music and poetic text as they went along. As early as the 5th century, the Armenian Catholicos St John (Hovhannes) Mandakuni composed a treatise, "On the Theatre and the Gusans", a copy of which may be seen in the Matenadaran or National Manuscript Library in Erevan. Political relations between Iran and her Caucasian neighbours may not always have been cordial, but there is no doubt of the depth and extent of reciprocal influences in many spheres of art, literature and religion, as well as in social and political organization.

¹ M. H. Ananikian, *Armenian Mythology* (Boston, 1925); Shota Rustaveli, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, tr. Marjory S. Wardrop (London, 1912).

² Professor Nina Garsoïan, in *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, 1967), ably defends the view that the Paulicians were not Manichaeans, but Adoptionists; however this opinion has not yet been accepted as definitive by all scholars in this field.

³ W. B. Henning "Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdākī", in W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater (eds), *A Locust's Leg: Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962), pp. 89-104; Lang, *The Balavariani*.



(a)



(b)

- 36 (a) Bronze openwork belt-buckle from the Caucasus. Scythian, c. 5th century B.C., l. 5.4 ins.
 (b) Gold stater, in imitation of the coinage of Alexander the Great, struck in Colchis, Seleucid-Parthian period (enlarged).



(a)



(b)

37 Nimrud Dagb, west terrace, (a) sandstone relief showing Antiochus (left) with Achaemenian tiara and Apollo/Mithra (right) with a rayed tiara. (b) Guardian lion, sandstone, at south end of reliefs of Antiochus and his gods.



38 Nimrud Dagh, east terrace, row of colossal statues, limestone. From left to right: eagle, Antiochus, Tyche of Commagene, Zeus/Ahura Mazda, Apollo/Mithra, Hercules/Verethragna/Ares, eagle. The statues have been much damaged, largely by earthquakes.

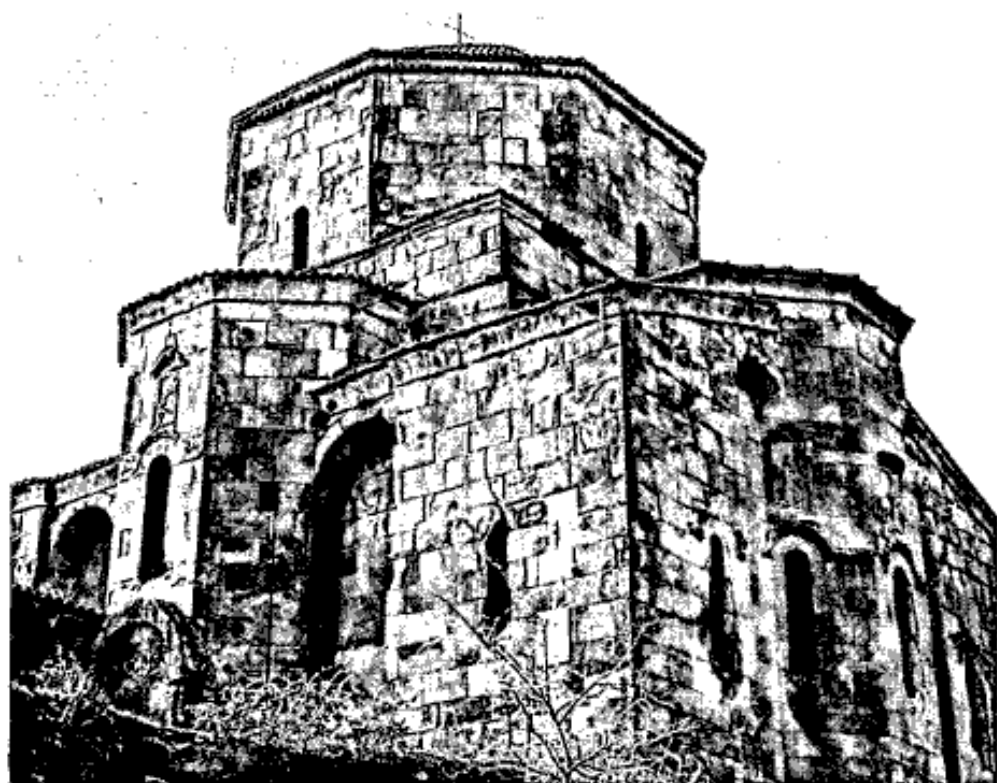


(a)



(b)

- 39 (a) Head of a bronze statue of Anāhīt/Aphrodite, from Satala, western Armenia.
 (b) Three silver tetradrachms of Tigranes the Great, from different mints.



(a)



(b)

40 Jvari church of the Holy Cross, Mtskheta, Georgia, c. 600 A.D. (a) View of exterior, showing series of reliefs above windows. (b) Relief showing Kobul Strategos being blessed by St Stephen, with an inscription in Georgian uncials.

(a)



41 (a) Echmiadzin, Hripsimé church, 618 A.D.

(b) Dvin, ruins of patriarchal palace. Carved stone showing grape harvest, 6th century A.D.

CHAPTER 3

IRANIANS IN ASIA MINOR

A fragment by an Athenian tragedian of the late 5th or early 4th centuries speaks of maidens from Lydia and Bactria together, worshipping the Tmolian goddess Artemis to the sound of a flute, welcoming the deity like a guest with a Persian melody.¹ The Tmolian goddess is most likely Anaitis, often referred to as the Persian Artemis, since Hypaipa, one of the centres of worship of Anaitis in Lydia, lay on the slopes of Mount Tmolus.² Bactria, at the other end of the dominions of the Achaemenians on the Oxus, was also an important centre of the worship of Anaitis. Poets in Athens and presumably individuals in Lydia imagined Lydian maidens worshipping the same goddess as maidens at the end of the inhabited world. Thinking this way meant fitting local customs and even local thoughts into a wider whole which may have been perceived as in some sense living-organization was not merely a matter of roads and fast postal service. The deities of the Persians ranged throughout the dominions of the Achaemenians. Darius in the Bisitūn inscription refers often to his rule's relation to Ahuramazda. This sense of belonging to a whole, which stretched to the ends of the inhabited world, also finds expression in the custom of Persians of sacrificing for the king and for all Persians but not for themselves (Herodotus I. 131).

The appearance of the Persian goddess Anāhitā in Asia Minor represents part of a change taking place throughout the dominions of the Achaemenians, not the introduction of something traditionally Iranian into new territories. The worship of Anāhitā appeared everywhere within the empire at about the same time, probably on the initiative of the Achaemenians in the late 5th and early 4th centuries. Berossus says Artaxerxes II (404-358 B.C.) had cult statues of Anāhitā put up in Sardis, Babylon, Damascus, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Bactria – a statement confirmed for most of these cities by independent evidence. The Anāhitā cult probably represents a fundamental change in Iranian religion. For Anāhitā is the first and only Iranian goddess depicted for

¹ A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. 2 (Leipzig, 1889), 776-7; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XIV 38 (636); tr. C. D. Yonge, vol. III (London, 1854), 1015-16.

² For the unsuccessful attempt to locate the shrines of Anaitis at Hypaipa and Sardis, see G. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975), p. 17.

purposes of cult. Ahuramazda is depicted earlier in the 5th century reliefs, but this is for the purposes of narrative, not worship. Anāhitā worship is often found in association with temples. Berossus himself does not say specifically that the images of the goddess were exhibited in temples, but later sources speak of Anāhitā in a temple. The fire ritual too appears in its distinctive form at about the same time and often enough in connection with Anāhitā to argue a relationship. Earlier reliefs show the Great King praying to Ahuramazda before a flaming altar. Later, the Great King appears on coins without Ahuramazda, dressed in the costume of a fire priest and praying directly to a fire.¹ Herodotus (I. 131-2) appears to confirm the date of these changes as being late in the 5th or in the 4th century, for he says the Persians had neither temples nor cult images of the gods. Further, he mentions neither Anāhitā nor the distinctive fire worship, although he does say the Persians regard natural phenomena like wind, fire, water, the sun, the earth as holy.

Artaxerxes II's decision to give one of the Iranian gods tangible form may have been a response to the Greeks, who commonly represented their gods in cult images; as Herodotus (I. 135) remarks, the Persians did not fear to learn from others. The aim may also have been simply to direct the attention of Iranians and non-Iranians throughout the Achaemenian dominions to the Persian gods. But in a sense this strengthening and unfolding of Iranianism, almost of Iranian consciousness – for that is what Persian gods mean – brought with it, at least in western Asia Minor, a strengthening of Hellenism as well as Iranianism, since the visual language in which the goddess Anāhitā was portrayed was Greek. Thus she is often difficult to distinguish from Artemis and has to be qualified as the Persian Artemis. It was almost as if the Greeks had made at least one of the gods of the Persians visible. There is an epitaph from north-east Caria which invokes the gods of the Greeks and the Persians, *Θεοὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Περσῶν*.²

In fact, this is true in a more general sense. One cannot speak about the Iranians in Asia Minor without speaking about the Greeks, that is without understanding what Greeks and Persians had in common, for they were enemies who respected each other. Respecting your enemies means experiencing what you have in common with them as well as your differences. We think of *hubris* as a typically Greek conception, but

¹ S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Lund, 1946), especially 52-101.

² L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* (Paris, 1954), 79.

Aeschylus and Herodotus assumed the Persians knew hubris, and they could thus treat Persian outrages, such as Xerxes' treatment of the dead body of Leonidas (Herodotus VII. 238), as outrages, and not as actions inherently Persian. Aeschylus set *Persae* at Ecbatana, and saw and had his audience see the Greek victory through the eyes of the Persians.¹ The Greeks also sensed that monarchy (not necessarily the monarchy of the Achaemenians) was as much rooted in the nature of things as was the *polis*, "the self-governing community of free, landowning citizens equal before the law".

As a result of this experience of what they did and did not have in common, much of what we know about Persia and almost everything we know about Iranians in Asia Minor comes from Greek sources. For in an important sense, and with the exception of the Great King, the Persians did not speak: they rode, they shot, and they did not tell lies, which meant that they kept their promises of obedience to their superiors. The Greeks were fascinated and astonished by the outlandish grandeur of the Persians, with its successes and failures, but they also sensed in it a pathetic quality and saw its extraordinary tendency to entangle all but the best of the Persians in illusion and self-destruction. They learned this from Herodotus in the gathering storm of the Peloponnesian war. It helped to open their eyes to their own extravagance, which, though different, was as self-destructive as that of the Persians.

Lydia with its fertile plains in the Hermus Valley and the important city of Sardis, at which the Royal Road ended, was an important centre of Persian influence in Asia Minor. In addition to the sanctuary in Hypaipa, there were sanctuaries of Anaitis in Hierakome (renamed Hierocaesareia in the 1st century A.D.) and Philadelphia. The Hyrcanian plain, which according to Strabo (XIII. 4. 13) took its name from Persian settlers brought from Hyrcania, and the plain of Cyrus, both near Sardis, betoken Persian settlements in the area, an area later to be settled by Macedonian soldiers. Pontus and Lydia appear to be the chief centres for the worship of the Persian gods in Asia Minor. As late as the 2nd century A.D., Pausanias (5. 27. 5-7) could report witnessing something resembling the Persian fire ceremony at Hierocaesareia and Hypaipa.

In the north-west, on the south-eastern edge of Lake Manyas near

¹ A. D. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom, The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge, 1975), especially 123-30.

Ergeli, the site of Dascylion, the satrap's palace, has recently been identified.¹ In his description of the site in antiquity, Xenophon (*Hellenica* iv. 1. 15-16) wondered at the number of villages around it. He also mentions a hunting park (*παράδεισος*) and remarks on the abundance of wildlife outside as well as within.² Apparently these parks, which left their mark on the memories of the natives, turned a traditional part of the Iranian way of life into a convention, just as the 19th-century parks of Frederick Law Olmsted in the United States carefully re-evoked the wilderness. The Iranian aristocracy apparently preferred hunting and riding in special preserves rather than in the open country. For them hunting and riding were no longer an economic necessity but a way of defining themselves. In some sense, they saw the basis of their nobility and authority in swiftness of movement – skill in horsemanship and archery like that of their ancestors – and in loyalty to their superiors. With no city (in the Greek sense) nearby, this palace and hunting park surrounded by villages – must have looked to the Iranians like Persia in miniature – a copy on a small scale of a world made up not of cities but of palaces and villages and occasional city-like agglomerations.

Several important reliefs of the 4th and 5th century have been found in the neighbourhood of Dascylion. One of them, a tombstone, appears to offer a view into the hunting park described by Xenophon: a Persian nobleman riding at full gallop is about to spear a boar.³ He wears the long, close-fitting pants and the long-sleeved tunic and tiara (hat) which identify the Persian nobleman in Greek art before Alexander. The most important of these reliefs shows the Magi or Πύρραιοι, the fire-kindlers, at the fire ritual, perhaps about to sacrifice.⁴ Four hundred years older than Strabo's (xv. 3. 15) description of the fire ritual, the relief appears to have been made to illustrate it. It shows two figures with their mouths and jaws covered by the tiara, which

¹ E. Akurgal, "Les fouilles de Daskyleion", *Anatolia* 1 (1956), 20-4; *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin, 1961), 167-77; H. Bengtson, *The Greeks and the Persians* (New York, 1968), pp. 187, 192, 208.

² From Çavuch Koi, near Panderma. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, number 1054. F. W. Hasluck, *JHS* xxvi (1906), 26, pl. VI.

³ From Eregli. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. T. Macridy, "Reliefs Gréco-Perses de la Région de Dascylion", *BCH* xxxvii (1913), 340-57; R. Ghirshman, *Persia from the origins to Alexander the Great* (London, 1964), 347, fig. 440. For the three steles recently discovered at Dascylion, see E. Akurgal, "Griechisch-persische Reliefs aus Daskyleion", *IA* vi (1966), pp. 147-56; P. Bernard, "Les bas-reliefs gréco-perses de Dascylion à la lumière de nouvelles découvertes", *Revue Archéologique* 1969, pp. 17-28; J. M. Dentzer, "Reliefs au 'Banquet' dans l'Asie Mineure du V^e siècle av J.-C.", *ibid.*, pp. 195-224.

Strabo describes as long enough to reach down to the jaws and cover the lips. It is difficult to tell whether they are holding clubs, which Strabo says they use for sacrifice in Cappadocia, or sacred bundles of twigs (*barsman*). The reliefs on three additional grave steles found recently at Dascylion also betray a Persian ambience: eight-spoked wheels with nails on the edges as at Persepolis; long chitons instead of the short chitons of Greek servants; dressed cup-bearers instead of the naked Greek cup-bearers; more servants; a woman wearing the headdress reserved for Persian royalty. Also and more importantly, for it shows the contrast between a monarchical and aristocratic world, funeral banquets on these stones centre on one individual, not on the groups of diners as in contemporary Greek work.

Another reflection of Persia in miniature appears on a relief from the tomb of an Iranian prince or governor of the most important city in Lycia, Xanthus. The Harpy Tomb (now at the British Museum) shows a Greek-Lycian version of audiences depicted at Persepolis. Instead of a miniaturized official before the Great King as at Persepolis, a boy offers a cock and a rhyton of wine to the enthroned governor.¹ Common to Greeks, Lycians, and Persians, this ritual gesture of offering had a different significance for each. All saw the same thing and understood it differently – but not differently enough to be unaware that there were other ways of understanding what they saw. For a Greek the scene might depict the worship of a hero; for a Persian, an audience before the Persian governor of Xanthus, faintly reminiscent of the audiences before the Great King in Persepolis. These portrayals of Persia on a small scale reflect in their physical dispositions the spiritual ideal of maintaining promises of obedience to superiors; everyone expected from those below him what he granted those above him. Greek craftsmen appear to have done all this work for Persian patrons – with the exception of objects found in graves and seal rings (impressions of many of which were found at Dascylion), which are of Persian manufacture.

Wall paintings in two tombs recently discovered (1969) on the edges of Lycia in the Plain of Elmalı, the first of about 525 B.C., the second of the early 5th century, tell something more about Greek eyes witnessing a Lycian world coming to know the presence of Persia. The first

¹ F. J. Tritsch, "The Harpy Tomb at Xanthus", *JHS* LXII (1942), 39–50; G. Rodenwalt, "Griechische Reliefs in Lykien", *SPAW* 1933, pp. 1028–35; I. Kleemann, "Der Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon", *Istanbuler Forschungen* xx (Berlin, 1958), pp. 111–14.

betrays not a hint of Persia; the second, roughly a generation later, shows a reclining man drawn with wondrous clarity and daring, probably not an important Persian official, but nevertheless with something distinctly Persian about him. His servants approach him carrying vessels of the same sort and in the same way as the tributaries on the stairways at the Apadana at Persepolis, but their hands unmistakably betray Greek eyes. Elsewhere in the frieze the individual wears the tiara, long purple pants and a long-sleeved tunic which, whatever else it is, is not Greek. There is a battle scene full of movement and clarity in which Greeks are losing to Persians, or to Lycians who affect Persian styles. Greek artists could paint their own defeat as if it were the defeat of others.

In Lydia, where Sardis was the site of the most important Persian satrapy, there are fewer visual traces of the Persians than in the region about Lake Manyas and in Lycia. Only items connected with dress and court life remain: jewelry, gold, silver, glass-vessels, rich cloths. There is also a pediment in Greek style, of the middle of the 5th century B.C., showing the funeral banquet of a Persian. (Mesopotamian but probably not Persian, the motif of the funeral banquet seems to have won currency among Persians and people associated with Persian administration in Asia Minor, for it appears on one of the recently found reliefs at Dascylion.) Concentrating on organization, roads and horse relays, and living apart from the natives, the Persians appear to have been content to let others depict them.¹

For the Persians in Asia Minor, as perhaps everywhere, the fall of the Achaemenians meant crisis. Even in areas such as Caria, far from the beaten tracks of armies and merchants and enjoying relative independence from Persia, the Iranian aristocracy had to come to terms with the new circumstances. In the little polis of Amyzon high up in the mountains of north-west Caria, a decree from the time of Philip Arrhidaeus, half-brother and successor of Alexander, adopts a man called Bagadates and his son, Arieramnes, as citizens and on the advice of the oracle at Delphi, appoints Bagadates priest of the local indigenous

¹ For the two tombs in the plain of Elmali, see M. J. Mellink, "The painted tomb near Elmali", *American Journal of Archaeology* LXXIV (Baltimore, Md., 1970), pp. 251-53; "Excavations at Elmali, 1971", *ibid.* LXXVI (1972), pp. 263-69; "Excavations at Elmali, 1972", *ibid.* LXXVII (1973), pp. 297-303; "Notes on Anatolian wall painting", in *Mélanges Mansel* I (Ankara, 1974), pp. 337-47. For Lydia, see J. Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire", *Iran* VIII (1970), pp. 19-45; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "A pediment of the Persian Era from Sardis", in *Mélanges Mansel* I, pp. 289-302; *From Croesus to Constantine*, pp. 1-21, esp. 15-21.

goddess who is called Artemis. The priesthood was apparently hereditary, for about a hundred and twenty years later a decree (of the time of Antiochus III) mentions an Arieramnes as priest of the local Artemis. These are Iranian names. In this instance, an Iranian aristocratic family won citizenship in a Greek polis and at the same time gained an official position as priests of a sanctuary.¹ In Apamea on the Meander a man called Maiphernes appears as an official of the mint sometime in the next centuries.² Here, too, a descendant of the Iranian aristocracy had continued to play an official rôle. However in some cities in north-eastern Caria Iranian names scattered among the local population appear to indicate that the descendants of Persian settlers had in the generations become integrated with the local population.³

In the perspective of the Trojan War and earlier which Asia Minor suggested to him, Strabo minimized the differences between the Achaemenian and Macedonian conquests of Asia Minor; but they were in important ways different. The dominion of the Achaemenians lasted two hundred and fifty-years; Alexander's lasted much less than his short life and did not extend beyond it. In the Bisitûn inscription, Darius had spoken loftily of his ability to overcome usurpers in the strength of Ahuramazda. Alexander's conquest provoked instability, even a revolutionary atmosphere: robbers sacked the tomb of Cyrus at Persepolis when Alexander was absent in India; the suspicion and insecurity was such that men wondered whether the satraps had violated the tomb (Strabo xv. 3. 7).

After the death of Alexander, the Macedonians turned upon themselves. From the outermost parts of Iran, Greek commanders came to the battle grounds in Asia Minor. In contrast to Alexander, who had not been able to ensure his succession, the Persians had lived under a hereditary monarchy and esteemed legitimacy of descent—a fact which Strabo thought worthy of mention (xv. 3. 17).

One of the most important consequences of this confusion was the emergence (about 305 B.C.) of two independent monarchies, one in Cappadocia and the other in Pontus, which claimed and were believed by their subjects to be descended from the Achaemenians. The mere existence of these monarchies testifies to the depth of the Iranization which had occurred under the Achaemenians. Instead of adapting

¹ L. Robert, "Le sanctuaire d'Artémis à Amyzon", *CRAI* 1953, 403-15.

² L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* I (Paris, 1963), 348-9.

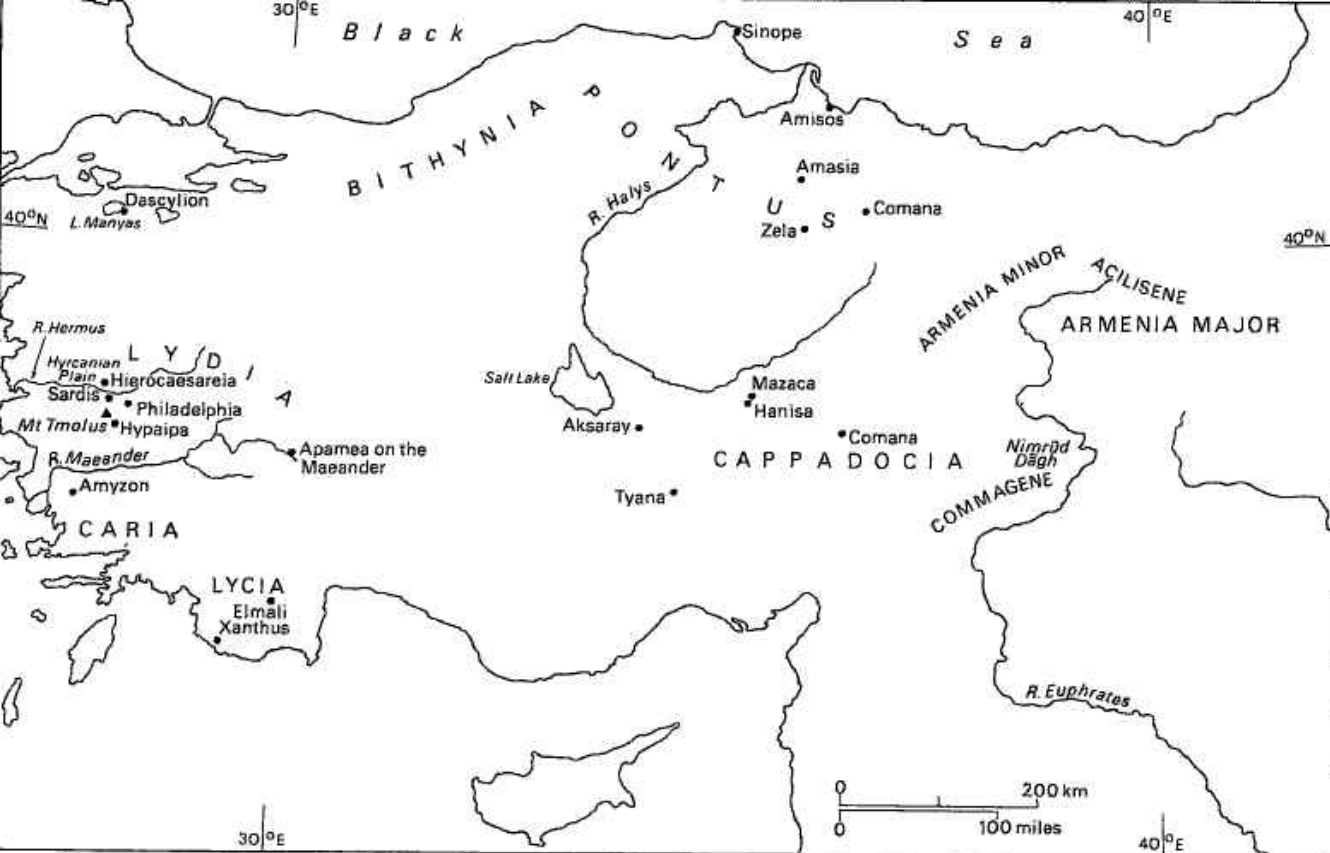
³ Robert, *La Carie*, 79.

themselves to changed circumstances, like the Iranians in Caria and probably throughout western Asia Minor, the Iranian aristocracy east of the Halys River in Pontus and Cappadocia chose independence in defiance of the Macedonians. The Cappadocians had resisted from the beginning. After the defeat of the Persian satraps on the River Granicus, the Cappadocians fought at Arbela in 331. Unlike Sinope and Amisos on the coast of Pontus, they did not come to terms with Alexander after this battle but rose up in his rear.

Until the fall of the Persian monarchy, the Iranian presence had probably been as intense in Asia Minor west of the Halys as it had been in Pontus and Cappadocia. With the victory of Alexander and the emergence of the Hellenistic kings, it begins slowly to fade in the west. Writing in the time of Augustus, Strabo only knew of traces of the Persians in western Asia Minor, but he considered Cappadocia almost a living part of Persia (xv. 3. 15).

Iranization in Pontus and Cappadocia meant the preservation of great temple estates which had in many instances existed before the arrival of the Medes in the early 6th century. Comana in Pontus had, for instance, been a holy region in the time of the Hittites. The past, not only the Iranian past but the past of the first millennium before the coming of the Medes in the early 6th century and even of the late 2nd millennium, rose before one's eyes in these lands. Strabo's descriptions of the temple estates are full of wonder and astonishment. Even though they must have been part of his boyhood knowledge – for he was from Amasia in Pontus – he did not take them for granted and found himself (xi. 14. 16) turning to Herodotus' description of temple prostitution to understand the customs at the temples of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia. He speaks of Cappadocia as having many temples of the Persian gods and many fire priests. But it is important to remember that there were other religious centres in Cappadocia and Pontus, many of them of greater antiquity than those of Anaitis. In these regions where there were few cities (except those cut off from the interior on the coasts of Pontus) these sanctuaries served as centres; pilgrims came to them from everywhere throughout Cappadocia and Pontus and from Armenia – betraying the deeper unity of regions recently divided politically.

In regard to those temples which owned large estates – Strabo (xii. 2. 3) speaks of more than six thousand temple servants at Comana in Cappadocia – it is often difficult to distinguish the Iranian element



Map 2. Iranians in Asia Minor.

from the indigenous. Even in the instance of temple prostitution, usually associated with either indigenous or Semitic influence, Wikander points out that it is not by any means clear that Iranian ritual excludes it.¹

In each of the Comanas, Strabo refers to the chief priest as "second after the king" (Strabo XII. 2.3; 3.32; Caesar, *De bello Alexandrino* 66), adding in the case of Comana in Cappadocia that he usually came from the royal family. Found most frequently in Latin and Greek authors, these words, in appearance a mere phrase, actually are a translation of an Iranian title in use among the Sasanians, the Parthians, and the Achaemenians. Under the Achaemenians, they designated the heir of the king, later probably simply those who were second in authority to the king. All this would appear to argue Iranian influence on the shrine of the national goddess of Cappadocia, Ma.² In the second millennium in a region later called Pontus, however, a Hittite king used the title when he consecrated his son Priest of Tesup.³

Unlike many of the other holy centres in these regions which had been sacred for centuries, Zela appears to have been consecrated for the first time as a sanctuary of the Persian gods, especially Anaitis, by Artaxerxes II. By Strabo's time, it had long been a temple with authority over much land and many holy servants (*ιερόδουλοι*). With rites of surpassing holiness, it exercised spiritual authority throughout Pontus; men came from everywhere to make oaths on matters of crucial importance in the sanctuary of the Persian gods at Zela (Strabo XII. 3. 37). That the Persian gods guaranteed men's words says something for the moral authority of the Achaemenians and their gods in Pontus and Cappadocia. The priests of these sanctuaries acted with great independence. In the time of the independent kings of Cappadocia the Priest of Comana also bore the title of general (*στρατηγός*) and governor of the King.⁴

Besides the sanctuaries at Zela and in Armenia in Acilisene (modern Ekeleac), Anaitis probably held other sanctuaries with land and temple servants in Cappadocia and Pontus. A recently published inscription points to the existence of such a sanctuary in the area of Cappadocia south-east of the Salt Lake, forty or fifty kilometres north of Aksaray

¹ Wikander, *Feuerpriester*, 88-9.

² E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien* (Paris, 1966), especially 51-65; H. Volkmann, "Der Zweite nach dem König", *Philologus* XCII (1937), 285-316.

³ E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 110.

⁴ Dittenberger I. 573 (no. 364).

(ancient Archelais). Flavia Prima dedicates to the most powerful goddess, Anaitis Barzochora, three individuals and their heirs as temple servants for life. One of the newly dedicated servants bears an indigenous name.¹

The hereditary status of much temple service helps to explain its persistence. The authority that these shrines exerted was spiritual rather than legal; for violations they threatened death or disease to the desecrator or his livestock. The status of the temple servants differed importantly from that of Greek slaves. Antiochus of Commagene forbade any priest or magistrate or dynast (meaning probably the Iranian aristocracy) from enslaving or maltreating or exacting liturgies from the temple servants and their heirs.² When Pompey (Strabo XII. 3. 34) appointed a priest-governor of the sanctuary at Comana in Pontus with authority over other adjoining lands, he expressly forbade the sale of the temple servants. In addition to such guarantees against abuse from magistrates of cities, priests, and barons, the temple servants could, unlike slaves in Greece, hold land either by renting sacred land or through sharecropping agreements. Since their status was beyond the law, it depended to some extent on the spiritual authority of the shrine and its spiritual sanctions. Such arrangements were meant to last for ever; that is why the status of temple servants at Commagene was conceived as exceptional.

The primary unit throughout the Achaemenian dominions was the village. Posidonius observed (Strabo XI. 9. 1) that there were two thousand villages in Rhagae in Media. Classical authors spoke of ten thousand cities in Bactria, but Soviet excavations show these cities to be armed villages.³ These villages were gathered into groups for taxation purposes. Such village organization was also characteristic of Asia Minor, especially of Pontus and Cappadocia in the Achaemenian period, and persisted in the Hellenistic period. A large part of Asia Minor remained without cities in the Hellenistic period. In Pontus there were few cities except on the coast. In Cappadocia there were three cities: Tyana, Mazaca, and Hanisa. When kings travelled about their countries

¹ J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1968 (vol. VI, Paris, 1972), number 538, pp. 108-10.

² L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* I, number 1 (Nemrud Daghi) (Paris, 1929), 155-90, 205-12; P. Debord, "L'esclavage sacré: état de la question", in *Actes du colloque 1971 sur l'esclavage* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, vol. 140, Paris, 1972), 135-50.

³ E. J. Bickerman, "The Seleucids and the Achaemenids", in *La Persia e il Mondo Greco-Romano* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome 1966), 87-117, especially 104.

they stayed in fortified places. Appian (*De bello Mithridatico* 65) reports that Murena destroyed four hundred villages in one raid. The fertile plain outside Amasia was called the plain of a thousand villages.¹ Many of these villages had their own sanctuaries. As Libanius put it (*Pro templis* 9), "Destroy the sanctuary of a village and it grows blind and lives no more."²

In the time of the Achaemenians, two things of importance happened in Pontus: an Iranian aristocracy and the Persian gods entered the land, and the Greek cities were founded along the coast. In the Hellenistic centuries, both the process of Iranization and Hellenization continued in different ways in both Cappadocia and Pontus. In Cappadocia, Hellenization started slowly in the 3rd century and quickened in the 2nd. In Cappadocia the first coinage under Ariarathes, who ruled while Alexander was still alive, was in Aramaic, the imperial language of the Achaemenians. But already in the long reign of Ariaramnes (about 280-230 B.C.) the first coinage appears with Greek inscriptions, showing the monarch in Persian dress.³

Different from what had occurred in the 5th and 4th centuries in western Asia Minor, where Persian and Greek elements almost fused, as in the Tomb of the Harpy at Xanthus, this juxtaposition of Greece and Persia is characteristic of the whole of life in the independent monarchies. The organization of the state and its titles in Cappadocia and Pontus were modelled after those of the Hellenistic monarchies.⁴ The Greek of the chancelleries was as good as that anywhere else; but the kings and the aristocracy probably still thought in Persian or in the local languages. Mithridates Eupator, who had been brought up in Greek, sought to learn all the languages spoken in his kingdom, in itself enough to do away with the notion that he was a Greek king.⁵

Under the Seleucids the Greek élite and the Iranian aristocracy and the local notables lived side by side in two different worlds that had little to do with each other.⁶ But in Cappadocia, in Pontus, in Com-

¹ P. Briant: "Villages et communautés villageoises d'Asie achéménide et hellénistique", *JESHO* XVIII (1975), 165-88; "'Brigandage', dissidence et conquête en Asie achéménide et hellénistique", in *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, vol. 188, Paris, 1976), 163-262.

² T. Zawadzki, "Quelques remarques sur l'étendue et l'accroissement des domaines des grands temples en Asie Mineure", *Eos* XLVI, 1 (1954), 83-96.

³ K. Regling, "Dynastenmünzen von Tyana, Morima und Anisa in Kappadokien", *ZN* XLII (1935), 1-23. ⁴ [See also pp. 12 ff., 713 and 821 ff. on Hellenism in Iran.]

⁵ T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* (Paris, 1890), 282.

⁶ Bickerman, "Seleucids and Achaemenids", 103.

magene, and in Parthia, whose kings attended performances of the *Bacchae*, one has the sense that the men who inherited the responsibilities of leadership lived in both the Greek and the Iranian world, just as they spoke and thought in both languages – unlike the Greeks, who did not learn foreign languages.

These rulers needed Greek and Hellenism in order to be independent kings rather than chiefs, and to enter the world of international politics. They needed Persian and the local languages in order to remember who they were, that is to survive. They went from one world to the other but did not entertain illusions they could do without either or that the two worlds could meet and amalgamate.

In some sense, the real drama of the Hellenistic world occurred among those rulers who had resisted Macedonian dominion. As with so many other things, it took the Roman Republic to bring this drama to ripeness; it was from these kings, not from the Hellenistic kings, that there came the last men who dared stand up to the Roman Republic before she destroyed herself, Mithridates Eupator of Pontus and Orodes of Parthia.

Neither Cappadocia nor Pontus were lands which attracted Greek and Macedonian settlers. Greeks were city men; they did not move into the country. As a result, Hellenization in lands like Pontus and Cappadocia meant the natives Hellenized themselves. There is an inscription perhaps from the 2nd century B.C. from Hanisa near Mazaca in Cappadocia. This is clearly a Greek polis with a constitution, a council and an assembly, and the rule of law. The inscription, in fact, deals with a legal question: the city's claim to inherit from a man who dies without heirs. This city is not a new foundation but rather an old agglomeration existing from well into the 2nd millennium, that transformed itself into a *polis*. The names of some of the city magistrates are indigenous; the name of the royal overlord is Iranian. It was the natives who had turned themselves into Greeks.¹ Perhaps this transformation occurred during the reign of Ariarathes V Philhellene, who had studied in Athens with Attalus III and who celebrated Greek games in Cappadocia with athletes and Dionysiac artists invited from Athens. He may have refounded both Mazaca, which Strabo (XII. 2.9) says had a constitution designed by Charondas, and Tyana, naming them both Eusebeia.

In a sanctuary high in the Anti-Taurus mountains at Nimrud Dagh,

¹ Robert, *Noms indigènes* 1, 457–523.

Antiochus I, king of fertile Commagene (about 69–34 B.C.) spoke of combining the Persian, Macedonian gods, and the local gods, and the Persian and Greek and local traditions.¹ At the same time he called himself friendly to the Romans; instead of alternating between the Greek and the Iranian world, he tried to treat them as if they could be translated into each other. In this sanctuary, built to hold his “blessed” body after it had sent forth his god-favoured spirit into the surrounding skies of Ahuramazda, Antiochus displayed his paternal Iranian ancestors descended from the Achaemenians and his maternal ancestors who came down from Alexander. By his piety and devotion he sought to turn his inherited kingdom into the abode of all the gods and he worshipped their statues in the time-honoured fashion of the Greeks and the Persians, as well as with the sacrifices and festivals which were the custom of all men from time immemorial. He spoke in Greek, but he and his ancestors wore Iranian dress, and he specified that the priests of his sanctuary should dress in the Persian fashion. He worshipped Ahuramazda but called him also Zeus and Mithra, whom he identified with Apollo, the ancestral god of the Seleucids. Under the shadow of Rome (Vespasian was to turn Commagene into a Roman province in 72 A.D.), Antiochus sought to create a sanctuary of the gods of the Persians in the manner of the Achaemenians three hundred years earlier, and at the same time to acknowledge the gods of the Greeks and the Hellenistic kings. In short, he meant to be all things to all men – and all gods. And it was more than anybody could do. It is his lack of sense of proportion that is most striking – and most revealing, especially when it most looks like boldness: “Antiochus was in the grip of a vision whose devastating power and unity can be sensed in everything he touched. Sculpture, architecture, the use of natural features, the ordering of the cult speak with the same voice as the inscriptions, of a man possessed by the dissonant tongues of Persia and Greece, and dedicated to the service of five outlandish demons – Zeus – Oromasdes, Apollo – Mithra – Helios – Hermes, Artagnes – Heracles – Ares, his beloved Commagene, and himself.”²

¹ Jalabert and Mousterde, *Inscriptions . . . de Syrie* 1, number 1; H. Dörrie, *Der Königs-kult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde* (AAWG 3rd series, LX, 1964); F. K. Dörner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* (Berlin, 1963); T. Goell, “The Excavation of the ‘Hierothesion’ of Antiochus I of Commagene on Nemrud Dag (1953–1956)”, *BASOR* CXLVII (1947), 4–22.

² Oswyn Murray, “Ozymandias, King of Kings”, *The Classical Review* LXXX (Oxford, 1966), 108.

The decisive event in the history of eastern Asia Minor is Pompey's defeat in 62 B.C. of Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus, and his allies, which included the kings of Cappadocia and Commagene. For forty years Mithridates had carried on much more than a local war. He had co-ordinated his fighting with various crises in Italy and the rest of the Roman world. Because he understood his struggle in world-wide terms (that is, in terms of the Mediterranean), Mithridates foresaw his defeat would mean the spread of Roman power from the Ocean to Pontus. But this did not occur immediately after 62 B.C.: it took something like a century for the effects of the Roman victory in 62 B.C. to show themselves to be irreversible.

After the defeat of Mithridates no king held sway over the lands and peoples which Mithridates had led. Rome annexed part of Pontus; in other parts it recognized the rule of dynasts and independent cities. Some years after Pompey's settlement a monarchy arose in eastern Pontus which survived until A.D. 64. In contrast to Pontus the kings in Cappadocia and Commagene survived; after 62 B.C. as clients but not satellites of Rome they depended to some extent on Rome's endorsement.

On suspicion or pretext – the reasons are not entirely clear – that the king of Cappadocia was conspiring with the king of Parthia, Tiberius annexed Cappadocia in A.D. 14. In A.D. 64 Rome annexed eastern Pontus. For the first time she ruled the whole southern shore of the Black Sea up to the Caucasus. Intent on asserting his own authority and the authority of Rome both at home and abroad after the victory in the civil war which had made him emperor, Vespasian allowed his commander in Syria to attack and annex Commagene and Armenia Minor in A.D. 72. His intent appears to have been to fix the Roman frontier on the Euphrates. The dynasties which claimed descent from the Achaemenians were no more.

Rome's direct assertion of her rule over eastern Asia Minor brought the West closer to these lands. Impressed by the difficulty of supplying troops during the Armenian War of 58–64, Vespasian and his successors had roads built in Pontus and Cappadocia so that the troops on the Euphrates could be easily supplied. Without rulers claiming descent from the Achaemenians Cappadocia, Pontus and Commagene still experienced something like cultural unity with deeply Iranized Armenia and with Parthia. But without political expression this culture probably grew to misunderstand itself.¹

¹ F. Cumont, "The Frontier Provinces of the East", *CAH* xi, pp. 606–13.

KINGS OF PONTUS

Mithridates dynast of Cius	337/6-302/1 B.C.
Mithridates I	302/1-266/5
Ariobarzanes	266/5-c. 255
Mithridates II	c. 225-c. 220
Mithridates III	c. 220-c. 185
Pharnaces I	c. 185-c. 170
Mithridates IV Philopator Philadelphus	c. 170-c. 150
Mithridates V Euergetes	c. 150-121/0
Mithridates VI Eupator	c. 121/0-63
Pharnaces II (ruler of the Cimmerian Bosphorus)	63-47
Darius	39-37?

KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA

Ariarathes III (first ruler to assert independence)	255/1-220
Ariathes IV Eusebes	220-c. 162
Ariathes V Eusebes Philopator	c. 163-c. 130
Ariarathes VI Epiphanes Philopator	c. 120-c. 111
Ariarathes VII Philometor	c. 111-c. 100
Ariarathes Eusebes Philopator (son of Mithridates VI of Pontus)	c. 100-c. 88
Ariarathes VIII	c. 96
End of dynasty. Cappadocians elect a noble, Ariobarzanes, king	
Ariobarzanes I Philoromaïos	c. 95-c. 62
Ariobarzanes II Philopator	62-c. 54
Ariobarzanes III Eusebes Philoromaïos	c. 54-42
Ariarathes IX	42-36
Archelaus	36-A.D. 17

KINGS OF COMMAGENE

Ptolemaeus (asserts independence of Syria in about 163/2 B.C.)	c. 163/2-c. 130
Samus II Theosebes Dikaïos	c. 130-c. 100
Mithridates I Callinicus	c. 100-c. 70
Antiochos I Theos Dikaïos Epiphanes Philoromaïos Philhellen	c. 70-c. 35
Mithridates II	c. 31
Antiochos II (did not reign)	died 29
Mithridates III	c. 20
Antiochos III	died A.D. 17
(With his death Commagene annexed by Rome)	
Antiochos IV	A.D. 38-72

The above lists are compiled from E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London, 1968), 164-5; see also G. Perl, "Zur Chronologie der Königreiche Bithynia, Pontos und Bosphoros," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Philosophie des Altertums*, ed. J. Harmatta (Amsterdam, 1968), 299-330.

CHAPTER 27 (a)

MANICHAËISM AND ITS IRANIAN BACKGROUND

I. MĀNĪ'S LIFE

Mānī, the founder of Manichaeism, was born in A.D. 216 in the village of Mardinu in the Babylonian district of Nahr Kūthā.¹ His parents, however, were both of Iranian nationality. His father Pātik was an Arsacid prince,² his mother belonged to the Kamsarakan family, a branch of the Arsacid dynasty.³ His mother's name is given in various ways in the sources, but may possibly have been Maryam⁴ which would indicate that she was either of Jewish, or more probably, Christian confession. Pātik, who had been living in Hamadān, the capital of Media, had left this city and moved to Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire where many Iranian nobles possessed houses and palaces. Because of a revelation which he received in what is called a "House of idols", ordering him to abstain from eating meat, drinking wine, and having commerce with women, Pātik left the capital and attached himself to a sect in Mesene whose members were called "practitioners of ablutions" (*al-mughtasila*).⁵

It is difficult to identify the sect to which Pātik belonged. The Syriac writer Theodor bar Kōnai designates its members as "those who purify themselves" or as "(wearing) white garments". The Manichaean writings in Coptic tell us that Mani says that "the chaste", who are the same as "the baptizers",⁶ venerate the First Life and the Second Life. The text then breaks off, but there is a remarkable coincidence here with

¹ Bīrūnī, text, p. 208, ll. 7ff; trans., p. 190.

² Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, pp. 327-8.

³ For the name Pātik see K. Rudolph, "Die Bedeutung des Kölner Mani-Codex für die Manichäismuskforschung", in P. Levy and E. Wolff (eds.), *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris, 1974), p. 474, n. 2. For the name Kamsarakan see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 154. For the descent of Mani's mother from the Kamsarakan family, cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* XI (1943), p. 52 n. 4.

⁴ Various names are given in *Fihrist*, p. 327, ll. 30ff; trans., p. 773. According to the ms C the name was Maryam.

⁵ *Fihrist*, p. 328, l. 5; trans., p. 774. [Cf. H. W. Bailey's note on p. 907, from which it appears that in Mid. Pers. they were called Maktak (*mktky* in Kartīr's inscription on the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht).]

⁶ *Kephalaia*, p. 44, l. 27 calls them *katharioi*, a name reminiscent of the mediaeval sect of the Kathars.

the oldest layer of Mandaean literature, where we find, as designations of the three highest principles, the First Life, the Second Life, and the Third Life. Therefore it has often been assumed that the baptist sect in question was the Mandaean sect, which had its centre precisely in Mesene. Although sexual ascetism was not a characteristic trait of Mandaeism, we find in their writings many exhortations against gluttony, drunkenness, and lust. Thus we find many points of similarity between Mandaean ethics and the ascetic life practised by Pātik. The religion of the Mandaeans is heterogenous in its traditions and it is quite possible that it had its origin among these gnostic baptists, a group with marked ascetic tendencies.

A recent discovery of a Greek papyrus, however, would seem to speak against the hypothesis that Mani was brought up in Mandaean surroundings, for it gives evidence that Mani belonged to the sect of the Elkesaites; this gnostic movement is rather fragmentarily known and its founder is an enigmatic figure.¹ Some characteristics, however, stand out clearly, betraying the Jewish-Christian origin of the Elkesaites: circumcision and celebration of the sabbath, as well as condemnation of the apostle Paul. These traits run counter to the essential doctrines of Manichaeism. Other traits, however, show agreement with the teachings of Mani, e.g. the practise of vegetarianism, the contention that Christian scriptures contain false pericopes and the criticism levelled against the Mosaic law.² Probably the truth is that there was merged into Mandaeism a group of baptists with at least partly Elkesaite doctrines. This is demonstrated by a passage in the Mandaean liturgies,³ where the seven witnesses required at baptism are in exact agreement with the number in Elkesaism.⁴

The Greek papyrus is a composite text, partly a collection of Mani's autobiographical sayings, transmitted by some pupils, partly a series of biographical notices narrated in the third person, and partly secondary enlargements concerned with the bringers of revelation before Mani. The chronological arrangement is obviously the work of the compiler or editor. Full of legendary traits, the biography is seemingly written

¹ Cf. G. Strecker, s.v. "Elkesai" in *RAC* iv, cols 1171ff.

² Cf. also H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums* (Tübingen, 1949), p. 330, where a better survey is given than in *RAC*.

³ Cf. Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, xxi, pp. 31-4; Drower, *The Canonical Prayer Book of the Mandaeans*, pp. 16-18.

⁴ Observed by R. Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1929), p. 10, with reference to Hippolytus ix.15.5.

more with the intention of emphasizing certain aspects of Manichaeism than relating the events in Mani's life. The manner of exposition is much more abstract than in the fragments of the prophet's autobiography found elsewhere, e.g. in the *Fibrist*, in the Coptic Homilies or in the Turfan texts. From these scattered fragments we are able to reconstruct at least some periods of Mani's life.

From his fourth year Mani was brought up in a gnostic baptismal environment. At the age of 12 years, in the year A.D. 228, he received a revelation from a celestial being, the "Twin", his higher ego. The message was: "Leave this congregation! Thou dost not belong to its community. The keeping aloof from impurity, the abandonment of passions are thy task. Yet, because of thy youth the time is not come to appear in public."¹ On this occasion a full revelation of the hidden mystery was imparted to Mani.² The Greek papyrus does not say that Mani obeyed the command to leave the baptismal community to which he belonged; on the contrary it tells us that he still adhered to the Elkesaites and tried to carry through a reform which provoked his exclusion from this congregation. This is confirmed by Theodor bar Kōnai,³ but we do not know when this event took place. When Mani was 24 years old he was visited anew by the heavenly being, who greeted him thus: "Peace upon thee, Mani, from me and from the Lord who sent me to thee, and elected thee to His Apostolate."⁴

Mani's message to mankind particularly emphasised truth, which he had been commanded to spread. Truth (Arabic *al-ḥaqq*, Greek *alētheia*, Syriac *qushtā*, Mandaean *kuštā*) was for the Mandaeans the very essence of religion.⁵ Behind the Mandaean conception of Truth we can trace the Iranian doctrine of Asha, the Amesha Spenta who personifies Truth.⁶ The expression "the paths of Truth", first seen in the Gathas,⁷ occurs in Mandaean texts (*dirkeia d'kušta*)⁸ and in Manichaean literature.⁹ In the Manichaean religion the notion of "Truth" as a designation of Mani's message plays a central rôle.¹⁰

Between the revelation in A.D. 228 and that in 240 Mani, according to the Greek papyrus, received a series of visions and auditions, through

¹ *Fibrist*, p. 328, ll. 12ff.

² *Kephalaia*, p. 14, ll. 31ff.

³ Pognon, p. 123, ll. 15ff.

⁴ *Fibrist*, p. 328, l. 16; trans., p. 775.

⁵ A synonymous term in both Syriac and Mandaic is *sh'rārā*.

⁶ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 47.

⁷ Yasna 33.5; Nyberg, *Religionen*, p. 132.

⁸ *Mandäische Liturgien*, pp. 77, 128, 136.

⁹ Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 5.5; 47. 13, 20ff.

¹⁰ Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, pp. 69ff.

which were communicated to him the doctrines that he was ordered to preach. The account given in *Kephalaia* (p. 15), according to which he received all the content of his teaching at his call in 240, may be styled "telescoped history", for it is highly improbable that all his system was clear to him at once – without any development at all of his thinking. Because of the command given by his "Twin" Mani proclaimed his message to his father and other members of his family.¹ This notice is important because it demonstrates that Pātik had retained contact with his relatives. Thus it was possible, it would seem, for Mani to find influential supporters in the upper circles of Iranian society.

In the fragments of Mani's autobiography we read: "At the close of King Ardashīr's years I set out to preach. I sailed to the land of the Indians. I preached to them the hope of life and I selected there a good selection."² Probably Mani's voyage did not take him further than the Sasanian provinces of Makrān and Tūrān in southeastern Iran, and parts of northwestern India, at that time belonging to the Kushān kingdom and having the Sasanian King of Kings as its suzerain.³ In these regions Parthian culture and political influence had been strong since 130 B.C. It is possible that Mani's voyage was inspired by the example set by the Apostle Thomas according to the "Acts of Thomas". It was, however, not Christianity but Buddhism that dominated religious life in the Kushān kingdom. Here Mani must have received impressions of Buddhist doctrines, organization, and propaganda.

Mani returned to the western provinces after about a year, in 241–2, when Ardashīr died and his son Shāpūr succeeded him.⁴ He sailed to the province of Pārs and then went to Mesene. It was probably on this occasion that Mani had his strange meeting with Mihrshāh, a brother of Shāpūr and governor of Mesene. Mani succeeded in effecting the conversion of this prince, according to the prophet's legendary biography, thanks to his miraculous power.⁵ In the following period Mani developed a remarkable missionary activity in the provinces of Asōristān, Māh, and Parthav, starting on the day of Shāpūr's coronation.⁶ Tradition tells us that at his first public appearance Mani was accompanied by his father and two disciples, Simeon and Zakkō. The *Fihrist* states that

¹ Text M 49, II V in Andreas-Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica II", p. 308.

² *Kephalaia*, p. 15, ll. 24–27.

³ Cf. G. Widengren, "The Establishment of the Sasanian Dynasty in the light of new evidence", in *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), pp. 746ff.

⁴ *Kephalaia*, p. 15, ll. 27–31.

⁵ Text M 47, in Müller, "Handschriften-Reste II", pp. 82ff.

⁶ *Fihrist*, p. 328, ll. 17ff; trans., p. 775.

Mani obtained his first audience with Shāpūr after 40 years of missionary activity, which is obviously wrong; probably the figure 40 is a corruption of 4.¹ The audience was secured for Mani by the king's brother Pērōz, whom he had converted.² *Kephalaia* lxxvi tells us that at his second audience Mani exposed his doctrine to the Great King. It was probably on this occasion that he presented the ruler with his book *Shāpūrakān*, written in Middle Persian and, as the name indicates, dedicated to Shāpūr. At Mani's request Shāpūr granted that his doctrines, which had met resistance on the part of the Iranian authorities, should be freely preached in the lands of the empire. Moreover, the ruler honoured Mani and made him a member of his *comitatus*, his personal following. As a royal retainer Mani accompanied Shāpūr in his wars against the Romans – "he fought at his side", says Alexander of Lykopolis,³ – of course not in a literal sense. And Mani himself states that he spent several years with Shāpūr among his retinue.⁴ In the following years Mani visited again the provinces of Pārs and Parthav and the borderlands of the Roman empire, but it is significant that he did not extend his personal missionary activity outside Iran;⁵ his propaganda as far as he himself was concerned was concentrated on the Sasanian empire. At this time there was no state religion in Iran, for the Zoroastrian religion had not yet acquired that status.⁶ But the process leading up to that result had already started and its chief instigator, the fire-priest Kartēr, was also in the company of Shāpūr on his expeditions in the West, establishing wherever possible new fire-temples in old Iranian provinces, now temporarily reconquered.⁷ There can be no doubt that Kartēr and Mani both cherished the ambition of creating a state church in the Sasanian empire.

After a certain time Mani decided to propagate his doctrines outside the Sasanian empire, as a world religion. From Vēh-Ardashīr he planned missionary ventures in the West and entrusted the organization to Addai, one of his chief pupils.⁸ Within the Iranian empire, still his chief concern, he directed his propaganda to the eastern provinces, using

¹ Cf. Honigsmann and Maricq, *Recherches*, pp. 25ff. The position taken in Widengren, *Mani*, p. 30 now seems improbable for chronological reasons.

² *Fihrist*, p. 328, ll. 26ff; trans., p. 776.

³ *Contra Manichaeos*, 4, 20; *Kephalaia* p. 15, ll. 31ff; p. 183, ll. 13ff.

⁴ *Manichäische Homilien*, p. 48, ll. 2ff.

⁵ *Kephalaia*, p. 16, ll. 1ff.

⁶ Cf. S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Lund, 1946), pp. 23ff and Widengren, *Religionen*, pp. 243–5, 274 and *Mani*, pp. 31ff.

⁷ Inscription of Kartēr on Ka'ba-yi Zardusht, ll. 11–13.

⁸ Text M 2 R I 9–33 in Andreas-Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica II", pp. 301–2.

as his base the province of Ḥulwān. Under the leadership of Mār Ammō, another of Mani's most prominent disciples, Mani sent to Abarshahr (Nishāpūr) a delegation of missionaries which included the Parthian prince Ardavān. Mār Ammō reached the great province of Khurāsān, the homeland of the Parthians, where Parthian was the dominant language; Mār Ammō therefore had to master it and its script. Thus Mani himself initiated the transmission of his doctrines in Parthian. From then on Khurāsān became the stronghold of Manichaeism and the point of departure for far-reaching missionary enterprises in Central Asia. Addai led a third undertaking in the years 261-2, directed towards Karkā d'Bēt Selōk in the province of Bēt Garmai, east of the Tigris. The Syriac acts of the Persian martyrs testify to the success of this mission for they heap abuses on the activities of Addai and his assistant Abddakyā.¹

Mani's own activity is described in a hate-filled and distorted form in the Christian *Acta Archelai*. Here he is described as dressed in a colourful costume with an ebony cane in his hand and carrying "a Babylonian book".² This is exactly the dress and appearance of the two Mithras magi on the wall paintings of the mithraeum at Dura-Europos. Because of his appearance the *Acta Archelai* actually call him a priest of Mithras.³ They also record Mani's rather heated conversation with the Mithras priests;⁴ their indignation is not surprising if he had usurped the position of a Mithras magus. The same source also makes it clear that Mani gained strong support in the border regions of north-western Iran, where the frontier fortress of Arabion (Arewān) is mentioned. This part of Iran was a centre of Mithra worship.⁵ During this period of his life Mani evidently tried to associate himself with Mithraism; so we may call it his Mithraic period. Of the baptist-Mandaean period only traces are left in his system.

Shāpūr I died in April 273 and was succeeded by his son Hormizd I. Mani obtained from the new ruler the same permission to preach his religion that Shāpūr had granted him.⁶ Hormizd, however, lived to reign for only a single year. Mani had gone to Babylonia and it was there that he received the news of the accession of Bahrām I. Mani must have felt that the new ruler was hostile to him for it is said that Mani

¹ Hoffman, *Auszüge*, p. 46. 9.

² *Ibid.*, xl. 7.

³ *Acta Archelai*, xiv. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, lxiii.

⁵ See Widengren, *Religionen*, pp. 223ff, cf. p. 36; for Arewān, cf. T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* XLIV (1890), p. 399.

⁶ *Homilien*, pp. 42, ll. 15-30; 48.

intended to leave Iran and go to the Kushān kingdom, where he evidently counted on protection. But there arrived a royal decree prohibiting the visit.

In the year 276 Mani was ordered to present himself before Bahrām at the royal residence of Bēt Lapat. Mani's arrival there on a Sunday seems to have created great sensation. A fragmentary document in Parthian says that "Kardēr, the mōbad, took counsel with the 'helpers' who did service before the king and envy and wiles were in their hearts."¹ Kartēr, the leader of the Zoroastrian fire-priests, was Mani's great enemy; he had allied himself with the influential nobles who were the king's most intimate courtiers. The Coptic texts describe the action taken by Mani's enemies at the court. They composed a bill of impeachment and submitted it to the king. Before reaching him, however, it had to pass various channels. First the magi brought their complaint to Kartēr, who in turn told the *synkātbedros*.² Then these two persons went and informed the *magistor*.³ Lastly the *magistor* told the king. When the king had heard the accusation he summoned Mani before him⁴ and addressed him with the ominous words: "You are not welcome!" Mani asked: "Why? Have I done anything evil?" The king in an outburst of rage directed a series of reproaches against Mani for the ethics followed by him and his disciples; the Manichaean aversion to chase and war was especially displeasing to the king. Mani tried to defend himself, pointing to the services he had rendered as a physician and exorcist.⁵ On this fateful occasion Mani was not alone but was accompanied by three followers, Nūhzādag the interpreter, Kushtāiā the scribe, and Abzākyā the Persian. The last two men are well known as trusted disciples of Mani. We do not know whether Nūhzādag was present in his capacity as interpreter or as a friend and disciple. If the first alternative is correct it should be remembered that Mani, being of Parthian origin, was able to speak the Parthian dialect, but not Middle Persian, the language of the Sasanian state and its rulers.⁶ The animated scene ended with Bahrām's order to arrest and fetter Mani. He was kept in prison from 19 January to 14 February. He was, however, allowed to

¹ Text T II D 163; see W. B. Henning, "Mani's Last Journey", *BSOAS* x (1942), pp. 948 ff.

² The exact meaning of this term is not known, cf. Klima, *Manis Zeit*, p. 371.

³ The exact meaning of this term is not known, cf. Klima *ibid*.

⁴ *Homilien*, p. 45, ll. 14-19.

⁵ M. 3. Henning, *op. cit*.

⁶ The text M 47 seems to take it for granted that Mani was able to speak with the Sasanian prince Mihrshāh without an interpreter.

receive his disciples and give them his instructions. Mār Ammō transmitted these to the community. On the fourth day of the month Shahrēvar his strength was exhausted and he passed away.¹

II. MANI'S SYSTEM

Mani's doctrines were presented in a collection of his own writings, constituting a canon. Only fragments are preserved but from them and from secondary sources his system can be reconstructed without difficulty. The book (I) *Shāpūrakān*, probably the oldest of Mani's writings, is the only book written by him in an Iranian language. All his other books were written in Syriac, at that time the dominating literary language of Mesopotamia. Mani developed a special kind of Syriac script, similar to both the Edessene and the Mandaean manner of writing. The books in Syriac are (II) "The Living Gospel", (III) "The Treasure of Life", (IV) "Pragmateia" (of which hardly anything is known), (V) "The Book of Mysteries", (VI) "The Book of the Giants", and (VII) "The Letters". Of the Manichaean non-canonical writings of a doctrinal nature the *Kephalaia* are the most important, claiming to be a record of Mani's teaching, often in conversation with his disciples.

The main structure of Mani's system is the same in all sources and only small traces of development of his thought are discernible. It is, for example, easy to discover traces of his baptist-gnostic period and his association with Mandaean circles, above all in nomenclature. But it is even easier to find a marked trend towards a rather superficial christianization, aiming at presenting the Manichaean doctrines as an esoteric interpretation of Christianity. In reality, however, Mani's system always remained a gnostic-theosophic structure, not only independent of Christianity, but actually diametrically opposed to it in its attitude to God, world, and man.

The system is expressed both in a mythical and in an abstract-philosophical form, the latter, however, never being able to liberate itself completely from its mythical presuppositions. The expositions of Manichaeism, because of its two aspects, fall into two groups: one presenting the system in a concrete form and with the help of mythical plasticity, the other giving a more intellectual form to its doctrines, trying to throw off the mythical garb, but never being entirely successful. As typical representatives of the first group may be mentioned

¹ *Homilien*, pp. 46-67. For a complete list of references to literature concerning Mani's last days, see Puech, *Manichéisme*, p. 141, n. 225.

Theodor bar Kōnai, the author of *Acta Archelai*, and Ibn al-Nadīm, while the second group is represented by Alexander of Lykopolis and, in a less extreme form, by Titus of Bostra and Augustine.

The essential problem that Mani tried to solve was the existence of Evil and the situation of Man as dependent on the existence of Evil. In accordance with his Iranian and gnostic background he took a strict dualistic view of the universe, a dualism which, although appearing to be radical, on closer examination reveals some traces of a monistic conception. One of the two fundamental dogmatic ideas of Manichaeism is that of "the Two Principles" (Middle Iranian *dō bun*), God and Matter (called *hyle*, a Greek loan-word in Syriac). They are uncreated and exist from eternity, being classified as "natures", "substances" or "roots"; the third designation has a mythical colour associated with the Middle Iranian word *bun*, which means not only "root", but also "foundation" and "principle", and is used so in cosmological Zoroastrian texts. The two principles, though both uncreated and defined as diametrically opposed one to another, as Good and Evil, Truth and Lie, Light and Darkness, nevertheless do not exist at the same level, for only the good principle is called "God", whereas the evil principle is classified a "Demon".¹ In Middle Iranian this terminology reflects the opposition between *bag* (Parthian) or *bai* (Persian) or *yazd*, and *dēv*. This distinction means that the Good is superior to the Evil, as is the case in Zurvanism.² The same relation between Good and Evil is indicated by Alexander of Lykopolis (v.1), who says that God is possessed of more good than Hyle of evil.

Mani's system had as its starting point the Iranian mythical idea of a constant fight between two opposing principles: Ōhrmazd (Ahura Mazdā) and Ahriman (Ahra Mainyu). They were primeval twins and of them Ōhrmazd had chosen Good, but Ahriman Evil.³ In the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian languages, however, the highest god, the Principle of Good, is not called Ōhrmazd, but Zurvān. This fact brings us back to Zurvanism and its myth about the twins Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, the sons of Zurvān.⁴ It is to be noted that Ōhrmazd was the overlord (*pātixšāy*), whereas Ahriman only occupied a position of lord (*šāh*). Zurvanism accordingly tends to modify

¹ Cf. e.g. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx. 1.

² Cf. *Bundahishn*, chapter 1, and "The Selections of Zātspram", chapter 1.

³ Yasna 30.

⁴ For the myth about Zurvān, Ōhrmazd and Ahriman cf. Nyberg, *Religionen*, pp. 381ff, 392ff, and Widengren, *Religionen*, pp. 215ff, 283ff. [See also pp. 898ff, 938.]

dualism in a monistic direction, above all by posing Zurvān as a Principle elevated above the two hostile sons, but also by making Ōhrmazd superior to his twin-brother Ahriman, over whom he triumphs in the end. In what follows we shall find the same conditions prevailing in Manichaeism. While Mani takes Zurvanism as the basis of his system at the same time he appears as a reformer of it. Zurvanism had its centre in Media, where Mani had his most faithful supporters, and the *Acta Archelai*, as we have seen, give an account of how Mani was in conflict with the Median Magi, the adherents of Zurvanism. In his attempt at reforming their religion Mani rejected the doctrine that the good and evil gods are (twin) brothers.¹

In Mani's system the substance of the highest god is light, which is both his own essence and the sphere of his kingdom. He was therefore also called "the Father of Light". This designation does not mean, however, that he had generated light, or created it. The kingdom of light and the sons of light mentioned in the sources are coexistent with "the Father of Light".² Here again we find a pantheistic trait just as in Zurvanism, where Zurvān brought forth the universe from his own body, being both Father and Mother.³ The "earth of light", surrounded by an "ether of light", is composed of God's five "dwellings", which are of an intellectual quality: mind (sense), reason, thought, deliberation, and intuition. Burkitt (p. 33) gives the Syriac expressions with some different translations: the word *baumā* should be rendered "mind" instead of "sense", because it is the equivalent of *Nous*; the word *maddē'ā*, "reason", could also be rendered "knowledge", *gnosis*, because of Mandaean parallels; and the term *mahshabtā* is best rendered "deliberation" rather than "imagination". The term "dwelling" is found also in Jewish and Mandaean texts. The term "Father of Greatness" points in the same direction, for both in Qumran and Mandaean writings we come across the expression "the Lord of Greatness". God's person has three aspects: his light, his force, and his wisdom;⁴ with God himself these three attributes constitute the four "greatnesses". The tetrad God corresponds exactly with the Zurvanite idea

¹ Cf. *X'āstānīst* I C 3-4; text M 28 in Müller, "Handschriften-Reste II", p. 94.

² When the Manichaean Felix says (Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, I. 17) *pater qui generavit lucis filios*, this cannot be understood in a literal sense, cf. Baur, *Manichäische Religionsystem*, pp. 41 ff.

³ Cf. Widengren, *op. cit.*, pp. 288 ff and Nyberg, "Cosmogonie et cosmologie", pt. 1, pp. 220-1 (text and trans. from *Bundahishn*, chapter 1); Ōhrmazd has acquired the position of *mātarib* and *pitarib*, being bi-sexual like his father Zurvan as the Christians say in their polemics.

⁴ *Fihrist*, p. 333, ll. 4-12; trans., p. 789.

of the four-fold deity, a totality of his three aspects of light, force, and wisdom with his own ego.¹ The dwellings of God could also be conceived of as being his "limbs", thus testifying to the pantheistic background of the Manichaean idea of God. The intelligible body in Iranian religion corresponds with the Amesha Spentas, who exist both as divine attributes and as entities outside God. The same correspondence is found in the evolution of the universe. For light as the realm of God's kingdom we should compare the Iranian idea that God's throne is the "endless light", *asar rōšnīb*.²

God is rather a principle than a person and this conception is in conformity with the Zurvanite idea of the highest deity, which is more abstract than concrete. The kingdom of light is without limits in three directions: the North, the East, and the West, but in the South it borders on the kingdom of "the Prince of Darkness", in Middle Iranian texts called Ahrmēn, the personal representative of Hyle. His kingdom is divided into five regions, also called "caves". In the upper cave lives the Evil Prince himself together with the bipeds, and other species of animals occupy successive levels, with reptiles in the lowest region. In his disgusting appearance the Prince of Darkness represents a combination of all the various animals. The description of him in the *Fihrist*³ agrees with the image of the Evil Power in Mandaean literature and is obviously a Mandaean heritage in Manichaeism. In view of the many loans from Mandaean terminology and symbols the opposite view (represented by Puech) is impossible to accept.

In the Kingdom of Darkness, in contrast to the peaceful harmony reigning in the Kingdom of Light, there was constant agitation, the evil inhabitants chasing one another in a frenzy, up and down, hither and thither. In the midst of this turbulence the Prince of Darkness once rose to the height of his kingdom and saw the rays of light coming from above. From below he and his followers looked into the realms of light and created confusion and terror among the five dwellings of light. The Iranian origin of this idea of an attack on the part of the Evil Power is found, as was noted long ago,⁴ in Zurvanism, and attested in *Bundahišn*, chapter 1 and "Selections of Zātspram", chapter 1, both of

¹ Cf. Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen*, pp. 133-46; Nyberg, "Cosmogonie et cosmologie", pt. 2, pp. 47ff; Widengren, *Mani*, pp. 46ff (on p. 47 read *vehib* instead of *vahib*).

² Cf. the beginning of *Bundahišn*, cap. 1, where originally it presumably was *Zamān i akanārah* ("the infinite Time") who dwelt in the highest light.

³ P. 329, ll. 11ff; trans. p. 778; *Kephalaia* p. 30 l. 34-p. 31, l. 2; p. 77, l. 26-p. 78, l. 3.

⁴ Cf. Baur, pp. 416ff; Widengren, *Mani*, p. 48.

which are Pahlavi texts based on lost Avestan originals.¹ The difference lies in the fact that the opponent of the Evil Spirit is not the highest God, Zurvān, but his son Ōhrmazd. We shall soon see that this deviation from the Zurvanite system is more apparent than real. The Father of Greatness took measures to meet the attack and as his five dwellings were unfit for fight he decided to go himself and conduct the war.² This point is important because it demonstrates the intimate relation between Manichaeism and Zurvanism. The Father of Greatness "called" (Syriac *q̄rā*, the same term as *qrā*, used in Mandaean literature) the Mother of Life, corresponding to the female deity found in Zurvanism as the paredros of Zurvān. The Mother of Life presupposes both a Father of Life and "Life" as their son, but we observe that Mani uses other terms instead. The term "Life" is characteristic of Mandacism, but is also a key-word in Iranian religion, met with even in the Gathas.³

The Mother of Life "called" Primordial Man, who thus became the Son of the Mother of Life—and ultimately of the Father of Greatness. In a Manichaean poem he is greeted as the son of the Mother.⁴ In fact he is the First Life—to use a well-known Mandaean term. Primordial Man proceeded into battle, clad in his armour, his five light elements: air, wind, light, water, and fire. They constituted his proper ego and could therefore symbolically be called his five "sons". We see that Primordial Man stands for the universe, his ego represented by the five elements of the world, the Amesha Spentas (M. Pers. *amābraspandān*), an old Iranian conception. The battle was lost; Primordial Man was defeated by the Prince of Darkness and his host and robbed of his armour; according to another symbolic expression, his five sons were devoured by the demons. This defeat was nevertheless the prelude to final victory, for it was intentional. The light elements became a deadly poison for matter. Darkness had introduced into itself a substance that was insupportable, being of an essentially different nature. This event is a turning point in the evolution of the universe, for now for the first time Light and Darkness are intermingled. This mixed state, as we shall see, must return to an unmixed existence; Light and Darkness must be separated. The key-

¹ Cf. Widengren, "Zervanitische Texte". [For a comparative table of the ideas of Manichaeism and Zurvanite-Zoroastrian religion see Ch. 22 pp. 859f.]

² Theodor bar Kōnai, in Pognon, p. 127, ll. 16ff.

³ Yasna 28.11, 33.1, 43.5, 48.6 (only these passages are sure; correct Widengren, *Mani*, p. 49) speak of "the First Life", a well-known Mandaean term, the significance of which is uncertain.

⁴ Text M 33 R II 68–83, 88–98 in Andreas-Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica III", p. 877; cf. Widengren, "Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule", col. 546.

words, *gumēxtan*, to mingle, and *vičārdan*, to separate, occur in Zurvanite texts with the same meanings, associated both in Manichaeism and Zurvanism with "the world" (*gētīg*). This idea is central to both Manichaeism and Zurvanism.

It is difficult to find an exact Iranian counterpart of Manichaean Primordial Man, but corresponding descriptions of the defeat and suffering of Primordial Man are not lacking. First of all it should be stated that in Middle Iranian texts Primordial Man is designated as Ōhrmazd.¹ This fact directs our attention to Vendidad 22, a product of the Zurvanite Magi in Media. Here we find that Ahura Mazdā is said to have been bewitched by Ahra Mainyu (Ahriman), who sent myriads of sicknesses against him. Ahura Mazdā is saved by the messenger Narisah (Nēryōsang), who is sent to Airyaman, and he effects the healing of Ahura Mazdā. A fragment of a similar mythic tale is found in both the *Bundahišn* and "The Selections of Zātspram". Here, however, not Ōhrmazd but Gayōmart, the Primordial Man, is attacked by Ahriman, who sends all the diseases against him, killing him. This is done after a battle fought by Gayōmart against the Powers of Evil.² The coincidence with Manichaean ideas is clear: in both religions Primordial Man is attacked by the Evil Power and finally defeated, in Manichaeism suffering, in Zurvanism being killed.

The blow suffered by Primordial Man was formidable. When he awoke to consciousness he was lying far down in the abyss of darkness, fettered and surrounded by dreadful beasts and demons. He sent up a prayer for help and it had an immediate effect. The Father of Greatness "called" a second creation into being: the Friend of Light, who "called" the Great Builder, who "called" the Living Spirit. Of these deities the third is the most important because he is the active helper of Primordial Man; he extended his right hand to Primordial Man, who seized it and was drawn up out of darkness into the kingdom of light.

The light elements were still in the possession of Matter and therefore had to be rescued and brought back to the world of light. This task was carried out by the Living Spirit, in Middle Iranian called Mihryazd, the god Mithra. He was the creator of the visible world for he caught the "Archons", the demons of darkness, flayed them and made the Sky from their skins, mountains of their bones, and the earth of their excrement. Then the Living Spirit proceeded to the task of liberation

¹ Andreas-Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica I and II", glossaries.

² Cf. the texts quoted, reconstructed and analysed in Widengren, "Primordial Man" and "The Death of Gayōmart".

of light elements. Those still unpolluted he used for creating sun and moon. Those particles of light which had been sullied to a minor degree he transformed into stars.

The correspondence here to Iranian mythic cosmology may be inferred from passages in Zoroastrian Pahlavi books.¹ The fact that these luminaries are created from the bodies of the Archons is due to the correspondence of macrocosmos and microcosmos, so prominent in Iranian speculation. The whole background needs, however, further elucidation.² Those particles which had been befouled by mixing with darkness needed for their recovery a complicated procedure: the Father of Greatness "called" into being a third series of emanations, among which the most important representative was the Third Messenger, in Iranian tradition mostly bearing the name of Narisah (Mid. Pers.) or Narisaf (Mid. Parth.). The Third Messenger was the father of the twelve Virgins of Light, who are the twelve signs of the zodiac. An ingenious machinery was set up: a cosmic wheel, resembling a water-wheel, draws up the particles of light to the moon and from there to the sun. The rescued particles of light rise in a pillar of light, "the column of glory", towards the moon which during the first half of the month is filled with particles of light and during the second half of the month is emptied, when these particles are conducted from the moon to the sun and thence to the paradise of light. Hence the waxing and waning of the moon.

Behind these conceptions, extremely naive to the scientific mind, there lie old Indo-Iranian ideas concerning purification of the human soul by the ascent to the lunar and solar spheres. The ascension of particles of light may be compared to the passage in *Kauṣītaki-Upanishad* 1.2. In Iranian religion we note the successive ascent to the spheres of stars, moon and sun which is found in older Iranian eschatology. The idea of a column of light on the other hand reflects the well-known notion in late Antiquity of the Milky Way being composed of ascending souls.³

The Third Messenger sailed in his vessel of light, the moon, across the vault of heaven and showed himself to the fettered demons. To the male Archons he displayed the naked feminine aspect of his body in the shape of a Virgin of Light, but to the female Archons he came in his

¹ Cf. *Bundahišn* ed. Anklesaria, p. 28, l. 10; uncontaminated stars were created; above these the moon was installed, and above the moon the sun, cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 148.

² Cf. *Bundahišn*, p. 189, ll. 3ff.

³ Cf. F. Cumont, *After-Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven, Conn., 1923), pp. 94, 104, 152ff.

solar form as a naked youth. Accordingly he is conceived of as a hermaphroditic being. It was long ago demonstrated that Mani in this case too used a Zurvanite myth in which Narsē played the central rôle in the same function as Narisah/Narisaf in Mani's system.¹ It is significant that behind both the Manichaean and Zurvanite myths we meet with the same antipathy to sexuality and procreation. This tendency actually dominates Zurvanism along with its emphasis on next-of-kin marriage. In their sexual excitement the male Archons discharged the particles of light as sperms, which fell upon earth, which in its turn brought forth plants containing a high percentage of light, a circumstance of importance for Manichaean ethics as expressed in dietary rules. The female Archons, already pregnant, bore their offspring prematurely at the sight of Narisah's beauty. Thrown to earth, these new-born monsters devoured the buds and thus assimilated the particles of light present there. Such are the implications of the "Seduction of the Archons", a myth especially provoking the anger of the Christian Fathers, engaged in polemic against the Manichaean doctrines.

Matter naturally wished to retain as much as possible of the light still remaining with her. In the person of "Concupiscence" (Middle Iranian *Āz*) she conceived an ingenious plan; choosing a male demon, *Ashqalūn*, and a female one, *Namrāēl*, to put it into action: *Ashqalūn* swallowed all the male monsters, while *Namrāēl* ate all the female ones. In that way all the light particles present in the Archontic abortions were concentrated in the demonic couple. Then *Ashqalūn* had intercourse with *Namrāēl* and these two begot Adam and Eve (in Middle Iranian *Gēhmurd* and *Murdiyānag*), the first two human beings. Thus mankind, as has been properly stressed,² originated from a disgusting mixture of cannibalism and sexual intercourse. From his demonic origin man has inherited his body and his lust, inciting him to eating and procreating. It may be noted here that in Iranian religion too, as reflected in the *Bundahishn*,³ the eating of flesh is the great sin committed by the first human couple. This corresponds to the eschatological doctrine that at the end of time the Evil Lust, *Āz*, will be overcome by abstaining from eating meat, followed by total abstention from food.⁴ But in Adam was also concentrated the greatest portion of the light imprisoned in matter; he

¹ See especially E. Benveniste, "Le témoignage de Théodore bar Kōnay sur le Zoroastrisme", *Le Monde Oriental* xxvi (Uppsala, 1932-3), pp. 170-215; Cumont, *Recherches*, pp. 54-68; Widengren, *Primordial Man*.

² Cf. Puech, "Le manichéisme", p. 80.

³ Ed. Anklesaria, p. 103, ll. 8ff.

⁴ *Bundahishn*, p. 221, ll. 1ff.

therefore had to become the first subject of effort at redemption on the part of the world of light.

The Manichaean myth of the origin of the first human couple is an adaptation of a corresponding Zurvanite myth, describing the birth of Mashyak and Mashyānak, the lust arising in them, both for food and for sexual intercourse, and the cannibalism practised by them against their own offspring. In Zurvanism, moreover, Āz is together with Ahriman a dominating figure, spoiling the good intentions of mankind. It is also remarkable that Zurvanite ethics prescribe abstention from eating flesh, as is the case in Manichaeism.

Adam, the First Man, whose situation is described as being the same as that of Primordial Man, sank into a deep sleep, surrounded by demons. Then he was approached by the Saviour, a manifestation of the Third Messenger, receiving various names: the Son of God or Ōhrmazd or "the brilliant Jesus" (Jesus the Splendour is a typical Mandaean appellation). He is a representative of the redeeming Mind, Nous (Persian Vahman, Parthian Manvahnēd, the Middle Iranian forms of the Gathic Vohu Manah, the Good Mind).

The Saviour's aim was to redeem in the First Man the Saviour's own mind or "soul", his own Nous. He raised Adam from his sleep of death, calling him to recognize his situation, how his body was derived from the powers of evil, but his mind from the world of light. He instructed Adam in the redeeming knowledge, the gnosis, the understanding of what was, what is, and what will be¹ – an Indo-Iranian formula often found in Zoroastrian texts, indicating "the three times", the period of unmixed state, the period of mixture of light and darkness, and finally the separation of the two. Here again Mani has taken over a fundamental idea in Zurvanism and Zoroastrianism.

The description of the awakening of Adam is even in detail exactly the same as in Mandaean literature.² One may generally observe that all the dominating ideas and most of the mythical traits of the system are Zurvanite, but several details and terms are a Mandaean heritage in Manichaeism.

The human mind, a totality concentrated in the First Man, Adam, and his descendants, according to the system is part of the totality of light, concentrated as it was in Primordial Man. Thus by redeeming mankind the Saviour redeems himself, his own light particles – the dogma

¹ Cf. the description in Theodor bar Kōnai (Pognon, p. 130, ll. 23ff).

² Cf. *Ginzā*, pp. 34ff; p. 112, ll. 14ff; p. 350, ll. 1ff.

of "the redeemed Redeemer".¹ We shall now consider how this process was enacted in terms of individual and general eschatology.

The Manichaean eschatology narrates the story of salvation. It should be observed at once that "salvation" is a Zurvanite, but not a Zoroastrian notion. This world is under the rulership of Ahriman, from whom man must seek salvation. The attitude to this world might be expected to be entirely negative and pessimistic in both Zurvanism and Manichaeism, but there exists a firm conviction that in the long run, man, microcosmos, and the world, macrocosmos, will be saved and the sum of light brought back to original purity.

Immediately after death the righteous Manichee meets his higher ego, Nous, incarnate in the figure of a Saviour, a figure of light;² this meeting with its following ascent to the world of light is further developed in some passages in Manichaean texts. It was seen long ago that this scene is a Manichaean adaptation and interpretation of the description of the fate of the soul after death, given in *Hādōxt Nask*.³ Details in the Manichaean account moreover agree perfectly with very old Indo-Iranian descriptions of how the ascending soul is received in heaven.⁴ In both Manichaean and Zoroastrian literatures we also find that the higher ego of the deceased is identical with man's own deeds; this is an essential point in all Iranian individual eschatology. Another significant detail is the simile of treasure and treasurer.⁵

The constant fight between Good and Evil, between Light and Darkness, culminates, exactly as in Iranian religion, in a final, terrible war, called in Manichaeism "the Great War". The scattered congregation will come together again, the church will be restored, the Righteousness, i.e. the sum of the righteous, will triumph, for "the Great King" will appear on earth and assume dominion. The last judgement will take place, described by Mani in New Testament language (itself ultimately influenced by Iranian imagery). The main part, however, of this apocalyptic drama is taken from Iranian apocalyptic speculations, as are the terms "Great War" (Middle Iranian *artīk i vaxurg*, found in the Zurvanite apocalypse)⁶ and "Great King" (found

¹ The term was coined by Reitzenstein. See Widengren, *Mani*, p. 66.

² *Kephalaia*, chapter 141.

³ Cf. Reitzenstein, pp. 28ff. More material and viewpoints in Wikander, *Vajm* 1, pp. 42ff and Widengren, "Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule", col. 544.

⁴ This fact was stressed by Wikander, *op. cit.*

⁵ See Widengren, *Mani*, p. 150 for references; and for the simile of treasure and treasurer see Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, pp. 84-86.

⁶ "The Selections of Zātspram", xxxiv. 52.

in the "Oracles of Hystaspes"). It calls for notice that the general description given in Manichaeian homilies concerning the end of the world¹ agrees perfectly with corresponding traits in the "Oracles of Hystaspes" – a fact hitherto overlooked.² A very special detail is the rôle played by Concupiscence (Middle Iranian *Āz*). In the Zurvanite apocalypse³ *Āz*, the captain of Ahriman, is with Ahriman the sole survivor of the evil powers in the last days. Correspondingly in Manichaeism Ahriman (Parth. *Ahrmēn*) and *Āz* are very often mentioned together, e.g. in text M 472. The text M 470 mentions that in the final battle *Āz* and the demons will be slain.

The Saviour Christ (as he is called in the Homilies), together with the tutelary gods and the righteous, will leave the earth and return to the kingdom of light. A last process of purification takes place. The remaining particles of light which it is still possible to rescue will be collected to form a statue, called *andriās* in the Coptic texts.⁴ Like a cosmic pillar of light this statue will be raised to heaven. Then the terrestrial globe itself will be annihilated; the damned and the demons, the world of matter and darkness will be thrown together in the shape of a clod, *bolos*. This clod will be sunk in the depths of a moat of cosmic extent, which will be covered with a gigantic rock. In this way the two natures are "reinstated", brought back to their original state, with this difference, however, that although light and darkness will continue their separate existence, darkness will not be capable of renewing its attack upon the world of light. Would some particles of light become lost for ever? One school was of this opinion, whereas another school declared that the Father of Light was able to regain all the missing particles. Most probably Mani on this particular point did not speak with sufficient clarity.

Mani considered his religious system as a divine Wisdom. This Wisdom he and every Manichee received by "the eye of the soul", which is opened in order to behold the light of the heavenly glory. In this way man is able to see both the visible and the invisible. In the Zoroastrian encyclopaedic work *Dēnkart* this vision of the eye of the soul is described in several passages and associated with Wisdom. This interior eyesight, giving divine Wisdom, is met already in the Upanishads and should be regarded as an Indo-Iranian idea.⁵

¹ *Manichäische Homilien*, pp. 7ff.

² Cf. the survey in Widengren (ed.), *Manichäismus*, Einleitung, p. xix.

³ "Selections of Zātspram", xxxiv.

⁴ Several passages are listed in Puech, *Manichéisme*, p. 177, n. 353.

⁵ Cf. Widengren, "La Sagesse dans le Manichéisme", pp. 507ff.

The Zurvanite Magi in Media always boasted that they possessed knowledge not only of all divine things, but also of the origin and laws of the universe.¹ Here Zurvanism takes the same attitude as Manichaeism and it is significant that the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia, the *Bundahišn*, full of Zurvanite traditions, gives a complete summary of all existing knowledge, providing a compendium of cosmology, astrology, geography, zoology, botany, anthropology and at the same time transmitting the whole religious tradition about the development and history of the world from the original unmixed state *via* the mingling of Good and Evil to the end, with the final battle between the two hostile powers and the victory of the good powers and the ultimate destruction of all evil powers, leading to the hurling down of Ahriman into the abyss. It is this same knowledge that Manichaeism aims to present; and here there arose many difficulties for the Manichees in their disputes with Christian theologians, trained in Aristotelian logic.

Mani was of the opinion that his Wisdom was both the sum and perfection of all previous religious Wisdom. In the *Kephalaia* (cliv) he says that as one water is added to another water and thus many waters are created, similarly all old writings have been added to Mani's own books, so that a great Wisdom has been created. Mani's religion is accordingly a typical book-religion. He sees his superiority to his predecessors, whom he accepts, precisely in the fact that he himself wrote his Wisdom in books, whereas other prophets did not write anything, but left it to their disciples to put their doctrines into writing.²

As his predecessors Mani acknowledged the Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Persia, Jesus in the West, while he proclaimed himself the Apostle of the God of Truth, sent in the last age to Babylonia.³ It is possible that this fourfold scheme of apostles is inspired by an original Zurvanite conception.⁴ In accordance with this doctrine of predecessors Mani felt entitled to include also the New Testament among his holy scriptures, even if he, following Marcion, undertook to "purge" these writings of what he considered later accretions and falsifications. The Old Testament on the other hand he rejected altogether, as had

¹ [For supporting and diverging views among Iranists concerning the definition, scope or development of Zurvanism, and the range of its influence, the works listed under Zurvanism in the bibliography of Ch. 23 may be consulted.]

² See the texts quoted in C. Schmidt-H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 41ff and compare with the Middle Iranian text T II D 126, in "Mitteliranische Manichaica II", pp. 4. 295ff.

³ Bīrūnī, text, p. 207, ll. 17ff; trans., p. 190.

⁴ Cf. Widengren, "La Sagesse", pp. 512ff.

done Marcion, on whom Mani is dependent in his polemics against the Old Testament and Judaism.¹

Of his predecessors Mani, at least in his later days, considered himself closely connected with Jesus. He declares himself to be the Paraclete, once promised by Jesus; this Paraclete is identified with his higher ego, the Heavenly Twin, appearing to him and calling him to be an Apostle. Mani in his correspondence introduces himself as "Mani, Apostle of Jesus Christ". Jesus actually plays a considerable rôle in Mani's system, though he is not an essential element of it. He appears in three forms: (1) Jesus the Splendour, who comes to Adam to awaken him; the epithet "Splendour" (*šīwā*) is in Mesopotamian gnosticism given to divine mythical beings. Jesus the Splendour has nothing to do with the historical Jesus; in relation to the system he could equally well carry another name. (2) Jesus Patibilis, among the western Manichees the name of the Living Soul, which is mingled with the corporeal world in plants, animals and human beings. The name of Jesus in this case too is a Manichaean adaptation. (3) Jesus Christ, the historical man, who, however, has been "dehistoricized", so that his death on the cross is said to have been an illusion. His only real rôle is that of a predecessor of Mani as a bringer of revelation. In that capacity he occupies the same position as the Buddha and Zoroaster. When Mani calls himself "Apostle of Jesus Christ" this appellation designates Jesus Christ as the representative of Nous, the Great Mind, and accordingly as a Heavenly Apostle, of whom Mani is so to speak the earthly representative. He does not consider himself the Apostle of the historical Jesus. In Middle Persian texts (e.g. M 17 g) Mani calls himself "the Apostle of Jesus Aryāmān"; here Aryāmān is identified with Jesus, and this Aryāmān is a Saviour figure in Zurvanism, being also like Jesus an Apostle (*frēstak*, the same word as used in M 17 g). Again it is clear that Aryāmān is a representative of Nous, the Great Mind.² In adopting the formula "Apostle of Jesus Christ" Mani evidently intended to make his position as an Apostle and Bringer of Revelation more acceptable to Christians.³ All the three aspects of Manichaean christology testify to the same aim: to present Manichaeism as the esoteric, "spiritual" interpretation of Christianity.

¹ See Widengren, "Der Manichäismus", pp. 279ff.

² Cf. also text M 36 V 7 in "Mitteliranische Manichaica II", p. 325, where he is called "the Highest Ego"; there are more implications in the use of the name Aryāmān than indicated in the notes 5-6.

³ Augustine, *Contra Faustum* XIII. 4; H. J. Polotsky in Widengren (ed.), *Manichäismus*, pp. 138ff has given a detailed analysis of the place occupied by Jesus in Manichaeism.

III. ORGANIZATION AND CULT

Mani's congregation was organized in a two-fold way: it comprised the elect and the hearers, or the righteous and the hearers according to Middle Iranian terminology. Two distinct ways of life were followed by these groups of believers and the demands made upon them were different. The elect had to observe three kinds of precepts or "seals" (Middle Iranian *mubr*): the seal of the mouth, implying the five senses, the seal of the hands, implying all behaviour, and the seal of the bosom, embracing every expression of sexual urge. The first *mubr* applied to both speaking and eating; the elect had to be pure in thought and word and to abstain from eating meat, which as in Zurvanism was thought to derive from the Evil Principle and to promote lust. The elect were to live on fruits, which, as we have seen, contained many light-particles. Fruit juice was preferable to water, since water was a "hylic" substance. The second *mubr* implied the prohibition of all actions that could harm plant and animal life; Manichees were forbidden to uproot any plant, to fell any tree, or to kill any animal. This feature is reminiscent of Buddhism. The third *mubr* prescribed, like Buddhism, complete sexual ascetism and meant of course renunciation of marriage. Sensual lust in itself was an evil, but procreation was far worse because it prevented the reassembling of light-particles.

While the elect devoted themselves to the redemption of their souls, the hearers had to undertake all those acts forbidden to the elect, but necessary for the maintenance of life. Thus the hearers had to furnish the elect with essential nourishment. They led a normal life, evidently eating even meat. But they had to observe one special day of fasting in the week: Sunday. The elect fasted on Monday as well. Both groups observed an entire month of fasting prior to the great Bema-festival. The rigorous ethical requirements caused many transgressions and rendered the practice of confession and penitence a regular institution. Confession formulas, the *X^uāstvānist*, are preserved. Similar formulas are extant also in Zoroastrian literature and possibly they derived from the circles of Median Magi, known for enforcing penitence and punishment. In their preserved form, however, Manichaean confessions show above all the influence of Buddhism,¹ although a Zurvanite connection cannot perhaps be entirely ruled out.²

¹ Asmussen, *X^uāstvānist*, p. 258.

² Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 268. The theological background of confession has been analysed by Puech, *Sur le Manichéisme*, pp. 169-78.

The elect were divided into four categories: Middle Iranian *hamōžag*, "teacher"; *espasag* "servant, bishop"; Mid. Pers. *mahistag*, Parth. **masistag* "presbyter" or Mid. Pers. *mānsālār*, Parth. *mānsardār* "house-master"; and *ardāv* "righteous" or Mid. Pers. *vičīdag*, Parth. *vižīdag* "elect". There were twelve teachers, like the apostles of Jesus, 72 "bishops", like his 72 disciples, and 360 "presbyters" – clearly the number of days in the year, a Zurvanite influence. Mani's successor as director of the Manichaean church was called Mid. Pers. *sālār*, Parth. *sardār*.¹ The aggregate of the righteous were designated by the abstract term Mid. Pers. *ardāyīb*, Parth. *ardāvīft*, "righteousness"; while the whole church was called *dēn*, "religion". These designations are based on old Iranian conceptions.²

The Bema-festival was celebrated at the end of the fasting month as the principal feast of the year. The remembrance of Mani's death was its focus and the founder was invisibly present in the symbol of a throne (Middle Iranian *gāb*), a sort of judge's seat, which the word *bema* indicates. This element of the empty seat was undoubtedly taken over from Buddhism, where it symbolizes the Buddha's ascent to heaven.³

IV. THE SPREAD OF MANICHAËISM

In the West Manichaeism had already during Mani's lifetime reached Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. By the year 300 the Manichees were sufficiently numerous in Egypt to provoke the philosopher Alexander of Lykopolis to compose a treatise against them (see above). From Egypt Manichaeism spread to northern Africa and Spain, from Syria to Asia Minor and from there to Greece, Illyria, Italy, and Gaul. In these western provinces of the Roman empire Manichaeism met with violent persecution from the state. The emperor Diocletian promulgated in 297 his famous edict against the Manichees, in which he accused them of all kinds of crimes and beastly habits, inspired according to him by their Persian origin. Diocletian looks on Manichaeism as a wholly Persian religion (*de Persica adversaria nobis gente progressa vel orta*) and speaks of their *doctrina Persica* and mentions their *scaevae leges Persarum*. He prescribed the most severe measures against the Manichees: their tracts and the authors of them were to be burned, and their followers were to

¹ The survey in Widengren, *Mani*, p. 98 is not correct in all details and the English rendering of some terms is not altogether felicitous.

² Cf. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah*, pp. 67–70.

³ Cf. Widengren, *Mani*, p. 104, with a reference to Foucher's convincing demonstration.

be punished with the loss of life and property. Its Iranian origin alone was sufficient to make the new religion a danger to the Roman State, involved in constant wars against the Sasanian empire. It is moreover possible that the Manichees had instigated the revolts in Egypt in the year 297, when the edict was issued.

The Christian Church, persecuted by Diocletian, but elevated soon afterwards to the position of a State Church, was in the long run a still more formidable enemy. Christianity was able to fight Manichaeism with both secular and spiritual weapons, its methods were ruthless and its polemics not always fair. It was imperative for Christianity to conquer Manichaeism, for in the West Manichaeism claimed to be the esoteric aspect of Christianity and thus was a most dangerous rival. Typical illustrations of the clash between Christianity and Manichaeism are afforded by the narratives of the public discussions held by Porphyrius of Gaza and Augustine of Hippo with Manichaean missionaries and theologians. The great Church Father, Saint Augustine, had himself been a Manichaean hearer for nine years and in his polemics he shows himself extremely well informed with regard to Manichaean doctrines and habits. Thanks to his philosophical-rhetorical training and his intellectual capacity he easily outwitted the Manichaean teachers. Augustine does not hesitate to use against his opponents gossip tales which he can hardly have presented in good faith.¹ But quite apart from such individual aspects the Manichees were in an impossible position in these public debates. They were the champions of a religion which, while lacking any real Christian content as regards dogma and cult, nevertheless claimed to be the true Christian religion. To refute this audacious contention was not difficult, especially for trained and ruthless theologians. No doubt these public discussions held in the presence of a menacing Christian mob served to eliminate the Manichaean influence among educated people and to deprive Manichaeism of intellectual leaders in the West. Severe persecutions also played their part. It is uncertain how long Manichaeism continued to have followers in the West, but the well-known Greek abjuration formula dates from the 9th century. It is probable that Manichaeism in the West was extinct before the year 1000.

We have seen that Mani concentrated his own missionary activities on the provinces of the Sasanian empire. In Sasanian times Manichaeism had already reached and crossed the river Oxus. Sogdiana provided a

¹ Cf. *De haeresibus*, 46. 2.

base for Manichaean missionary activities with good communications and connections both eastwards and westwards. The Sogdians were a people of marked mercantile interests, who extended their business activities as far as China. At various places along the famous "silk road", leading from China to the western countries, the Sogdians established commercial colonies. For the spread of Manichaeism eastwards its foothold in the Sogdian cities of Samarkand and Tashkent was of outstanding importance. The Manichees were especially numerous and influential in Samarkand.

Since the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 220) China had interests to protect in her neighbouring western regions. But there was a period of regress after Han and only with the Tang dynasty (after A.D. 618) China regained its political and military influence in Turkestan. But now the Chinese met with resistance from the victorious Arabs, who after the downfall of the Sasanian empire in 652 were advancing beyond the Oxus, having crossed it in 667. The Chinese, who tried to restore the Sasanian dynasty, were driven back. For a considerable time the Arab dominion brought better conditions to the Manichees, for the authorities left them in peace, presumably not even noticing them. This fact together with the renewed connections between Turkestan and China made possible a revitalization of Manichaean propaganda in the East. There existed in China a Sasanian colony, followers of the pretender Pērōz, son of the last Sasanian king, Yazdgird. The intimate relations between this Chinese protégé and Iran, partly of an underground character, seem to have led the Manichees to seek connections with their compatriots in China and to gain a footing there; high Manichaean ecclesiastics appeared at the imperial court. In spite of favourable recommendations sent by the viceroy of Tokhāristān, a Chinese vassal, to the emperor it was not long before an imperial edict was issued against the Manichees (A.D. 732).¹

After the fall of the Umayyad dynasty the situation in the caliphate for the Manichees deteriorated and ultimately grew catastrophic. During the preceding peaceful period many of those who had fled to eastern Iran returned to live in Irāq. With the establishment of the 'Abbasid caliphs much of the old Sasanian spirit was revived. It was unfortunate for the Manichees that this also meant a revival of persecution. Many people of Iranian origin, including writers and poets, were accused of being *ẓindīqs*. The term *ẓindīq* derives from Middle Parthian *zandīk*,

¹ See also Ch. 13, p. 554 on the Manichees in China.

"followers of *zand*", which means "knowledge" and refers to the fixed written tradition belonging to the Magi from Shîz, a tradition embracing many Zurvanite doctrines;¹ so it (*zindiq*) was certainly an appropriate designation for the followers of Mani, who, as we have seen, took Zurvanism as the basis of his gnostic teaching. The Persian authors accused of being *zindiqs* were most probably responsible for the translation of Mani's writings into Arabic, the new dominant language. Here the name of Ibn al-Muqaffa' calls for notice as a translator of several of Mani's works. Many passages in Arabic literature narrate the measures taken by Islamic authorities, above all by the caliphs, in order to discover and exterminate the Manichees by presenting them with a choice between abjuration and death. Thanks to Ibn al-Nadīm we are well acquainted with the success of these repressive methods as they were used by the Chief Inquisitor, *ṣāhib al-ḡanāḏiqā*, "the master of the heretics". Whereas Ibn al-Nadīm in the period before 967 had personally known some three hundred Manichees in Baghdad, there were at the time of his writing the *Fihrist* scarcely five remaining in the capital.² Thus we may presume that soon after A.D. 1000 Manichaeism became extinct in Irāq.

In Central Asia, however, Manichaeism had its greatest success when in the 8th century the Turkish Uigur tribe underwent conversion, and some time after A.D. 760 the Uigur ruler proclaimed Manichaeism the state religion in his territories around the large city of Lo-Yang. The Manichees also made repeated efforts to gain a firm footing in China. They were partly successful and from the 11th to the 14th century they enjoyed high favour in certain provinces. In Central Asia and China the Manichees were more syncretistic than ever, leaning heavily on Buddhism. This provoked the same effect as elsewhere. The Buddhists of course vigorously opposed the Manichaean doctrines and especially the identification of Mani with the Buddha. Still more hostile was Confucianism which was more dangerous because of its influence with the executive authorities. After the breakdown of Uigur power in the 9th century Manichaeism was deprived of its most powerful support. Left to itself in China, here as elsewhere, it was forced to become an underground movement. The Mongol invasion was probably also calamitous. That Chinese Manichaeism lacked vitality is shown by the Chinese texts found in our days. With the end of the Middle Ages the

¹ Cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge* 1 (Halle, 1930), pp. 76, 274ff.

² *Fihrist*, p. 337, ll. 26ff; trans., p. 803.

last traces of Manichaeism in Central Asia and China disappeared. After an existence lasting from the 3rd to the 15th century the history of Manichaeism came definitely to an end.

We can only speculate on the causes of the extinction of Manichaeism. Some of its weaknesses as a world religion are apparent, above all its lack of courage to stand on its own feet and its syncretistic, not to say parasitic tendencies. But at the same time it possessed important assets, above all the dualistic interpretation of man and the world, appealing to many people, and its pessimistic view of the present, coupled with its belief in the ultimate victory of Light over Darkness. At any rate its founder Mani must be regarded as one of the great personalities in the history of religions.¹

¹ [For Manichaean literature in Iranian languages, see Chs. 31 (pp. 1162ff), 32(b), 33 (pp. 1223ff).]

Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity

Greek Sources

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5th Century B.C.

[Herodotus' History](#), English translation by G. C. Macaulay. Attached to the document are multilingual HTML versions of each book, maps, and clickable resources for the *History* and for Herodotus' times.

Also available: [The History of Herodotus parallel English/Greek](#), English translation by G. C. Macaulay, (London and N.Y., 1890), at Sacred-Texts.

[Հերոդոտոս Պատմությունը ինը գրքից Herodotos Patmut'yun ine" grk'its' \[Herodotus' History in Nine Books\]](#), translated from Greek to Modern Armenian by the renowned classicist, Simon Krkyasharyan (Erevan, 1986), in 653 bookmarked pdf pages. Attached to the document are multilingual HTML versions of each book.

5th-4th Century B.C.

[Xenophon's Anabasis](#). Description of parts of eastern Asia Minor in 401 B.C. This is a multilingual HTML version.

[Xenophon's Cyropaedia](#). "Historical" romance set in the Achaemenid Empire and involving Armenia. Unlike the *Anabasis*, this is not real history. Xenophon creates an historical ambience for a discussion of his ideal government. Multilingual HTML version.

Also available: [Զւեմնիդոնտեայ Կիւրոսի իշխանու պատմութիւնը K'senop'ontey Kiwrosi xradu patmut'iwnk' \[Xenophon's Cyropaedia\]](#) (Vienna, 1843), in 619 pdf pages.

[Fragments of Ctesias' Persica and Indica](#), at Livius. Ctesias was a physician at the Persian court of King Artaxerxes II from 404 to 398/97 B.C. Hopefully he was more proficient at medicine than history. Use with caution, and/or enjoy as entertainment.

4th Century B.C.

[The Republic, Book 10, 613-621](#), by Plato (ca. 429-347 B.C.) contains the story of Er, son of Armenius, believed to be an echo of the Armenian story of Ara. Attached to the document is a multilingual HTML version.

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[The Argonautica](#), by Apollonius of Rhodes, at Sacred-Texts. Some version of this story was known to Homer already in the 8th century B.C., making it one of the oldest known Greek myths. Apollonius' later account is the most extensive. Jason and the most celebrated heroes of Greece visit eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

A multilingual HTML version of this work is available at Internet Archive: [The Argonautica](#).

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[Strabo's Geography](#), Books 11-17. Invaluable geographical, historical, and anthropological information about the area of our interest. This is a multilingual HTML version of Books 11-17.

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[Lucullus](#), d. ca. 57 B.C.

[Crassus](#), d. ca. 55 B.C.

[Pompey](#), d. 48 B.C.

[Comparison of Agesilaus and Pompey](#),

[Caesar](#), d. 44 B.C.

[Brutus](#), d. 43 B.C.

[Cicero](#), d. 43 B.C.

[Antony](#), d. 30 B.C.

A multilingual HTML version of the above *Lives*, which deal with Persia and Armenia, is available at Internet Archive: [Selected Lives](#) from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.

Plutarch's *Lives*, translated by John Dryden, A. H. Clough, editor (Philadelphia, 1860) in five searchable volumes:

[volume 1](#)

[volume 2](#)

[volume 3](#)

[volume 4](#)

[volume 5](#)

Պլուտարքեայ Զերովնացւոյ Չուգակշիռք Plutark'eay K'erovnats'woy Zugakshir'k' [**Plutarch of Chaeronea's *Parallels/Parallel Lives***], translated from Greek by Eghia T'omachan (Venice, 1834) in six volumes. Plutarch (about A.D. 46-120) was a biographer, essayist, priest, ambassador, and magistrate. He is best known for his *Lives* of notable Greek, and Roman figures, often describing two individuals separately and then comparing them. Attached to the documents below are the corresponding *Lives* in English, from the Dryden/Clough edition (Philadelphia, 1860), bookmarked and searchable. The material below is now available at Internet Archive for reading online and/or downloading in various formats:

[volume 1](#), in 651 bookmarked pdf pages. Lives: T'e'se'os/Theseus, Hr'omulos/Romulus, Liwkurgos/Lycurgus, Numas/Numa Pompilius, Soghon, Popghikoghas/Poplicola, T'emistokghe's, and Kamillos.

[volume 2](#), in 689 bookmarked pdf pages. Lives: Perikghe's, P'abios Mak'simos, Aghkibiade's, Korioghanos, Timoghewond/Timoleon, Emilios Pawghow, Peghopide's, Markeghghos, P'ilopime'n, and Titos P'laminos.

[volume 3](#), in 736 bookmarked pdf pages. Lives: Aristide's, Markos Katovn, Piwr'r'os/Pyrrius, Gayios Marios, Liwsandros/Lysander, and Siwghghas/Sylla.

[volume 4](#), in 587 bookmarked pdf pages. Lives: Nikias, Markos Krassos, Agesighayos/Agesilaus, Pompe'os, P'okiovn/Phocion, ew Katovn krser/Cato the Younger.

[volume 5](#), in 692 bookmarked pdf pages. Lives: Aghek'sandros, Yulios Kesar, Agis ew Kghe'omene's/Cleomenes, Tiberios ew Gayios/Gaius, Demost'ene's, Kikerovn/Cicero, ew Aratos.

[volume 6](#), in 685 bookmarked pdf pages. Lives: Demetrios, Antonios, Diovn/Dion, Brutos, Artashe's/Artaxerxes, Galbas, Ot'ovn/Otho.

[Plutarch's Roman and Greek Questions](#), at Sacred-Texts.

Plutarch's *Moralia* (which includes *Roman and Greek Questions*) is available for reading online or downloading in various formats at the Internet Archive: [Moralia](#).

[Plutarch's Isis and Osiris](#), the preferred *Loeb Classical Library* edition, at LacusCurtius.

[Plutarch's Isis and Osiris](#), at Sacred-Texts.

[Plutarch's Isis and Osiris](#), at Internet Archive. This is a downloadable multilingual HTML file based on the files from Sacred-Texts.

A multilingual HTML version of Book 1 of Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*, is available at Internet Archive: [Diodorus, Book 1](#). This book deals with ancient Egypt.

2nd Century

[Syrian Wars](#), by Appian, from the *History of Rome*.

[Mithridatic Wars](#), by Appian, from the *History of Rome*. Both at Livius.

A multilingual HTML version, made from the *Loeb Classical Library* edition, may be downloaded from Internet Archive: [Appian's the Syrian Wars and the Mithridatic Wars](#).

[Strategems](#), by Polyaeus. At Attalus.

A multilingual HTML version of the above files from Attalus is available at Internet Archive: [Polyaeus' Strategems](#).

[The Syrian Goddess](#), by Lucian of Samosata, at Sacred-Texts.

Available at Internet Archive is the text which this was made from: [The Syrian Goddess](#), translated from Greek by Herbert A. Strong, with notes and introduction by John Garstang (London, 1913), in 127 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. Attached to the document is a multilingual HTML version of the translation.

[The Way to Write History](#), by Lucian of Samosata, at Sacred-Texts.

Ptolemy's *Geography*:

[Book Four](#) (Africa);

[Book Five](#) (Asia Minor, Caucasus);

[Book Six](#) (Assyria, Media, Persia, Central Asia);

[Book Seven](#) (India, Sinae, Taprobana).

3rd Century

Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. Books 36 and 37 describe the situation in Asia Minor at the time of Mithridates VI (reigned 120-63 B.C.); Book 62, Corbulo's conquest of Armenia; Book 68, Trajan's campaigns in Armenia and Parthia; Book 71, Marcus Aurelius' war against Vologaesius in Armenia. For the important material in fragmentary books 77/78, and 79 see [Armenia in the Sphere of Roman-Parthian Conflict](#) (Second to Beginning of the Third Century) [Notes], by Nicholas Adontz.

A multilingual HTML version of the five principal books above is available at Internet Archive: [Cassius Dio's Roman History](#), Books 36, 37, 62, 68, 71.

[Cassius Dio's Roman History](#), *Loeb Classical Library* edition, at Lacus Curtius.

Dio's Roman History, translated by Earnest Cary (Cambridge, Mass., 1914-1924). This is the *Loeb Classical Library* edition in nine searchable volumes:

Books 01-11, [volume 1](#)

Books 12-35, [volume 2](#)

Books 36-40, [volume 3](#)

Books 41-45, [volume 4](#)

Books 46-50, [volume 5](#)

Books 51-55, [volume 6](#)

Books 56-60, [volume 7](#)

Books 61-70, [volume 8](#)

Books 71-80, [volume 9](#)

[Herodian's History of the Roman Empire](#), covers the period 180-238 A.D. At Tertullian.

A multilingual HTML version, made from the Tertullian files, is available at Internet Archive:

[Herodian's History of the Roman Empire](#).

[Athenaeus](#), the *Banquet of the Learned/Sophists at Dinner*, anecdotes and historical information on numerous topics. At Attalus.

Available as a bookmarked and searchable pdf file, at Internet Archive: [The Deipnosophists](#); or, *Banquet of the Learned*.

A multilingual HTML version of the above edition also is available at Internet Archive: [The Deipnosophists](#); or, *Banquet of the Learned*.

[Life of Apollonius of Tyana](#), by Flavius Philostratus, contains curious information about the Caucasus and Armenian writing [Book II] before the alphabet of Mashtots'. F. C. Conybeare's translation (1912), at Sacred-Texts.

A multilingual HTML version, made from the Sacred-Texts files, is available at Internet Archive:

[Life of Apollonius of Tyana](#)

F. C. Conybeare's translation of the **Life of Apollonius of Tyana**:

[volume 1](#) (London, 1912), in 618 pdf pages;

[volume 2](#) (London, 1912), in 640 pdf pages.

[The Chronicon of Hippolytus](#), translated from Greek and Latin by T. C. Schmidt and Nick Nicholas, in 60 pdf pages. A chronological, genealogical, and geographical record of humanity from Creation to about 234/235 A.D. Published on the Internet, 2010.

The preferred *Loeb Classical Library* editions of many of the works above are available as pdf downloads at [Loebolus](#).

Two volumes from the important series **Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին** *O'tar aghbyurnere" Hayastani ev hayeri masin [Foreign Sources on Armenia and the Armenians]* contain modern Armenian translations of relevant passages from several Classical Greek sources, together with invaluable introductory studies and scholarly notes. Both volumes are the work of S. M. Krkyasharyan. Available at Internet Archive for reading online and/or downloading in various formats:

[Hovsepos P'lavios, Dion Kassios](#) (Erevan, 1976), in 269 pdf pages.

[Diodorus Sikilats'i](#) (Erevan, 1985), in 205 pdf pages.

History, Geography, Culture, etc.

[A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great](#), by J. B. Bury (London, 1900). This is a scholarly work which is also easily accessible to the general public. Chapters: 1. The Beginnings of Greece and the Heroic Age; 2. The Expansion of Greece; 3. Growth of Sparta; 4. The Union of Attica and the Foundation of the Athenian Democracy; 5. Growth of Athens; 6. The Advance of Persia to the Aegean; 7. The Perils of Greece. The Persian and Punic Invasions; 8. The Foundation of the Athenian Empire; 9. The Athenian Empire under the Guidance of Pericles; 10. The War of Athens with the Peloponnesians (431-421 B.C.); 11. The Decline and Downfall of the Athenian Empire; 12. The Spartan Supremacy and the Persian War; 13. The Revival of Athens and Her Second League; 14. The Hegemony of Thebes; 15. The Syracusan Empire and the Struggle with Carthage; 16. Rise of Macedonia; 17. The Conquest of Persia; 18. The Conquest of the Far East; Chronological Table; Notes and References, with maps and plans (London, 1900).

[The Hellenistic Age](#), (323-276 B.C.) by J. B. Bury and others (Cambridge, 1923). Includes Bury's "The Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilization"; "Alexandrian Literature" by E. A. Barber; "Hellenistic Popular Philosophy" by Edwyn Bevan; "The Social Question in the Third Century" by W. W. Tarn.

[La civilisation de l'ancienne Colchide aux Ve-IVe siècles](#), by Otar Lordkipanidze, from *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, Fasc. 2 (1971), pp. 259-288, in 31 pdf pages.

[The Seleucid Period](#), by Elias Bickerman, from *Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 3(1) (Cambridge, 1983), E. Yarshater, editor, Chapter 1, pp. 3-20 with the book's general bibliography and chapter one's bibliography and tables, in 25 indexed pdf pages.

The House of Seleucus, by Edwin Robert Bevan (London, 1902) in two volumes:

[volume 1](#);

[volume 2](#).

[Rois de Syrie--Numismatique des rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène](#), by E. Babelon (Paris, 1890), in 571 pdf pages.

[Armenia's Economic Prosperity and the Foundation of Cities in the Hellenistic Period](#), by H. A. Manandian.

[The Orontids of Armenia](#), by C. Toumanoff.

Also available: [Հայաստանի Օրոնտեանները Hayastani Orondeannere" \[The Orontids of Armenia\]](#), by Cyril Toumanoff, in 65 bookmarked pdf pages. This is an Armenian translation, made by M. Ak'ean/Akian,

[Trade and Trade Centers in Armenia in the Roman-Parthian and the Byzantine-Sasanian Period](#), by H. A. Manandian.

[Armenia in the 4th-1st Centuries B.C.](#), by Nicholas Adontz, in 49 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. Adontz' study describes Armenia in the period of Alexander the Great and his successors; the reign of Artaxias/Artashes I; and during the time of Tigranes/Tigran II. Written 1939-1941.

Even though Alexander did not conquer Armenia, ancient accounts of his life are replete with information about Persia and the East, and mention Armenia occasionally. Adontz' article above examines the sources in detail. Available at Internet Archive are two of the most detailed accounts of Alexander:

Multilingual HTML version of [Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander and Indica*](#).
Multilingual HTML version of [Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander*](#).

Selected Writings of:

[Robert Drews](#)

[Michael Rostovtzeff](#)

[W. W. Tarn](#)

[Nicholas Adontz](#)

Entries on [Greece](#) at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, multiple authors.

Material at AWOL (The Ancient World Online) for [Greece/Greek](#).

Material at Sacred Texts for [Greece/Greek](#).

[Open Access Publications of the Center for Hellenic Studies](#), at AWOL (The Ancient World Online), compiled by Charles Jones.

[Ancient Locations](#), a database of archaeological sites, prepared by Charles Jones.

[Toponymy](#) [of Armenia in remote and classical antiquity], in searchable pdf format. Tables of the provinces, cities, towns, villages, mountains, plains, rivers, lakes, and seas in areas of Armenian settlement in Asia Minor including map and literary references, prepared by Nina G. Garsoian as an accompaniment (Appendix V, pp. 137-246) to her 1970 translation of N. Adontz's study *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (1908). Tables provide (where available) Classical Armenian, Greek, Latin, and modern designations. Included is Garsoian's updated Bibliography (pp. 247-303) for this important work of Adontz on the lords (*naxarars*) of Ancient Armenia. Despite some omissions, these tables are an invaluable tool for the study of eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in remote and classical antiquity.

[Early Greek Historical Fragments Pertinent to Armenian Matters](#), by John A. C. Greppin, from *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 1(1984), pp. 35-43, in 9 pdf pages. An important discussion of material attributed to Hecataeus of Miletus and Eudoxus of Cnidus.

[Herodotus and the Caspian](#), by Stanley Casson, from *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 23 (1918/1919), pp. 175-193, in 22 pdf pages.

[Alexander and Armenia](#), by N. G. L. Hammond, from *Phoenix*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Summer, 1996), pp. 130-137, in 9 pdf pages

[Ancient Sinope](#), by David M. Robinson (Chicago, 1906), in 120 searchable pdf pages.

[Հույն աշխարհագիր Ստրաբոնի ազգագրական տեղեկությունները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին](#) [The Greek Geographer Strabo's Ethnographic Information about Armenia and the Armenians], by Rafik Nahapetyan, from *Patma-banasirakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal]*, 1(2015), pp. 208-230, in 23 pdf pages.

The important works of V. V. Latyshev and Ellis H. Minns on the Scythians:

Известия древних греческих и латинских писателей о Скифии и Кавказе [Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis/Information of Ancient Greek and Latin

Authors about Scythia and the Caucasus], by V. V. Latyshev in two volumes: [volume 1](#), (St. Petersburg, 1890) in 709 pdf pages. Greek texts with facing Russian translations; [volume 2](#), (St. Petersburg, 1904) in 463 pdf pages. Latin texts with facing Russian translations.

[Scythians and Greeks](#), by Ellis H. Minns (Cambridge, 1913), in 808 pdf pages.

[The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Embassies to Rome](#) from the reign of Augustus to the death of Justinian [27 B.C. - 565 A.D.], by Osmond de Beauvoir Prieaulx (London, 1873), in 280 pdf pages.

Also available: translations and studies of relevant Greek and Latin texts concerning India by J. W. McCrindle.

[Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian](#) (London, 1882), in 121 pdf pages.

[Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian](#) (London, 1877), in 247 pdf pages.

[The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea](#) (London, 1879), in 257 pdf pages.

[Ptolemy's Geography of India](#) (London, 1885), in 401 pdf pages.

[The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great](#), as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin (London, 1893), in 471 pdf pages.

[Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature](#) (London, 1901), in 252 pdf pages. This volume contains material not in the preceding five volumes, including Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, Pliny and many others.

Wikipedia entry: [Indo-Roman Trade and Relations](#).

[China and the Roman Orient](#), researches into their ancient and medieval relations as represented in old Chinese records, by Friedrich Hirth (Leipzig, 1885), in 370 pdf pages.

Also available: English translations of relevant sources with scholarly notes by Henry Yule.

Cathay and the Way Thither (London, 1866) in two volumes: [volume 1](#), Antiquity. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 36. [volume 2](#), Medieval period. *Hakluyt Society*, volume 37. Yule's extensive and thorough treatment remains unsurpassed.

Wikipedia entry: [Romano-Chinese Relations](#).

Art History, Greece/Southern Europe, Mythology

Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art:

[Greece 8000-2000 B.C.](#)

[Greece 2000-1000 B.C.](#)

[Greece 1000 B.C. - 1 A.D.](#)

[Greece 1 - 500 A.D.](#)

Google Images:

[Greek Art](#)

[Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Ancient Mythologies](#) (Greek Mythology section), by Robert Bedrosian.

[Gods and Plants in the Classical World](#), by Carl A. P. Ruck.

[The History of the Poppy and of Opium and Their Expansion in Antiquity in the Eastern Mediterranean Area](#), by P. G. Kritikos and S. P. Papadaki.

Selected Writings of Armen Petrosyan, at Internet Archive: [in Armenian](#); [in English](#); [in Russian](#).

Ancient Greek Civilization

[Ancient Greece](#), at Internet Archive.

[Greece](#), Google search of Livius.

Wikipedia entries:

[Ancient Greece Portal](#)

[Economy of Ancient Greece](#)

[Slavery in Ancient Greece](#)

[Ancient Greek Technology](#)

Introduction

Hippolytus wrote his *Chronicon* in the year 234/235AD as he himself tells us. His goal seems to have been threefold: to make a chronology from the beginning of the world up until his present day, to create a genealogical record of mankind, and to create a geographical record of mankind's locations on the earth. For his task Hippolytus seems to have made use of the Old Testament, to research the chronology and genealogies, and a nautical dictionary, to research the distances between locations in and around the Mediterranean Sea.

The nautical dictionary is agreed not to be Hippolytus' work, and is preserved only in the Madrid manuscript. It has been published separately by Müller as the *Periplus* or *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, the Circumnavigation or Measurement in Stades¹ of the Great Sea—that is, the Mediterranean. The *Periplus* is itself heterogeneous: its North African portion is clearly a sailor's guide, with much time spent identifying sources of fresh water, but the remainder is a more summary geographical overview.

Like many chronicles, Hippolytus' *Chronicon* was a victim of its own success, and split up into multiple versions. Redaction H₁, which appears close to what Hippolytus wrote, survives in the Greek manuscript Cod. Matr. 4701 (Madrid), and in a fifth century translation into Latin by "Scaliger's Barbarus". A second redaction, H₂, appeared after Hippolytus' death: it corrects H₁ in several instances, though it excludes the *Periplus*. Its main witness are two versions of the *Liber Generationis* in Latin (Liber II: 334; Liber I: 460, but more complete), and an Armenian Chronicle (685). H₂ also survives in several papyrus and manuscript fragments.

Though Hippolytus published his *Chronicon* several years after Julius Africanus published his own *Chronicon*, Hippolytus does not, as far as we can tell, explicitly reference his contemporary's work nor does he seem to write in response to it. However some believe that he did write in response to Africanus.²

Despite not gaining the level of prestige as Africanus, Hippolytus' *Chronicon* seems to have been fairly successful. Many historians made use of it, such as the

¹ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadia_\(length\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stadia_(length)) : A stade in itineraries is 157 m, but stades varied in size up to 209 m.

² See Osvalda Andrei, "Dalle Chronographiai di Giulio Africano di Giulio Africano alla Synagoge di 'Ippolito': Un dibattito sulla scrittura cristiana del tempo," 113-45 in *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronik: Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik*. Edited by Martin Wallraff. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006

author of the *Chronography of 354*, Epiphanius of Salamis, the author of the *Paschal Chronicle*, and George Syncellus. At times, these texts are consulted in reconstructing Hippolytus' original.

For this translation Helm's GCS (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller) series number 46 was used; this is the second edition, superseding GCS 36 (1929). Helm is far more conservative than his predecessors in identifying the proper names in the text, and earlier editions have been consulted to that end. Helm mentions early discussion by von Gutschmidt, though he does not adopt his interpretations. The 1906 Bauer edition, which Helm acknowledges as his starting point, was also consulted for identifications of place names; this runs up to the *Periplus*, which Bauer excluded from his edition, but the edition includes a discussion of the *Periplus* by Cuntz, which we have also consulted, as well as the discussion by Gnirs.

From sections 1 to 613 the Greek of the two redactions H_1 and H_2 were used. (The Greek of H_2 is reconstructed by Bauer & Helm.) The section numbering of Müller's separately published *Periplus* is given along with the numbering of the chronicle, and Müller has also been consulted. From sections 614-720 the Latin translation from the *Liber Generationis I* of the *Chronography of 354* was primarily used. Whenever this was nonsensical, I attempted to compare it with J. Markwart's German translation of the Armenian in Bauer & Helm, or the *Liber Generationis II*. From sections 721-741 a Greek fragment was used (Coislin gr. 120) in preference to the *Liber Generationis*, and from sections 742-778 the Latin from the *Liber Generationis I* was used again.

Müller and Bauer conjectured several identifications for place names, and Müller in particular emended the text frequently, to conform to the place names used by Ptolemy and Strabo. These emendations and conjectures are given in footnotes.

The footnotes are not exhaustive, they are meant only to point out difficult readings, suggest possible translations of people groups and locations not found in William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, and occasionally provide references to other ancient authors. The maps by Heinrich Kiepert can be used to find many of the people groups and locations mentioned in this work. These maps are in the public domain can be found on many websites.

The form we have the *Chronicon* in today contains errors and the reader is cautioned against using Hippolytus' dates, names, and locations without further research. Additionally, this is my first attempt at translating a work from Greek and Latin into English, and no doubt many of the errors are due to my own paltry German or my inattentiveness and not the editors of the GCS or Hippolytus.

This translation needs one more revision using the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) database to truly ensure a proper translation, but I do not have the time for such a task at the moment.

I would like to thank Nick Nicholas and Yancy Smith for their help and advice, Roger Pearse for his inspiration, which led me to take up this task, and my brother Mike, for recording my dictation. Lastly, and most of all, I thank my very pregnant wife, who spent countless hours typing up a work that, by any standard, is not a pleasant read!

Thomas Coffman Schmidt

Nick Nicholas

Note to the reader of this second (rough draft) edition

Nick Nicholas has laboriously and generously made extensive edits, suggestions and improvements to the first edition. These are all incorporated into this edition, though a final draft has not been completed. I am pleased to welcome him as a coauthor with myself and am very thankful for his help.

Key

*= Lacuna in the text

{}=variant reading in H₂ redaction

[]=Deletion by Helm

<=>= Addition by Helm (conjecture, or by comparison with other texts derived from Hippolytus, such as the Paschal Chronicle)

LXX=Septuagint. Biblical names are rendered into the usual forms in English, except where Hippolytus deviates from LXX.

Scripture verses are noted only when they appear to be direct quotations.

Numbers in brackets at start of section are the section number of Müller's edition of the *Periplus*.

Words in italics are implied and are not specifically in the Greek text.

Words included in Smith's Geographical dictionary are given in Small Caps on first mention.

For lines 240-613 (Periplus)

I did my best to transliterate the names of obscure cities and towns in this section.

The following Greek words were very difficult to precisely define, so I simply translated them to a corresponding English word so that the informed reader may make his or her own decision regarding the meaning.

Landing =καταγωγή	Place to anchor= ἀγκυροβολέω
Harbor=λιμήν	Promontory=σκόπελος
Roadstead=σάλος	Peninsula= ἀκρωτήριο
Anchorage= ὕφορμος	Cape= ἄκρα
Mooring= ὄρμος	Headland= ἀκτὴν
Sandbank = θίς	

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R. Helm (post A. Bauer), *Hippolytus Werke*, vol. 4, 2nd edn. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 46. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955

Smith, W. 1854. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. London: Murray. Online: <http://books.google.com/books?id=9y0BAAAAQAAJ> ,

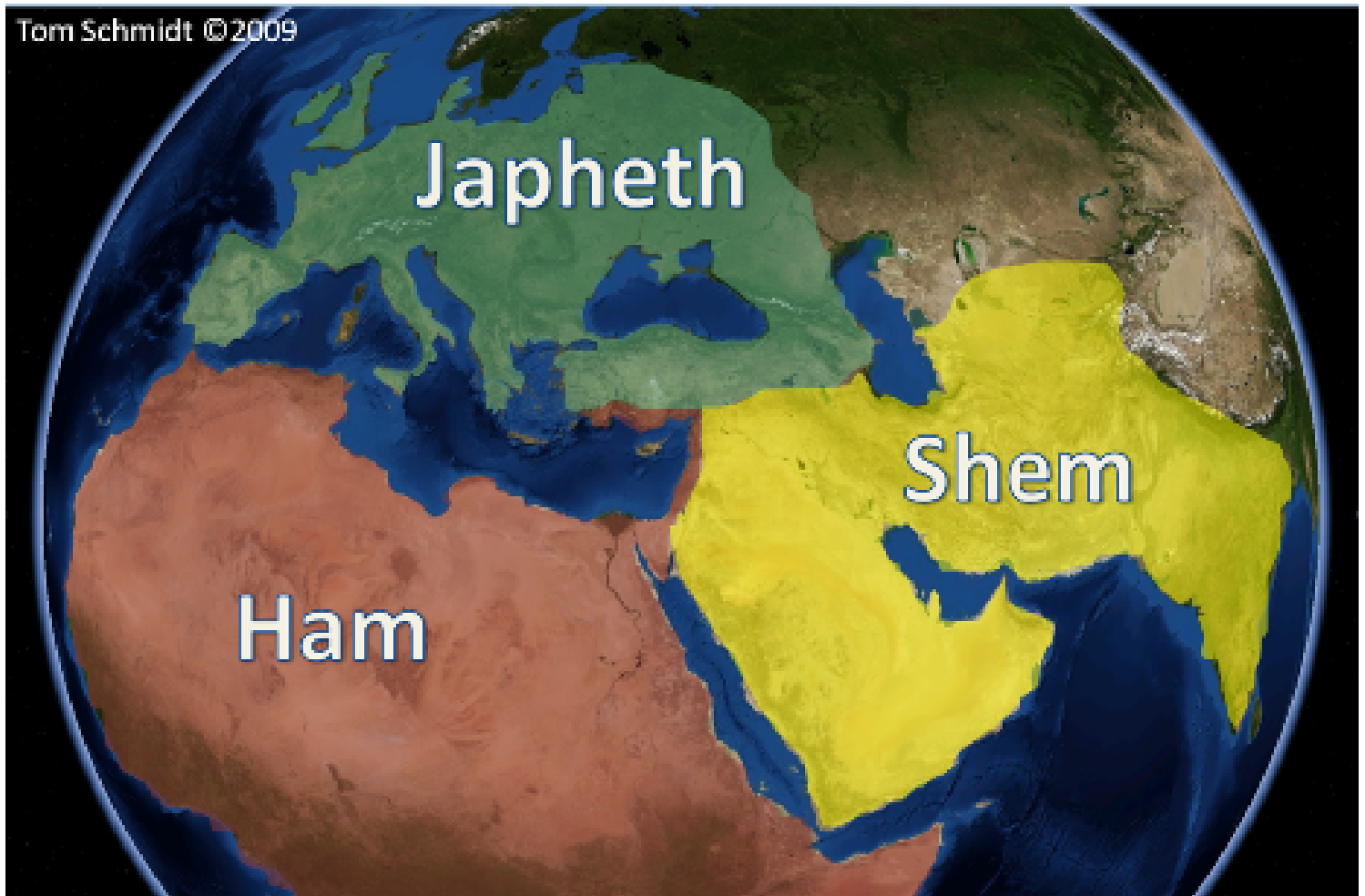
The Chronicon of Hippolytus

<http://books.google.com/books?id=tJIfAAAAAMAAJ> ;

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text;doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0064>

Richard J.A. Talbert (Editor). Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World. Princeton University Press (September 15, 2000) online (partially): http://www.unc.edu/depts/cl_atlas/locator_map.html

The division of the earth to the three sons of Noah according to Hippolytus



The Chronicon of Hippolytus

1. A collection of times and years from the creation of the world until the present day.
2. The appearance of the nations from the dividing of the earth to the three sons of Noah; who were born from them and what kind of cities and lands were each of them allotted; and how far were the prominent islands?
3. Which of them became colonists?
4. How many notable rivers *are there*?
5. How many notable mountains *are there*?
6. How many judges *were there* and how many years did they judge the people?
7. How many kings were of³ the Jewish nation and how many years did they reign?
8. Proof of the Passover and <who> kept it when⁴ from the times of Moses being reckoned as far as the present day.
9. The kings of the Persians from Cyrus and how many years they reigned.
10. The time of the Olympiads from Iphitos until the present Olympiad.
11. The names of the Patriarchs from the beginning.⁵
12. The names of the prophets.
13. The *names of the* female prophets.
14. The names of the Hebrew Kings.
15. The Kings who reigned in Samaria over the ten tribes <and> how many years they reigned.
16. The names of the High Priests.
17. <The kings of the Macedonians from Alexander and how many years they reigned.
18. The kings of the Romans> from Augustus <and> how many years they reigned.
19. In as much as it is necessary, according to all things, to become⁶ a ready servant of the truth, I considered it necessary, my beloved brother, to make, in brief, a discourse from the holy scriptures for the purpose of the training of the love of learning in you, that through the abridged demonstrations, which we have striven over without idleness, let us, in short, seize the precise knowledge of what we research in truth out of need, *in order to* root out the former strife, which arises through ignorance, darkens the mind,
20. *and* will instruct a person with too little learning. We then, *while both* eagerly loving learning *and* wishing to investigate *these matters*, will know completely, in exactness, *both* the division of the nations *and* the genealogy of the patriarchs, counting the season of sojourn *in Egypt* and the engagement of battles and the administration of the judges according to *their* times, the seasons of the kings, the times of the prophets, *and*, what

³ ἐν

⁴ καὶ {τίς} πότε ἐτήρησεν

⁵ Or: from Genesis

⁶ τυγχάνειν

things happened to which kings. What sort of captivities fell upon⁷ the people, during the time of which kings and judges? What high priests held office⁸ in which times? What was the apportionment of seasons and people? How was the lineage⁹ of the seed of Israel fulfilled from the patriarchs to Christ? And what and how many years of times are counted from the creation of the world until the present days?

21. It seemed good to us, having begun from the beginning¹⁰ to show in brief, just as it deserves, the account¹¹ not according to our own testimony, <but starting from the proved holy writings>. Therefore, taking the occasion from there, we endeavor to produce the orderly account from the Generation of Men.¹²

The Book of the Generation of Men

22. The book of the generation of men.¹³
 23. The day God made Adam; He made him according to the likeness of God.¹⁴
 24. Adam lived 230 years and begot Seth.¹⁵
 25. Seth lived 205 years and begot Enosh.¹⁶
 26. Enosh lived 190 years and begot Cainen.¹⁷
 27. Cainen lived 170 years and begot Mahalalel.¹⁸
 28. Mahalalel lived 165 years and begot Jared.¹⁹
 29. Jared lived 162 years and begot Enoch.²⁰
 30. Enoch lived 165 years and begot Methuselah.²¹
 31. Methuselah lived 167 years and begot Lamech.²²
 32. Lamech lived 188 years and begot Noah.²³
 33. After Noah was 500 years old he begot three sons: Shem, Ham, and Japheth.²⁴
 34. 100 years after the procreation (birth) of Shem the deluge occurred while Noah was 600 years old.

⁷ συμβεβήκασι

⁸ ἱεράτευσαν

⁹ καταγωγή

¹⁰ Or: from Genesis

¹¹ τὴν κατὰ λόγον

¹² Or: from Genesis

¹³ Gen 5:1

¹⁴ Gen 5:2

¹⁵ Gen 5:3

¹⁶ Gen 5:6

¹⁷ Gen 5:9

¹⁸ Gen 5:12

¹⁹ Gen 5:15

²⁰ Gen 5:18

²¹ Gen 5:21

²² Gen 5:26

²³ Gen 5:28

²⁴ Gen 6:1

35. And so there was from Adam until the deluge 10 generations 2242 years.
36. These are the descendants of Shem.²⁵
37. When Shem was 100 years old he begot Arphaxad the second year after the deluge.²⁶
38. And Arphaxad lived 135 years and he begot Cainen²⁷.
39. Cainen lived 130 years and begot Salah.²⁸
40. Salah lived 130 years and begot Eber.²⁹
41. Eber lived 130 years and begot Peleg.³⁰
42. Up until these, *there were* five generations *and* 525 years *and* from Adam 15 generations *and* 2,767 years.
43. The beginning of the chronology³¹. But in other books you will find a broader beginning, we however have written in brief from the division alone. And so at once, from Adam until the building of the tower and the confusion of tongues there existed 15 generations or³² 2,800 years. ³³
44. The division of the earth.
45. The division of the earth to the three sons of Noah after the deluge happened thusly to Shem Ham and Japheth.
46. The tribes of the three brothers were divided.
47. And to Shem the firstborn *was given* in length from PERSIA and BACTRIA until INDIA, *and* in breadth from India unto RHINOCORURA,
48. Ham the second *son* from Rhinocorura unto the south of Cadiz (GADEIRA),
49. Japheth the third *son*, from MEDIA unto the north of Cadiz.
50. Japheth has the river TIGRIS which divides Media and BABYLONIA,
51. Ham has the river Gihon which is called the NILE [which streams with gold]
52. Shem has [two rivers] the EUPHRATES [and the Pishon].³⁴
53. The tongues were confused after the deluge *was* upon the earth. Now the tongues which were confused *were* 72, those who built the tower were 70 nations, who by their tongues were divided upon the face of the earth.
54. Nimrod the giant the son of Cush the Ethiopian, this one hunting to get food for them provided³⁵ beasts to eat. ³⁶

²⁵ Gen 11:10a

²⁶ Gen 11:10b

²⁷ Gen 11:12

²⁸ Gen 11:13b

²⁹ Gen 11:14

³⁰ Gen 11:16

³¹ χρονογράφου

³² δε

³³ This number differs from the one given in line 42 perhaps because of a manuscript error or because Hippolytus is simply rounding up.

³⁴ The bracketed phrases have been added by a reader of the manuscript, referring to Gen 2:11.

³⁵ ἐχωρήγει; Lampe: "inspired"?

55. The names of the 70 are these.

The Genealogy of Japheth

56. The Sons of Japheth the third son of Noah.
57. Gomer from whom *are* the CAPPADOCIANS.
58. Magog from whom *are* the CELTS and GALATIANS
59. Madai from whom *are* the MEDES.
60. Javan from whom *are* the GREEKS and IONIANS
61. Tubal from whom *are* the THESSALIANS.
62. Meschech from whom *are* the ILLYRIANS
63. Tiras³⁷ from whom *are* the THRACIANS.
64. Kittim³⁸ from whom *are* the MACEDONIANS
65. The sons of Gomer the son of Japheth the son of Noah.
66. Ashkenaz³⁹, from whom *are* the SARMATIANS
67. {Riphath}⁴⁰ from whom *are* the RHODIANS.
68. Togarmah from whom *are* the ARMENIANS
69. The sons of Javan the son of Japheth the son of Noah
70. Elisa⁴¹ from whom *are* the SICILIANS
71. Tarshish from whom *are* the IBERIANS and the TYRRHENIANS⁴²
72. And the Citians⁴³ from whom *are* the ROMANS and the Latins
73. These are all the sons of Japheth the third son of Noah. From these were distributed the islands of the nations. Namely, the CYPRIANS who are of the Citians who are the sons of Japheth. Together there are 15 nations.
74. We still find *that* those *who* are north of them *are* the same nation as the Citians.
75. All the nations of the Greeks *are* of them, except for those who later settled there, such are the SAITES, who colonized the honored ATHENS,⁴⁴
76. the THEBANS, who are colonists of the SIDONIANS *who are* of Cadmus *the son* of Agenor,
77. and the CHALCEDONIANS who are colonists of the Tyrrhenians⁴⁵
78. and whoever else migrated into Greece.

³⁶ οὗτος εἰς τὴν βρώσιν αὐτοῖς κυνηγῶν ἐχωρήγει θηρία φαγεῖν Perhaps eating raw meat is meant, or that Nimrod was a mighty hunter, it is a cryptic passage.

³⁷ Θήρας

³⁸ Χαταίν Unique word in TLG, which is probably “Kittim” which can be found in 1Mac 1:1 as Χεττειειμ. LXX Gen 10:2 has Ελισα instead of Χαταιν.

³⁹ Ἀσχανάθ, LXX Ασχεναζ

⁴⁰ H₁: Ἐρισφάν

⁴¹ LXX repeats this name in Gen 10:2,4

⁴² i.e. Etruscans; Helm emends to make them synonyms (“who are also”), as with the Romans and Latins.

⁴³ Κίτιοι Lit. Kittim. This refers to the Greeks and Macedonians. LXX Gen 10:4 & 1Mac 1:1; 8:5, There are apparently two different words for this (Χεττειειμ and Κιτιοι) as can be seen in the Maccabees references. Hippolytus also seems to conflate the two words in line 75.

⁴⁴ Diodorus Siculus 1.28.4.

⁴⁵ i.e. Etruscans.

79. When looking to the north, these are the nations of Japheth scattered from Media as far as the Western Ocean.

80.

1. Medes,
2. ALBANIANS⁴⁶
3. Garganians⁴⁷
4. Errians⁴⁸
5. ARMENIANS
6. AMAZONES
7. COLI⁴⁹
8. Korzanians⁵⁰
9. Dennagenians⁵¹
10. CAPADOCIANS
11. PAPHLAGONIANS
12. MARIANDYNI
13. Tabareni
14. CHALYBES
15. <MOSYNOECI
16. SARMATIANS
17. SAUROMATAE
18. MAEOTIANS
19. SCYTHIANS
20. Crimeans^{52>}
21. THRACIANS
22. BASTARNAE
23. Illyrians
24. Macedonians
25. Greeks
26. LIGURIANS⁵³
27. <ISTRIANS
28. Venii⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Not the Balkan people, but a people in the Caucasus.

⁴⁷ Γαργιανοί in Epiphanius *Ancoratus* 113; Bauer: the Gargareis, a mythical people of the Caucasus. (Smith only associated them with Mt GARGARA in the Troad.)

⁴⁸ Ἑρραῖοι, Ἀρραῖοι in Epiphanius *Ancoratus* 113.5, *Arrei* in Latin versions, Bauer: the ARIANS, see 190 & 204 and also George Syncellos *Chronography* section 54 line 20

⁴⁹ Κῶλοι, a people of the Caucasus

⁵⁰ Κορζηνοί, see Epiphanius of Salamis *Ancoratus* 113.5: Madrid ms Καζηνοί, Barbarus: *Corzini*, Liber Gener. I: *Corzieni*: to Bauer the forms are reminiscent of CORDUENI, i.e. Kurds; Helm believes it is a corruption of Ko<la>rzeni.

⁵¹ Δενναγηνοί. Identified by Bauer with the ADIABENI in Assyria, but by Helm with the COMMAGENI.

⁵² Ταύριοι, of Tauris

⁵³ Markweder and Bauer believe these are meant to be LIBURNIANS, in Liber Gener. I *Lybyes*.

29. DAUNIANS
30. IAPYGIANS
31. CALABRIANS
32. OSCI
33. La>tins, who *are* also Romans
34. Tyrrhenians
35. Gauls⁵⁵ <who *are* also> Celts
36. Lygistini
37. CELTIBERIANS
38. Iberians
39. GAULS⁵⁶
40. <A>QUITANIANS⁵⁷
41. Illyricians⁵⁸
42. Basantians⁵⁹
43. Cur<tanians⁶⁰
44. LUSITANIANS
45. VACCAEI⁶¹
46. CONII⁶²
47. BRITONS who live in isl>ands.

81. Those who know how to write are:.⁶³

82.

1. Iberians⁶⁴
2. Latins, with *the letters* the Romans use
3. Spaniards,⁶⁵
4. Greeks
5. Medes
6. Armenians.⁶⁶

⁵⁴ Οὐεννοί Also known as the VENNONES, a German tribe. *Dio Cassius* 54.20. Markwart believes they are the VEN<ET>I.

⁵⁵ Γάλλιοι see Georgius Choeroboscus *De orthographi* p190 line 17.

⁵⁶ Γάλλοι. According to Helm, the GALLAECI, as distinct from the Gauls.

⁵⁷ Ακουατινοί Unique see George Syncellos *Chronography* section 54

⁵⁸ Bauer: = ILURGETAE ~ ILERGETAE, people in Iberia

⁵⁹ Bauer: = BASTETANI, people in Iberia

⁶⁰ Κυρτανοί Syncellos *Chronography* section 55.

⁶¹ Οὐακκαῖοι A Spanish tribe. *Dio Cassius* 51.20.5

⁶² Κόννιοι, Κόνιοι in Polybius X.7.5 people of Lusitania. According to Markwart, the CYNETES of Herodotus: “the corruption is older than Hippolytus”.

⁶³ Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματα εἰσιν

⁶⁴ Strabo 3.1.6.

⁶⁵ Helm: originally possibly a gloss of “Iberians”

⁶⁶ Helm doubts this is either a reference to cuneiform or the Armenian alphabet (which had not yet been invented), but is simply a copy from the preceding section.

83. This is their boundaries to the north from Media as far as Cadiz; to the east from Potamis river as far as MASTUSIA⁶⁷, to the west.⁶⁸

84. These are the lands:

1. Media
2. Albania
3. Amazonia
4. Armenia minor and major
5. Cappadocia
6. Paphlagonia
7. GALATIA
8. COLCHIS
9. Indic Achaea⁶⁹
10. BOSPORUS
11. Sea of Azov⁷⁰
12. Derrhes⁷¹
13. SARMATIA
14. Crimea⁷²
15. Bastarnae
16. Scythia
17. Thrace
18. Macedonia
19. DALMATIA
20. Molchis⁷³
21. Thessaly
22. LOCRI
23. BOETIA
24. AETOLIA
25. ATTICA
26. <ACHAEA>
27. PELOPONESSUS
28. <Acarnia⁷⁴>

⁶⁷ According to Ptolemy, this was part of Thrace. Ptolemy *Geographia* 3.11.9.9

⁶⁸ ἀπὸ Ποταμίδος ποταμοῦ ἕως Μαστουσίας τῆς κατὰ ἥλιον. George Syncellos *Chronography* Section 55 alludes to this passage and instead calls the Potamis river the Tanis, which is now called the Don.

⁶⁹ H₂ simplifies this to ACHAEA, which is out of place; Helm reconstructs as Sindice Achaea (Strabo 11.2.1), the ACHAEI and the SINDI being two Caucasian peoples.

⁷⁰ Μαῖωτις, MAEOTIS

⁷¹ It is not clear whether this is to be identified with the places listed as DERRHA or DERRHIS. Markwart reconstructs as Dandaris, the Dandarii being a people of Maeotis (Smith s.v. MAEOTAE).

⁷² Ταυριανή, TAURICA

⁷³ Colchis in the Madrid ms, interpreted by Helm as MOLOSSIS, a district of Epirus, with the confusion predating Hippolytus.

29. EPIRUS
30. ILLYRIA
31. LYCHNITIS⁷⁵
32. ADRIA⁷⁶, from which is the Adriatic Sea,
33. Gaul⁷⁷
34. Etruria⁷⁸
35. Lusitania
36. Mesalia⁷⁹
37. ITALY
38. the Celts
39. Spanogalia⁸⁰
40. Iberia
41. Greater Spain.

85. Together *they are* 41 nations

86. There end the boundaries of Japheth as far as the British Islands *for* all who view the north.

87. The islands common to them are these.

88. {BRITAIN,} SICILY, EUBOEAE, RHODES, CHIOS, LESBOS, CYTHERA, ZAKYNTHOS, CEPHALLENIA, ITHACA, CORCYRA, the CYCLADES, *and* a certain part of Asia which is called IONIA.

89. [These are the islands within the allotment of Japheth.]

90. And a river is within them <the Tigris> which marks off Media <and> Babylonia.

91. These are the boundaries of Japheth the third son of Noah.

The Genealogy of Ham

92. The Genealogy of Ham <the> second son of Noah.

93. The sons of Ham the second son of Noah.

94. First was Cush, from whom *are* the ETHIOPIANS.

95. <and> Mizraim, from whom *are* the EGYPTIANS.

96. And Phut, from whom are the TROGLODYTAI.

97. And Cainen, from whom *are* the <AFRICANS> and the PHOENICIANS.

98. These are the sons of Cush the Ethiopian <the son of Ham the second> son of Noah.

99. Seba

100. And Havilah

101. And Sabtechah⁸¹

⁷⁴ i.e. ACARNANIA

⁷⁵ Lake of Illyria, now Lake Ochrid.

⁷⁶ Ἀδριακὴ

⁷⁷ Γαλλία

⁷⁸ Θουσκηνί, following the late form Θουσκοί for Etruscans, e.g. Lydus *de Mensibus* 4.95, Procopius *de Bello Gothico* i.16.

⁷⁹ Μεσαλία, presumably MASSALIA, Modern day Marseille

⁸⁰ Σπανογαλία, "Spain and Gaul"

⁸¹ Σεβακαθάθ, LXX Σεβεκαθα, Σαβακαθα

102. And Raamah
 103. And Sabtah⁸²
 104. These *are* the first Ethiopians according to their tribes.
 105. And the sons of Raamah the son of Cush the Ethiopian <the son of Ham> the <second> son of Noah.
 106. Sheba⁸³
 107. And Dedan⁸⁴
 108. And Nimrod the Giant the Ethiopian
 109. [For it is written “And Cush begot Nimrod the Ethiopian *who was* a giant *who was* a hunter, as Nimrod *the* giant *who was* a hunter.”]⁸⁵
 110. And the lineages of the Egyptians *together* with Mizraim, their father, are eight, for *scripture* says thusly:⁸⁶
 111. And Mizraim begot the Ludim⁸⁷ from whom *are* the LYDIANS.
 112. And the Teneim⁸⁸ from whom are the PAMPHYLIANS.
 113. And the Lehabim, from whom *are* the LIBYANS.
 114. And the Naphtuhim, from whom *are* the Phygades⁸⁹
 115. And the Pathrusim, from whom are the LYCIANS {CRETANS, and the Casluhites, from whom are the Lycians, from whom the Philistines originated}.
 116. And the Philistines, from whom are the Phoenicians.⁹⁰
 117. And the Capthorim, from whom are the CILICIANS.
 118. And the lineage of the Canaanites is by Caanan the father of 12 of them. For *scripture* says thusly⁹¹
 119. And Caanan begot SIDON, the firstborn {from whom *are* the Sidonians}
 120. And the Hittite {from whom are the Jebusites}
 121. And the Amorite
 122. And the Gergashite
 123. And the Hivite
 124. And the Arkite, from whom *are* the Tripolites⁹²
 125. And the Sinite, from whom *are* the Orthosiashtai⁹³

⁸² Σεκατθά, LXX Σαβαθα

⁸³ Σάβατον, LXX Σαβευ

⁸⁴ Ἰουδάδ, LXX Δαδαν

⁸⁵ Gen 10:9

⁸⁶ Gen 10:13-14

⁸⁷ Λυδιείμ, LXX Λουδιμ

⁸⁸ Τενειίμ, Hebrew is Anamim, LXX Ενεμετιμ

⁸⁹ Φυγάδες lit. “exiles”, Barbarus *Fygabii*: Bauer is sympathetic to the reading *PHRYGIANS* in the Paschal Chronicle, and Helm is convinced that was the original form corrupted before Hippolytus.

⁹⁰ H₂ preserves the LXX and Hebrew readings here: {And the Casluhim, from whom are the Lycians, from which came the Philistines}

⁹¹ Gen 10:15-18

⁹² TRIPOLIS of Phoenicia

126. And the Arvadite, from whom *are* the Aradians⁹⁴
 127. And the Zemarite, from whom *are* the Samaritans
 128. <the Perrizite, from whom *are* the Perrizites⁹⁵ >
 129. And the Hamathite⁹⁶, from whom *are* the Hamathites⁹⁷
 130. And this is the settlement of them from Rhinocorura unto Cadiz *as one* views the length of the south.
 131. The nations which were begotten from these.
 132.
1. Ethiopians
 2. Troglodytae
 3. Angaioi⁹⁸
 4. Tagenoi⁹⁹
 5. Isaceni¹⁰⁰
 6. ICHTHYOPHAGI
 7. Hellanikoi¹⁰¹
 8. Egyptians
 9. Phoenicians
 10. LIBYANS
 11. MARMARIDAE
 12. CARIANS
 13. PSYLLIANS
 14. MYSIANS
 15. MOSYNIANS
 16. {PHRYGIANS}¹⁰²
 17. Makonians¹⁰³
 18. BITHYNIANS
 19. NUMIDIANS
 20. Lycians
 21. Maryandyni

⁹³ Ὁρθωσιασταί see George Syncellos *Chronography* section 52

⁹⁴ This is either Arad of the Canaanites or ARADUS of the Phoenicians

⁹⁵ This entire passage is lacking in H₁ and the LXX and Hebrew

⁹⁶ Ἀματθῆ LXX Ἀμαθι

⁹⁷ Those who are from the city of AMATHUS near the Jordan, or possibly an alternate name for Cyprus.

⁹⁸ Ἀγγαῖοι: Bauer: of Ange, a mountain in Arabia Felix mentioned in Ptolemy

⁹⁹ Ταγηννοί: Bauer: Taieni, Taini: An Arabian people (also mentioned below); also Libanius Speeches 24.6, Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 6.10.31

¹⁰⁰ Ἰσακηνοί: Bauer: Saceni? SARACENS?

¹⁰¹ Ἑλλανικοί: Bauer: of Elana (AELANA), now Ailan

¹⁰² H₁ has Φυγάδες “Exiles” which is repeated in 114

¹⁰³ Μάκονες Unique Possibly the Bacuatae by section 200.65. Bauer: Possibly from the Ethiopian city of Mescoa ~ MACUM

22. Pamphylians
23. <Mososyni (?)¹⁰⁴>
24. PISIDIANS
25. Augalians¹⁰⁵
26. CILICIANS
27. MAURETANIANS
28. Cretans
29. Magartai¹⁰⁶
30. Numidians
31. {MACRONES}¹⁰⁷
32. NASAMONES

133. These occupy *the land* from Egypt as far as the southern ocean.

134. And those who know how to write are as follows.

135.

1. Phoenicians
2. Egyptians
3. Pamphylians
4. Phrygians¹⁰⁸

136. These are the boundaries of Ham from Rhinocorura, marking Egypt and Syria and Ethiopia as far as Cadiz in length.

137. These are the names of the lands.

138. Egypt with all *the area* around it.

139. Ethiopia, which looks down upon India.¹⁰⁹

140. And the other Ethiopia, from which flows out the Gihon, the river <of the Ethiopians> which is called the Nile.

141. Erythra¹¹⁰ which looks over the east.

142. The whole of the THEBAID.

143. Libya, extending as far as Corcyrene.¹¹¹

144. MARMARICA and all that is around it.

145. SYRTIS which has three nations, NASAMONES, MACAE, Tautamei¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ repeat from Japheth, as are some others in this list. Madrid ms. missing, Barbarus: *Mososini*, Liber Gen: *Misudi*, Armenian *Mesiuqac'ikh*. Bauer: Of MISUA ~ Missua in Carthage? Helm refuses to identify the unknown peoples in the section.

¹⁰⁵ Αὐγαλαῖοι Epiphanius *Ancoratus* 113.3.6: Bauer: of the oasis AUGILA

¹⁰⁶ Μαγάρται

¹⁰⁷ Η; Μακάριοι "blessed"

¹⁰⁸ Correction in the Madrid manuscript; the original was probably Phygades, as above.

¹⁰⁹ The ancients commonly thought that Ethiopia and India were connected via a land bridge.

¹¹⁰ Ἐρυθρά "Red"; Liber Gen. I add {which is red} and the Armenian chronicle {which is the Red Sea} (ERYTHRAEUM MARE).

¹¹¹ Κορκυρίνης. Bauer: CYRENE

¹¹² Ταυταμαίους

146. The other Libya which extends <from LEPTIS> as far as Syrtis Minor

147. Numidia

148. Massyris¹¹³

149. Mauritania which extends as far as the Pillars of Hercules, which is opposite Cadiz.

150. There are in the regions north on the sea

151.

13. Cilicia¹¹⁴
14. Pamphylia
15. Pisidia
16. Mysia
17. Lygdonia¹¹⁵
18. Phrygia
19. Kamelia¹¹⁶
20. Lycia
21. CARIA
22. Lydia
23. TROAD¹¹⁷
24. AEOLIA
25. BITHYNIA
26. which of old is called Phrygia.

152. These are the islands which are common to them.

153.

1. Korsyla¹¹⁸
2. Lampedusa¹¹⁹
3. Gozo¹²⁰
4. Malta¹²¹
5. CERCINA
6. MENINX¹²²
7. Taurianis¹²³
8. SARDINIA

¹¹³ Μασσυρίς; Land of the MASSYLI?

¹¹⁴ The previous 12 regions are mentioned in sections 138-149.

¹¹⁵ Liber Gen I: LYCAONIAM, Madris ms. erroneously MYGDONIA (in Thrace)

¹¹⁶ Καμηλία

¹¹⁷ The area that contained the ancient city of Troy

¹¹⁸ Resembles Curzola off Dalmatia, but its name at the time was still CORCYRA NIGRA

¹¹⁹ Λαπάδουσα (sic), LOPADUSSA

¹²⁰ GAULOS

¹²¹ MELITA

¹²² Μηνίς

¹²³ Bauer: Ptolemy 3.1.9: Ταυριανὸς Σκόπελος, West of Brittium. A. von Gutschmid had presumed Taurianis is a dittography of Σαρδανίς = Sardinia; H₂ did as well, and left Taurianis out.

9. Galate¹²⁴
10. Gorsyne¹²⁵
11. CRETE
12. Gauloride¹²⁶
13. THERA
14. KARPATOS¹²⁷
15. ASTYPALAEA
16. CHIOS
17. LESBOS
18. TENEDOS
19. IMBROS
20. IASSUS¹²⁸
21. SAMOS
22. COS
23. CNIDUS
24. NISYROS
25. Great CYPRUS¹²⁹

154. Together *they are* 25 Islands.

155. These islands serve Ham and Japheth, the two sons of Noah.

156. Ham has the river Gihon which is called the Nile, which circles all Egypt <and> Ethiopia.

The mouth of the western sea divides between Ham and Japheth.

157. This is the genealogy of Ham <the second son of Noah>.

The Genealogy of Shem

158. The genealogy of Shem the first born of Noah.

159. From Shem, the first born of Noah, there are 25 nations. These dwell to the east.

160. 1. Elam, from whom *are* the ELAMITES.

161. 2. And Ashur, from whom *are* the ASSYRIANS.

162. 3. Arphaxad, from whom *are* the Chaldeans.

163. 4. Lud, from whom *are* the ALAZONEIS.¹³⁰

164. 5. Phut,¹³¹ from whom *are* the Persians.

165. 6. And Aram, from whom *are* the Aites.¹³²

¹²⁴ Γαλάτη, according to Barrington Atlas probably an island in the straits of Bonifacio

¹²⁵ Γορσύνη Unique

¹²⁶ Γαυλορίδη see Syncellos *Chronography* section 53. Bauer: conflation of Gaulos (Gozo) and Rhodes

¹²⁷ Καρίαθος Unique

¹²⁸ Ἰασός, island near Caria

¹²⁹ Or MEGISTE, and Cyprus (Bauer)

¹³⁰ Ἀλαζονεῖς Unique, in H₂ *Lazones*, Liber Gen II *Lazici*, Armenian *Lazónac'ikh*, Paschal Chronicle *Mazones*.

¹³¹ Φούδ Here the LXX has Καϊνᾶν

166. And the sons of Aram the son of Shem the son of Noah.
 167. 7. And Uz and Hul, from whom are begotten the Lydians.¹³³
 168. 8. And Gether, from whom *are the* Gasphenoi¹³⁴
 169. 9. And Meshech, from whom *are the* Mosyni¹³⁵
 170. 10. And Arphaxad begot Cainen, from whom are the Samitai¹³⁶ who *are to the east*.
 171. 11. And Cainen begot Shelah, from whom are begotten Salahites
 172. 12. And Shelah begot Eber, from whom are begotten the Hebrews.
 173. 13. And Eber begot two sons.
 174. 13. The first *was* Peleg, from whom are descended the family of Abraham.
 175. 14. and Joktan his brother.
 176. 15. Joktan [the brother of Peleg] begot Almodad, from whom were begotten the Indians.
 177. 16. And Sheleph, from whom are the Bactrians.
 178. 17. And Aram¹³⁷, from whom are the Arabians.
 179. 18. And Hadoram¹³⁸, from whom *are the* Carmelites¹³⁹ {And Hadoram, from whom are the MARDI}
 180. 19. And Uzal,¹⁴⁰ from whom *are the* Arians¹⁴¹
 181. 20. And Abimael, from whom *are the* HYRCANIANS
 182. 21. And Decla, from whom *are the* GEDROSIANS.
 183. 22. And Gebal, from whom *are the* SCYTHIANS.
 184. 23. And Sheba, from whom *are the* Alamosini.¹⁴²
 185. 24. And {Ophir},¹⁴³ from whom *are the* Hermaioi¹⁴⁴
 186. 25. And {Havilah},¹⁴⁵ from whom *are the* Gymnosophists
 187. All these *are* from Shem the firstborn of Noah

¹³² Αἰῖται Unique. Barbarus *Yantii*, Liber Gen I *Etes prioris*, Liber Gen II *Iturei*, Liber Genealogus *Itei*, Armenian *Eetac'ikh*, Epiphanius Ἐῖται, Syncellos *Syrians*. Samuel Aniensis has “the Aramac'ikh [Aramaeans], who are also called Syrians”; Bauer reconstructs from that Ἀ<ραμ>ῖται “Aramites”. Marquart conjectured Μαιῖται.

¹³³ repeat?

¹³⁴ Γασφηνοί, Bauer: possibly Caspians. Markwart: old error for Γαθρηνοί “Gathreni”, i.e. the sons of Gather (LXX: Gether)

¹³⁵ Markwart: originally Mosocheni, i.e. sons of Mosoch (LXX: Meschech). In Symeon Logothetes Μεσχηνοί.

¹³⁶ Σαμίται, Barbarus: *Samaritae*. Markwart: originally Kainitai, i.e. sons of Cainen.

¹³⁷ {Asramoth, Asarmoth}, where Bauer sees a misreading of Aram from Gen 10:26

¹³⁸ Ἰ<δ>ουράμ. LXX Ιαράχ Jerah at Gen 10:26 is skipped in H₁; the Liber Generationis add another variant of Hadoram, since LXX Οδορρα Vulgate *Aduram* looks different from H₁'s Ι<δ>uram: Liber Gen I *Cyduram... Derra*, Liber Gen II *Hiduram... Oderba*.

¹³⁹ Καρμήλιοι. Markwart: old error for Καρμάνιοι CARMANIANS, people of Persia

¹⁴⁰ Αἰθίλ, LXX Αἰζηλ

¹⁴¹ Ἀρειανοί

¹⁴² Ἀλαμοσινοί

¹⁴³ H₁: [Ι]Ουήρ, emended to LXX Ουφίρ

¹⁴⁴ Ἑρμαῖοι, Armenian: *Aramac'ikh* [Aramaeans]. Helm rules out H₂ {Armenians}, since they are offspring of Japheth. Markwart: given how far south Ophir was, the HOMERITES (Himyari) should be read here, with Ἑρμαῖοι to be read as Ἑμμηραῖοι or Ἀμμηραῖοι

¹⁴⁵ H₁: Εὐεαί, H₂: Εὐειλάτ, LXX Ευίλα

188. The settlement of all the sons of Shem are from Bactria as far as Rhinocorura, which divides Syria and Egypt and *divides* the Red Sea from the mouth of *the sea at* Indian ARSINOE

¹⁴⁶

189. These nations are from them.

190.

1. The Hebrews and <they are> Jews
2. Persians
3. Medes
4. PAEONIANS
5. Arians¹⁴⁷
6. <Assyrians>
7. Hyrcanians
8. Indians
9. Magardoi¹⁴⁸
10. PARTHIANS
11. GERMANS¹⁴⁹
12. ELYMAEI¹⁵⁰
13. COSSAEI
14. First Arabians who are called GEDROSIANS.
15. *Those* [who are called] Second Arabians¹⁵¹. {Scythians from inner HELIOPOLIS}¹⁵²
16. Gymnosophists

191. Their settlement stretches from Heliopolis as far as Rhinocorura and Cilicia.

192. And those who know how to write are:

1. Hebrews who *are* the Jews¹⁵³
2. Persians
3. Medes
4. Chaldeans
5. Indians
6. Assyrians

193. The names of the lands of the sons of Shem are these.

194.

1. Persia with the nations which lie in it.

¹⁴⁶ At the mouth of the Nile: called "Indian" because it was the loading place for Indian cargo

¹⁴⁷ Ἀρειανοί

¹⁴⁸ Μαγάρδοι

¹⁴⁹ Herodotus *Histories*. 1.125

¹⁵⁰ Namely Elamites

¹⁵¹ {Scythians}

¹⁵² Copied from 183.

¹⁵³ Helm believes only the Hebrew testimony is genuine: the Chaldaean reference may be a tradition about cuneiform, or an allusion to the magical symbols of Chaldaeans. The Persians, Medes, Indians and Assyrians are repeated from 190.

2. Bactria
 3. Hyrcania
 4. Babylonia
 5. Cordylia¹⁵⁴
 6. Assyria
 7. Mesopotamia
 8. Arabia the old
 9. ELYMAIS¹⁵⁵
 10. India
 11. ARABIA FELIX
 12. <COELE SYRIA>
 13. COMMAGENE
 14. And Phoenicia which is of the sons of Shem
- 195.** The settlement of the sons of Shem the firstborn son of Noah *in* length is from India unto Rhinocorura, *in* breadth from Persia and Bactria unto India
- 196.** [The settlement of Ham, the second son of Noah is from Rhinocorura which divides Syria and Egypt and Ethiopia unto Cadiz.
- 197.** *The settlement* of Japheth, the third son of Noah, is from Media unto Cadiz *and* the parts north and the common islands.]

The 72 Nations

- 198.** All the tribes from the three *sons* of Noah together *are* 72.
- 199.** The nations, which the Lord God dispersed upon the face of all the earth in the days of Peleg and Joktan the two brothers, according to their own tongues during the building of the tower, when their tongues were confused, are these.
- 200.**
1. Hebrews who *are* also Jews
 2. Assyrians
 3. Chaldeans
 4. Medes
 5. Persians
 6. <Arabians first and second>
 7. Midianites first and second
 8. ADIABENIANS
 9. Taieni¹⁵⁶
 10. Salamoseni
 11. Saracens
 12. MAGI

¹⁵⁴ Possibly the same as CORYDENE; distinct from CORDYLE

¹⁵⁵ Namely Elam

¹⁵⁶ Arabian tribe, see above.

13. CASPII
14. Albanians
15. Indians first and 2nd
16. Ethiopians first and second
17. Egyptians and Thebans
18. Libyans [first and 2nd]
19. Hittites
20. Canaanites
21. Perrizites
22. Hivites
23. Amorites
24. Gergeshites
25. Jebusites
26. Idumeans
27. Samaritans
28. Phoenicians
29. Syrians
30. Cilicians who *are* also Tarshishians¹⁵⁷
31. Cappadocians
32. Armenians
33. Iberians
34. Bibranoi¹⁵⁸
35. Scythians
36. Colchians
37. Saunoi¹⁵⁹
38. BOSPORITES
39. ASIANS
40. ISAURIANS
41. LYCAONIANS
42. Pisidians
43. Galatians
44. ,<Paphlagonians>
45. <Phrygians>
46. Greeks who *are* also Achaeans
47. Thessalians
48. Macedonians
49. Thracians

¹⁵⁷ See line 71

¹⁵⁸ Βιβρανοί Unique

¹⁵⁹ Σαῦνοι see section 233

50. Mysians
51. BESSI
52. DARDANI
53. Sarmatians
54. Germans
55. PANNONIANS who *are* also Paeonians
56. NORICIANS
57. DALMATIANS
58. Romans who *are* also Latins and Citians
59. Ligurians
60. Gauls who *are* also Celts
61. Aquitanians¹⁶⁰
62. Britons
63. Spaniards and <they are> Tyrrhenians
64. Mauritanians
65. Makouakoi¹⁶¹
66. GAETULIANS
67. Africans
68. MAZICES
69. The outer Taramantes¹⁶²
70. Sporades
71. Keltiones¹⁶³
72. The inner Taramantes

201. These *are the* nations, which the Lord God dispersed upon the face of all the earth, according to their own tongues, into their tribes and into their lands and into their cities.

The Colonists

202. I thought it necessary to show you the colonists of these unknown nations and their titles and also their locations, and *to show* how they live and what sort of nations are next to which, so you would not be ignorant of them either.

203. I will begin to map out from the east to the west <in order>.

204. The colonists of the Persians and the Medes became Parthians and the nations around Iran¹⁶⁴ until Coele Syria.

205. The colonists of the Arabs became the inhabitants of ARABIA FELIX.¹⁶⁵ For Arabia is entitled by this name, Fortunate.

¹⁶⁰ Ἀκυατινοί see 80.4

¹⁶¹ {BACUATAE}

¹⁶² 69–72 are replaced in H₂ with {GARAMANTES, also known as Borades}

¹⁶³ Κελτίονες see *Chronicon Paschale* Page 57 line 14: a Berber tribe

¹⁶⁴ Εἰρήνη, so Helm

¹⁶⁵ i.e. Yemen

206. The colonists of the Chaldeans became the Mesopotamians.

207. The colonists of the Mideanites became the CINAEDOCOLPITAE <and Troglodytes> and ICHTHYOPHAGI.

208. The nations and the names of the Greeks are five.

1. Ionians
2. Arcadians
3. Boetians
4. Aeolians
5. LACONIANS

209. The colonists of these became

1. PONTIANS
2. Bithynians
3. TROJANS
4. Asians
5. Carians
6. Lycians
7. Pamphylians
8. Cyrenians
9. And most of the islands which are called Cyclades *which are 11 islands*, which the MYRTOAN¹⁶⁶ sea encompasses.

210. These are them

1. ANDROS
2. TENOS
3. Teo¹⁶⁷
4. NAXOS
5. CEOS
6. Kouros¹⁶⁸
7. DELOS
8. SIPHNOS
9. Nerea¹⁶⁹
10. CYRNUS¹⁷⁰
11. Marathon¹⁷¹ [together 11]

211. Among these there are 12 other larger islands, which also have many cities which are called SPORADES, which the Greeks colonised.

212. These are them

¹⁶⁶ Μυρταῖον

¹⁶⁷ Τήω: TEOS? Bauer and Helm believe this is Ios.

¹⁶⁸ Κοῦρος, Bauer: possibly GYAROS, or SYROS. Helm: SKYROS.

¹⁶⁹ Νήρεα, i.e. {RHENAEA}, which Bauer and Helm regard as correct.

¹⁷⁰ Κύρνος, properly Corsica, Bauer and Helm: here probably CYTHNUS

¹⁷¹ Μαραθών, Bauer and Helm: here MARATHUSSA, island by Clazomenae

1. EUBOEA
2. CRETE
3. SICILY
4. CYPRUS
5. COS¹⁷²
6. SAMOS
7. RHODES
8. CHIOS
9. THASOS
10. LEMNOS
11. LESBOS
12. SAMOTHRACE [together 12]

213. Therefore Euboea is from the Boeotians, just as the 16 Ionian city names *are* from the Ionians.

214. These are them.

1. CLAZOMENAE
2. MITYLENE
3. PHOCAEA
4. PRIENE
5. ERYTHRAE
6. SAMOS
7. TEOS
8. COLOPHON
9. CHIOS
10. EPHESUS
11. SMYRNA
12. PERINTHUS
13. BYZANTIUM
14. CHALCEDON
15. PONTOS
16. AMISUS *which is free* [all together are 16]

215. The Roman and Citians¹⁷³ [which are called Latins] nations and the colonists are seven.

1. <Tusci¹⁷⁴>
2. Haimelisioi¹⁷⁵
3. Sicanians¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Κῶος

¹⁷³ See sections 72-74

¹⁷⁴ Etruscans

¹⁷⁵ Αἰμηλίσιοι Unique. In the Latin version *Emilienses*, i.e. from Emiglia (VIA AEMILIA)

¹⁷⁶ Σικηνοί, {PICENI} (which Bauer prefers). Unique perhaps Σικανοί is meant, they moved to Sicily according to Thucydides 6.2.

4. CAMPANI
5. Apoulousioi¹⁷⁷
6. CALABRIANS
7. LUCANIANS

216. The African nations and the colonists are five.

1. Neblenoi¹⁷⁸
2. Knithioi¹⁷⁹
3. Numidians
4. Saioi¹⁸⁰
5. Nasamones

217. They have five islands which have cities.

1. Sardinia
2. Corsica
3. Girba¹⁸¹
4. Cercina
5. Galate¹⁸²

218. And the Mauritanian nations and colonists are three.

1. Mossulamoi¹⁸³
2. TINGITANA
3. CAESARENSES¹⁸⁴

219. The Spanish and Tyrrhenian, which are called TARRACONSES, nations and colonists are five.

1. LUSITANIANS
2. BAETICANS
3. AUTRIGONES
4. VASCONES¹⁸⁵
5. GALLAECI which are called Aspores¹⁸⁶

220. The nations of the Gauls which are called NARBONENSIS, and *their* colonists are four.

1. LUGDUNUM¹⁸⁷
2. Belsikoi¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁷ Ἀπουλούσιοι. {Apulienses}, APULIANS

¹⁷⁸ Νεβληνοί Unique. Possibly the NYGBENI, Bauer suggests correction to Nebdeni. Markwart believes correct form is Lebdeni, from the Arabic pronunciation of Leptis.

¹⁷⁹ Κνιθιοί Unique. Bauer: Kinitioi in Ptolemy

¹⁸⁰ Σαιοί, according to Bauer a truncated ending

¹⁸¹ Djerba, ancient name (used elsewhere) is Meninx

¹⁸² See 153.9.

¹⁸³ Μοσσουλαμοί, {MUSULANI} in Tacitus 2.52, 4.24

¹⁸⁴ Καισαρενσεῖς, Mauritania Caesarensis

¹⁸⁵ i.e. Basques

¹⁸⁶ Ἀσπορες, i.e. {ASTURES}

¹⁸⁷ Lyons

¹⁸⁸ Βελσικοί, Helm: BELGICI

3. Sicanians¹⁸⁹

4. Ednoi¹⁹⁰

221. The German nations and colonists are five.

1. Marcomanni

2. Barduli¹⁹¹

3. Kouadroi¹⁹²

4. Berdeli¹⁹³

5. Hermondouloi¹⁹⁴

222. The Sarmatian nations and colonists are two.

1. HAMAXOBIOI¹⁹⁵ and

2. Grikosarmatai¹⁹⁶

223. These *are* the nations and their colonists.

224. I thought it necessary for me to show you the regions of the unknown nations and the names of their mountains and notable rivers which empty into the sea, so that you may not be unacquainted with these things.

225. And so I will begin to speak concerning how the unknown nations live, from the east to the west.

226. Adiabeniens across *from* the Arabs, Taieni opposite them.

227. Alamosini¹⁹⁷ <across from the Arabs>.

228. <Saccenoi>¹⁹⁸ across from the Taieni.

229. Albanians across from the Caspian Gates.¹⁹⁹

230. Greater Mideanities who were attacked by Moses, live on this side of the Red Sea.

231. For the Lesser Midianites are across the Red Sea, where Reuel and Jethro the father-in-law of Moses reigned.

232. And on the other side of Cappadocia on the right area live the Armenians and Iberians and Beranoi,²⁰⁰ on the left area live Scythians and Colchians and Bosporites.

233. Saunoi²⁰¹ who are called SANIGAE²⁰² who reach unto Pontus where is the fort APSARUS²⁰³ <and SEBASTOPOLIS> and the harbor of HYSSUS²⁰⁴ and PHASIS River.

¹⁸⁹ Σικανοί, Helm: SEQUANI

¹⁹⁰ Ἐδνοί, Helm: AEDUI

¹⁹¹ Bauer, Helm: Barduli i.e. VANDALS

¹⁹² Κουᾶδροι i.e. QUADI *Chronicon Paschale* Page 60 line 6

¹⁹³ Βέρδηλοι Bauer, Helm: i.e. HERULI, with Bardeli and Berdeli influencing each other.

¹⁹⁴ Ἑρμόνδουλοι Unique i.e. HERMUNDURI

¹⁹⁵ Ἀμαξόβιοι “wagon-dwellers”

¹⁹⁶ Γρικοσαρμάτα<ι> Unique

¹⁹⁷ Ἀλαμοσινοί

¹⁹⁸ Σακκηνοί, which H₂ and section 200 suggest should instead be Saracens.

¹⁹⁹ CASPIAE PYLAE

²⁰⁰ Βηρανοί, Bauer: to be identified with the Bibrani above

²⁰¹ Σαῦνοι see section 200

²⁰² Σάνιγγες, Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 11.3: Σανίγα

²⁰³ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 6.1

²⁰⁴ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 3.1, 7.1

234. These nations dwell and reach unto TRAPEZUS.

The Mountains of the Earth

235. The names of the mountains that are on the earth are twelve.

1. LEBANON in SYRIA between BYBLOS and BERYTUS
2. Caucasus in Scythia
3. TAURUS in Cilicia and Cappadocia
4. ATLAS in Libya until the great river
5. PARNASSUS in Phocis
6. CITHAERON in Boetia
7. HELICON in Telmessus²⁰⁵
8. Parthenion in Euboea
9. Nausaion²⁰⁶ also known as Sinai in Arabia
10. Lukabantos²⁰⁷ in Italy and Gaul
11. Pinion²⁰⁸ also known as MIMAS²⁰⁹ in Chios
12. OLYMPUS in Macedonia

The Rivers of the Earth

236. Having explained the names of the twelve mountains of the earth it is necessary to show you the notable rivers.

237. The names of the forty rivers on the earth are these.

1. INDUS which is called the Pishon
2. Nile which is called the Gihon
3. Tigris
4. Euphrates
5. JORDAN
6. CEPHISSUS
7. TANAIS²¹⁰
8. ISMENUS²¹¹
9. ERYMANTHUS
10. HALYS
11. Aesopus²¹²
12. THERMODON
13. ERASINUS²¹³

²⁰⁵ i.e. TEUMESSUS in Boeotia.

²⁰⁶ Ναυσαῖον Helm: error for Νυσσαῖον—so suggested by H₂.

²⁰⁷ Λυκάβαντος, which Bauer associates with LYCABETTUS, here means the Alps.

²⁰⁸ Πίνιον, Bauer and Helm: the PELINNAEUM in Chios

²⁰⁹ A Promontory in Ionia opposite Chios

²¹⁰ i.e. the Don

²¹¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 9, chapter 2, section 24, line 2

²¹² Αἰσωπός Strabo *Geographica* Book 9, chapter 2, section 24, line 2

²¹³ Strabo, *Geographica* Book 8, chapter 6, section 8, line 2

14. Rheios²¹⁴
15. BORYSTHENES²¹⁵
16. ALPHEIUS
17. Taurus
18. EUROTAS²¹⁶
19. MENANDER
20. AXIUS
21. PYRAMUS²¹⁷
22. ORONTES²¹⁸
23. Ebro²¹⁹
24. SANGARIUS
25. ACHELOUS
26. PENEIUS²²⁰
27. EVENUS
28. SPERCHEIUS
29. CAYSTRUS
30. SIMOIS
31. SCAMANDER
32. STRYMON
33. PARTHENIUS
34. ISTRUS²²¹
35. RHENUS²²²
36. BAETIS²²³
37. RHODANUS²²⁴
38. EREDANUS²²⁵
39. Baio²²⁶
40. Thybris²²⁷ which is now called TIBER. Together 40 rivers.

238. And so these are the rivers which circle the earth.

²¹⁴ Ρεῖος, Helm: i.e. the Phasis, see Müller *Geographi Graeci Minores* I 427 note.

²¹⁵ i.e. the Dneiper

²¹⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 8, chapter 3, section 12, line 13

²¹⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 12, chapter 2, section 4, line 2

²¹⁸ Ὀρέντης

²¹⁹ Possibly the Ebro, but at the time it was still known as the IBERUS

²²⁰ Πινειός

²²¹ Danube

²²² Rhine

²²³ Βαίτης Appian History Iberica Section 301, line 5: Guadalquivir

²²⁴ Rhone

²²⁵ i.e. the Po

²²⁶ Βαῖος, A. von Gutschmid: ending of Δανούβιος Danube. Bauer: possibly an alternate form of the Baetis. Helm: Strabo 3.3.4 Βαῖνις BAENIS = the Miño, but he would have expected Hippolytus to have used the more common Μίνιος MINIUS.

²²⁷ Θούβηρος for Θύμβρις, poetic form of Tiber.

239. Some who seem to be experienced say that the foremost and greatest rivers such as the Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, Euphrates, are unreachable²²⁸, and from where or how they originate no one knows. They say this, that when the Gihon, which is called the Nile, overflows and waters all the land of Egypt and Ethiopia the three others run out, and when ever this *Nile* weakens, *the others* raise their flow. Therefore these waters keep the same color²²⁹. For the Jordan sweeps away the white²³⁰ surge and spills into the green sea which is called the Dead Sea.

The Circumnavigation of the Mediterranean

240. And having demonstrated these things one admires your earnest love of learning, my honored brother. It seemed *good* to me to explain to you in detail the measurement in stades or *rather* the circumnavigation of the great sea, so that through reading you may not be unacquainted with these matters. I will begin from PHAROS of Alexandria²³¹ until DIOSCURIAS, which lies on the Pontus and for Europe from the Temple which lies near CHALCEDON²³², as far the Pillars of Hercules²³³ and Cadiz, wishing to benefit all men. I will reveal also the divisions *of the earth* from Asia to Europe which I have written here *previously* and *I will reveal* the intervals between one another of the islands; how far do some appear to be when sailing to them and how great are some *of the* winds *when* subjected to *them* and what sort of sailing, I will demonstrate to you according to *the* truth.

241. The measurement in stades of the sea.

242. (1) From ALEXANDRIA to Chersonesos; there is a harbor; 2 stades.²³⁴

243. (2) From CHERSONESOS²³⁵ to Dusmai; there is a harbor for one thousand freighters not greater than 7 stades.²³⁶

244. (3) From Dusmai to Plinthine, there is a roadstead, a place *with* no harbor, 90 stades.

245. (4) From Plinthine²³⁷ to Taposiris, there is a harbor-less city, *there is* a temple of Osiris, 7 stades.

246. (5) From Taposiris²³⁸ to Chio,²³⁹ there is a town, *the sea* appears shallow, 7 stades.

247. (6) From Chio to Glaucos, 80 stades.

248. (7) From Glaucos to Antiphrai, there is a place *with* a roadstead, 80 stades.

249. (8) From Antiphrai²⁴⁰ to Derrhon, there is an anchorage in the summer and it has water, 7 stades.

²²⁸ ἀκατάληπτοι

²²⁹ ὁμοχροοῦσιν

²³⁰ λευκώπιδα

²³¹ This was the island port of Alexandria

²³² Strabo *Geographica* Book 7, chapter 6, section 1, line 49

²³³ Gibraltar (HERCULIS COLUMNAE)

²³⁴ Hippolytus starts off by moving west of Alexandria

²³⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 28

²³⁶ λιμὴν ἐστὶ ἀγωγῆς χιλίων οὐ μείζων ζ'

²³⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 28

²³⁸ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 23

²³⁹ Müller: Chimo, after Ptolemy

250. (9) From Derrhon²⁴¹ to Zephyrion, there is a harbor it has a roadstead, 400 stades.
251. (10) From Zephyrion²⁴² to Pezone, 110 stades, from [] stades there is a promontory and it is called Myrmex, and a peninsula which is called Tracheia.
252. (11) From Pezone²⁴³ to Pnigeus, 7 stades there is a low lying peninsula, as you go in on the right there is a flat beach.
253. (12) From Pnigeus²⁴⁴ to Phoinicous, 140 stades, there is an island *called* Didyma, there is an anchorage by it, the depth is *appropriate for* cargo ships, it has a reservoir with water in a chasm.
254. (13) From Phoinicous²⁴⁵ to Hermaia, 7 stades, you should anchor keeping the cape to your right, there is water near the tower.
255. (14) From Hermaia to the headland Leuce, 20 stades, there a small low-lying islet lies beside it, being away from the land 2 stades, there is an anchorage for cargo ships away from the evening winds; in the land by the peninsula there is a large place to anchor for all sorts of ships; *there is* a temple of Apollo, distinguished for its Oracle, and it has water alongside the temple.
256. (15) From the headland Leuce²⁴⁶ to Zygris, 7 stades, there is an islet, on the left you may come to anchor, there is water by the sand.
257. (16) From Zygris²⁴⁷ to Ladamantia, 20 stades, a large suitable island lies beside, go in keeping it to the right, there is a harbor for all winds, it has water.
258. (17) From Ladamantia²⁴⁸ to Calamaios, 40 stades, there is a peninsula which has a promontory on its right as an anchorage.
259. (18) From Calamaios²⁴⁹ to Graias Gony²⁵⁰, 9 stades, there is a rough cape which has on it a high promontory, on the land *there is* a tree. There is an anchorage and it has water below the tree. Beware the south wind.
260. (19) From Graias Gony to Artos, 120 stades, there is a rough peninsula which does not have an anchorage and on the peninsula are two bulls as islands²⁵¹ extending to the sea. Having winded around it, you will see the city Paraitonion.
261. Together all the places from Alexandria to Paraitonion, are 1,550 stades.
262. (20) From Paraitonion²⁵² to Delphine, 7 stades.

²⁴⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 14

²⁴¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 19 (Derrhis), Müller: Derrha

²⁴² Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 21

²⁴³ Müller: Pedone, ie. Pedonia

²⁴⁴ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 13

²⁴⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 13

²⁴⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 12

²⁴⁷ Müller: Zygis in Ptolemy

²⁴⁸ Müller: Laodamanteia in Ptolemy and Scylax

²⁴⁹ Müller: Kalliou promontory in Ptolemy

²⁵⁰ Γραίας γόνυ, "Old Woman's Knee"

²⁵¹ Müller interprets as: "two bulls i.e. horns, extending like islands"

²⁵² Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, lines 1-9

263. From Delphine to Zephyrion, 7 stades, there are two islands and a peninsula. There is a harbor for all winds. And it has water.
264. (21) From Zephyrion and Delphine to Apis²⁵³, 30 stades, there is a town. When sailing to it, 20 stades, there is an anchorage, there is water in the town.
265. (22) From Apis to Nesoi, 7 stades.
266. (23) From Nesoi²⁵⁴ to Linuda, 70 stades, there is a cape which has an anchorage. On the right it has shallows. Go down *and* the shallows are within sight.
267. (24) From Linuda²⁵⁵ to Azy, 50 stades.
268. (25) From Azy to Darieos, 120 stades, there are promontories, by them are places to anchor for cargo ships.
269. (26) From the promontories of Darieos²⁵⁶ to Chautaion, 140 stades, there is an anchorage for small boats, it has drawn water from a spring in the fields.
270. (27) From Chautaion²⁵⁷ to Zygra, 140 stades.
271. (28) From Zygra to Ennesyphora, 200 stades, there is a summer an anchorage, it has water on the sand and a promontory on the sea.
272. (29) From Ennesyphora²⁵⁸ to Cabathlios, 120 stades, there is a place for an anchorage. There is a harbor in all winds, it has water in the first woodland, near the area to the south *there is a fort that shelters from the rain.*²⁵⁹
273. (30) From Cabathlios²⁶⁰ to Petras²⁶¹, 150 stades, as you sail by 30 stades you will see appear by your side a high and great cape. Around it you will see a roadstead and a great harbor, on the left is a manmade mooring, it has water by the fig tree. Therefore the place is called Syke.²⁶² [Altogether there is, from Alexandria to Petras 1,200 stades. [The remainder of Marmarice]

The remainder of Mamarice

274. (31) From Syke to Panormos, 30 stades, there is a deep valley. It has very good water beneath the fig trees.
275. (32) From Panormos to Eureia, 50 stades, there is a ravine, inside is a beach and upon it are fig trees, there is a good place to anchor, it has sweet water.
276. (33) From Eureia to Petras,²⁶³ 40 stades, it has much water on both sides.
277. (34) From Petras to Cardamis, 150 stades, there is a mooring, as the cape tapers it has a watch tower. Anchor there with the upper [= inland] winds. It has water on the mainland.

²⁵³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 8

²⁵⁴ Literally "Islands". Müller: Ainisippa in Ptolemy, Ainesipasta in Strabo

²⁵⁵ Müller: Selenis

²⁵⁶ Müller: Tyndarei

²⁵⁷ Müller: Zygris in Ptolemy

²⁵⁸ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 1, section 14, line 6. Müller: Ainisiphora in Ptolemy, Aisisphyra in Strabo

²⁵⁹ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ νάπῃ εἰς τὸ πρὸς νότον μέρος ἐν τῷ φρουρίου ὄμβριον.

²⁶⁰ Müller: Katabathmos, after Ptolemy

²⁶¹ Πετράοντα Unique. Müller: Petras (in the accusative Πετράντα), i.e. Petraion

²⁶² The Fig Tree

²⁶³ Petreumon in the ms.

278. (35) From Cardamis²⁶⁴ to Menelaos²⁶⁵, 100 stades, there is a harbor. It has brackish water near the sands.
279. (36) From Menelaos to Cataneis, 70 stades, as one carries on you will see a white sand bank. It has brackish water near the sands.
280. (37) From Cataneis²⁶⁶ to Pyrrhmanion, 150 stades, eight stades has away from it there are high shallows, and there is water.
281. (38) From Pyrrhmanion²⁶⁷ to Antipyrgos, 220 stades, there is a summer mooring, there is an island and upon it a tower. *There is a temple of Ammon, it has water near the beach opposite it.*
282. (39) {From Antipyrgos to Lesser Petras, stades*}
283. (40) From Lesser Petras to Batrachos, 30 stades, there is *a summer an anchorage*, there is a cape which has a lookout tower. It has much water near the woodland.
284. (41) From Batrachos to Platea, 250 stades, near the sea an island lies which is called Sidonia,²⁶⁸ it has a summer an anchorage for cargo ships, *it is 30 stades away*. It has water by the land near the tower.
285. (42) From Platea to Paliouros*, it has brackish water.
286. (43) From Paliouros²⁶⁹ to Phaia, 90 stades, it has collected water, 15 stades away.
287. (44) From Phaia to Dionysos, 90 stades, from there go down on the left.
288. (45) From Dionysos to Cherronesos, 90 stades.
289. (46) From Cherronesos²⁷⁰ to Azaris, 100 stades, from there sail up to the sea.²⁷¹ There are high cliffs. It has water and a great river.
290. (47) From Azaris²⁷² as one sails along the land²⁷³ to Zarine, 150 stades.
291. (48) From Zarine²⁷⁴ to Zephyrion, 150 stades, there is a thickly wooded cape, there is a summer anchorage.
292. (49) From Zephyrion²⁷⁵ to Chersis, 70 stades, between Zephyrion and Chersis a 10 stades distance, there is a mooring which is called Aphrodisias, and on it is the temple of Aphrodite.
293. (50) From Chersis to Erythron, 90 stades, there is a town.
294. (51) From Erythron to Naustathmos, 70 stades, there is a roadstead which stretches out, it has water near the sand.
295. (52) From Naustathmos²⁷⁶ to Apollonia, 120 stades.

²⁶⁴ Müller: Ardanis, Artanis in Ptolemy, Ardamixis in Strabo

²⁶⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 22, line 33

²⁶⁶ Müller: Cataeonium Promontory in Ptolemy

²⁶⁷ Müller: Cyrrhanion, after Kyrrthaneion in Scylax, Scyrrhanion in Ptolemy

²⁶⁸ Müller: Aëdonis in Ptolemy, Didonia in Scylax

²⁶⁹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 22, line 33

²⁷⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 22, line 35

²⁷¹ ἀναχθεις

²⁷² Müller: Azylis in Ptolemy, Azarion in Synesius

²⁷³ παραπλεύσαντι τὰ παράγια

²⁷⁴ Müller: Darnis

²⁷⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 22, line 29

296. Altogether from Paratonios to Apollonia, 3,550 stades. [the remainder of Cyrene]

The remainder of Cyrene

297. (53) From Apollonia²⁷⁷ to Phoinicous,²⁷⁸ 100 stades. It has a town, they anchor by them away from the western winds.²⁷⁹ There is summer mooring. It has water.
298. (54) From Phoinicous²⁸⁰ to Nausis, 190 stades. It is a town. It has water near the beach.
299. (55) From Nausis²⁸¹ to Ptolemais, 250 stades. It is a great city. The place is rough sea and has an island. It is called Ilos. Be careful.
300. (56) From Ptolemais²⁸² to Teucheira, 250 stades. It is an old city of Pentapolis. It is called Arsinoe.²⁸³
301. (57) From Teucheira²⁸⁴ to Bernicis, 350 stades. The route winds around, having sailed out 90 stades, you will see a peninsula extending out to the west. Raised shallows lie along side. Beware as you sail past! You will see a low lying black islet. The peninsula is called the Shallows. On the left it has a mooring for small ships.
302. Altogether from Apollonia to Bernicis, 1150 stades. {the remainder of Syrtis Cyrenaica}

The remainder of Syrtis Cyrenaica

303. (58) From Bernicis²⁸⁵ to Rhinon, 60 stades.
304. (59) From Rhinon²⁸⁶ to Pithos, 10 stades.
305. (60) From Pithos to Theotimaion, 1 stade. There is a summer mooring. *There is a deep beach.*
306. (61) From Theotimaion to Halai, 710 stades. There is a beach.
307. (62) From Halai to Boreion, 50 stades. There is a peninsula which has an anchorage.
308. (63) From Boreion²⁸⁷ to Chersis, 140 stades. It is a year-round mooring. It has water at the fort. {Syrtis Cyrenaica}

Syrtis Cyrenaica

309. (64) From Chersis to Amastoros, 110 stades.
310. (65) From Amastoros²⁸⁸ to Heracleion, 50 stades.
311. (66) From Heracleion to Drepanon, 7 stades, the peninsula of Heracleion is high, which has a sandbank of white sand. It has water.

²⁷⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 22, line 29

²⁷⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 22, line 20

²⁷⁸ Müller: Phycous

²⁷⁹ ρμίζουσι ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἀνέμοις

²⁸⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 53

²⁸¹ Müller: Ausigda in Ptolemy

²⁸² Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 53

²⁸³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 52

²⁸⁴ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 52

²⁸⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 60

²⁸⁶ Müller: possibly Rhinia: "The Noses".

²⁸⁷ Müller: Borion in Pliny

²⁸⁸ Müller: Possibly Mascotus in Hecataeus

312. (67) From Drepanon to Serapeion, 100 stades, when one goes through the gaps you will see a very large white sandbank, from which when you dig you will have sweet water.
313. (68) From Serapeion to Diarhoas,²⁸⁹ 50 stades.
314. (69) From Diarhoas to Apis, 1 stade, there is an anchorage.
315. (70) From Serapeios to Cainon,²⁹⁰ 150 stades, there is a desolate fort. It has water, it is harborless.
316. (71) From Cainon to Euschoinos, 70 stades, there is a deep beach, there is a hill in the land which surrounds it. It has water.
317. (72) From Euschoinos to Hyphaloi, 70 stades, there is an islet under the sea and it has a deep beach.
318. (73) From Hyphaloi to Scopelites, 80 stades, there is a promontory [*skopelos*] 15 stades from land, it is high, similar to an elephant.
319. (74) From the promontory to the south in 2 stades, there is a high island, it is called Pontia.
320. (75) From Pontia to the south in 7 stades, there is an island which is called Maia and by it an anchorage. It has water drawn from a spring.
321. (76) From Maia²⁹¹ to Astrochonda, 50 stades.
322. (77) From Astrochonda to Corcodeilos, 80 stades, there is a summer mooring and it has water which comes from streams.
323. (78) From Corcodeilos to Boreion, 84 stades, there is a town, *there is* a desolate fort, *there is* a good mooring from the south. It has water.
324. (79) From Boreion to Antidrepanon, 20 stades, there is a peninsula which has water.
325. (80) From Antidrepanon²⁹² to Mendrion, 50 stades, it is waterless.
326. (81) From Mendrion to Cozyinthion, 120 stades, there is a rough cape, *there is* a good mooring, however *it is* waterless.
327. (82) From Cozyinthion to Ammoniou Pegai, 110 stades, there is a beach.
328. (83) From Ammoniou Pegai²⁹³ to Automalaca, 180 stades.
329. (84) From Automalaca²⁹⁴ to Philainon Bomoi, 185 stades, there is a good summer mooring and it has water. The mountain and land of Cyrene go as far as this peninsula.
330. Together all the places from Berenicis until Philainon Bomoi is 2,000 stades. {*The rest of Syrtis Major*}²⁹⁵
331. (85) From Philainon Bomoi²⁹⁶ to the cape of Hippos, 400 stades, there is a rough peninsula, it has an anchorage and water.

²⁸⁹ Müller: Diarrhoias

²⁹⁰ i.e. "New" (fort)

²⁹¹ Müller: Gaia in Ptolemy, now Gara

²⁹² Müller: Drepanon in Ptolemy

²⁹³ "The Springs of Ammonius"

²⁹⁴ Müller: Automala

²⁹⁵ Distinguishes Syrtis Cyrenaica from Syrtis Major; in fact Syrtis Cyrenaica and Syrtis Carthagenia are the two sides of Syrtis Major.

²⁹⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 24: "The Altars of the Philaeni"

332. (86) From the cape of Hippos to Eperos, 350 stades, there is a harbor for small ships, it has water, this is a barbarian fort.
333. (87) From Eperos²⁹⁷ to Corax, 150 stades.
334. (88) From Corax²⁹⁸ to Euphrantai, 200 stades, there is a harbor and it has water.
335. (89) From Euphrantai²⁹⁹ to Dysopos, 150 stades.
336. (90) From Dysopos to Aspis, 350 stades.
337. (91) From Aspis³⁰⁰ to Tarichaiai, 350 stades.
338. (92) From Tarichaiai³⁰¹ to Cephalai³⁰², 400 stades.
339. (93) As you go from the sea you will see low-lying land with islands, when you draw near to them you will see a city along the sea and a white sandbank and shore. The city is totally white, it has no harbor. Moor safely at Hermaion. It is called Leptis.
340. Together all the places from Philainon Bomoï to the Leptis Magna, 4,200 stades.
341. (94) From Leptis³⁰³ to Hermaion, 5 stades, there is a mooring for small ships.
342. (95) From Hermaios to Gaphara, 300 stades, there is a cape having a mooring on both sides. It has water. It is called Aineospora for it is like an island.³⁰⁴
343. (96) From Gaphara³⁰⁵ to Amaraia, 40 stades, there is a tower *and* an anchorage, it has river water. There is a field near the river, the river is called Oinoladon.
344. (97) From Amaraia to Megerthis, 40 stades, there is a city and it has a harbor and water.
345. (98) From Megerthis to Macaraia, 400 stades.
346. (99) From Macaraia to Zarathra,³⁰⁶ 400 stades, there is a harborless city, it has a roadstead.
{The remainder of Syrtis Minor}

The remainder of Syrtis Minor

347. (100) From Alathres³⁰⁷ to Locroi, 300 stades, there is a town and above the town is a high tower.
348. (101) From Locroi to Zeucharis, 300 stades, *there is* a fort which has a tower. The tower*. There is a distinguished harbor.
349. (102) From Zeucharis³⁰⁸ to Gergis, 350 stades, there is a tower and it has a fort and a harbor and water.

²⁹⁷ Müller: Oisporis in Ptolemy

²⁹⁸ Müller: Charax in Strabo

²⁹⁹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 19. Müller: Euphrantas in Ptolemy and Strabo

³⁰⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 18

³⁰¹ Müller: Taricheiai

³⁰² Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 20, line 14

³⁰³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 17, chapter 3, section 18, line 4

³⁰⁴ Neospora in the ms. Müller emended with Ai-, which means “island” in the local language.

³⁰⁵ Müller: Graphara in Scylax, Garapha and Graphara in Ptolemy

³⁰⁶ Müller: Sarathra, Sabrata in Pliny, i.e. Sabratha

³⁰⁷ Müller: i.e. Sabratha

³⁰⁸ Müller: Zuchis, Xuchis in Stephanus of Byzantium

- 350.** (103) From Gergis to Meninx, 150 stades, it is a city on the island. The island is 8 stades from land, it has a sizeable city, and a metropolis. And it is the island of the Lotus-Eaters. The altar of Heracles is on it, it is called Great, there is a harbor and it has water.
- 351.** Together all the places from Leptis to Meninx *are* 2,300 stades.
- 352.** (104) From Meninx to Epeirus,³⁰⁹ 200 stades, there is a city, it has a good harbor and water.
- 353.** (105) From Gergis to Cidiphtha, 180 stades, there is a city and it has a harbor.
- 354.** (106) From Cidiphtha³¹⁰ to Tachape, *stades.
- 355.** (107) From Tachape to Neapolis, 100 stades, there is a city and it has a harbor.
- 356.** (108) From Neapolis to Thythna, * stades.
- 357.** (109) From Thythna³¹¹ to Anchola, *stades.
- 358.** (110) From Anchola to Halipota, 120 stades.
- 359.** (111) From Halipota to Thapsos, *stades.³¹²
- 360.** (112) The cities themselves have harbors, and because they lie near shallows, ships of limited size sail to them. The island Cercina, *being* 120 stades away, lies near Anchola and Halipota and Cidiphtha. From the Lotus-Eaters, which is Meninx, to the island of Cercina through the straits, 750 stades. From Thythna to the island of Cercina and the city * stades, there are shallows which carry on to the sea. From Cercina to Thapsos, 700 stades. It has a good island in the open sea, situated along Thapsos towards the north *being* 80 stades away, it has a harbor and water. The islands themselves lie around the Icarian Sea. {The remainder of Phoenicia}

The remainder of Phoenicia

- 361.** (113) From Thapsos to Leptis Minor, 170 stades, it is a small city. It has clear shallows and landing at the city is altogether troublesome.
- 362.** (114) From Leptis to Thermai, 60 stades, there is a town. In the same manner, here also the shallows *make for* a difficult landing.
- 363.** (115) From Thermai sailing 40 stades, you will see a peninsula near it which has two islands with palisades. There is an anchorage.
- 364.** (116) From the peninsula you will see the city Adrymetus, 40 stades *away*. *It is* harborless.
- 365.** (117) From Adramytes³¹³ to Aspis, 500 stades. There is a conspicuous high peninsula and it is like a shield³¹⁴. From there sail to the north, as it appears on the left. For there are many rough shallows by that sea. Then Aspis appears to you and near it Neapolis. From the gulf of Neapolis to Aspis, 200 stades. {There is a high place and near it the city.} It has a harbor facing the west wind, over 10 stades above the city.
- 366.** (118) From Aspis to the cape of Hermaia * stades.

³⁰⁹ Müller: the Mainland

³¹⁰ Müller: Hedaphtha in Ptolemy

³¹¹ Müller: Thena, after Strabo

³¹² Müller: 120 stades, following Scylax

³¹³ i.e. Adrymetus

³¹⁴ The Greek word for shield is Aspis.

367. (119) From cape of Hermaia to Misua Harbor, * stades.
368. (120) Misua Harbor to Therma, seven stades. It is a town and above it *there are* hot springs³¹⁵.
369. (121) From Therma to Carpe, 107 stades. There is a city and it has a harbor.
370. (122) From Carpe to Maxyla, 20 stades. There is a city and a harbor.
371. (123) From Maxyla³¹⁶ to Galabras, 50 stades. There is a mooring as far as the sands go.³¹⁷
372. (124) From Galabras to Carthage, 120 stades, it is a great city and it has a harbor, in the city there is a tower. Moor on the right under the mound.
373. All the places from Meninx of the island of the Lotus-Eaters up until Carthage, 550 stades.
374. (125) From Carthage to Castra Corneli³¹⁸, 303 stades. It is a harbor fit for wintering in, many ships winter in it.
375. (126) From Castra Corneli to Ustica, 24 stades. It is a city. It has no harbor, but it has a roadstead. Be careful.
376. (127) From Ustica³¹⁹ ****³²⁰
377. (128) {from} to Carna, 24 stades. There is a roadstead. There is a landing place for small ships. Go in steadily.
378. (129) From Carna³²¹ to the peninsula which is called Balaneai, 200 stades.
379. (130) {from Balaneai} to of the villages of the Balaneans, * stades.
380. (131) From the peninsula of Balaneai³²² to the peninsula Paltos, 90 stades.
381. (132) From the peninsula Paltos³²³ after winding around, to the peninsula of Branchioi, 10 stades.
382. And from the cape of Balaneai straight to Paltos, 200 stades.
383. All the lands from Ptolemaia, while sailing alongside the land, {into} Paltos, 2,000 stades. {And the remainder of Coele Syria}

The remainder of Coele Syria

384. (133) From Paltos to the land of Pelletai,³²⁴ 30 stades.
385. (134) From Pelletai to the harbor which lies on the beach which has near it a chasm, 20 stades.
386. (135) From Pelletai to Gabala, 30 stades.
387. (136) From Gabala³²⁵ to the navigable river which is called *, 40 stades.

³¹⁵ Thermos is the Greek word for hot spring

³¹⁶ Müller: Maxula in Pliny

³¹⁷ ξως τῆς τῶν ἀμμώδων ἀγωγῆς

³¹⁸ Latin for the Camp of Cornelius

³¹⁹ Müller: Utica

³²⁰ Here the manuscript breaks off and we resume in Coele Syria. Müller: the missing page covered Utica up to the Straits of Gibraltar, and Alexandria to Carna.

³²¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 12, line 4

³²² Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 12, line 5

³²³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 12, line 5

³²⁴ Müller: Paltans

³²⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 12, line 4

- 388.** (137) From {the} navigable river to the cape, on which lies the city of Laodicea, 200 stades. From the navigable river to Balaneis, 70 stades. From Balaneis to Laodicea, by running a straight course with the rainless south wind towards places east of the north, 200 stades.
- 389.** (138) From {the cape of} Laodicea³²⁶ to Heraclia³²⁷, 20 stades.
- 390.** (139) By winding around the peninsula there is a harbor which is called Leucos³²⁸, 30 stades.
- 391.** (140) From the harbor Leucos to the town which is called Pasieria, 30 stades.
- 392.** (141) From the town to the cape which is called Polia, 20 stades.
- 393.** (142) From Heraclia to Poseidios the short way,³²⁹ 100 stades.
- 394.** (143) From the cape of Poseidios³³⁰ to the city of Sidon, 300 stades. Beyond it is a high mountain which is called Thronos.
- 395.** (144) From the city of Sidon to the place which sets off Casion³³¹, which is called Chaladropolis, 60 stades.
- 396.** (145) From Chaladron to the island which is called Macra, 10 stades.
- 397.** (146) From the island of Macra to Nymphaion, 50 stades. The entire way around from Casion is rough. Sail to this place 20 stades away from land.
- 398.** (147) From Nymphaion to the city of Antioch³³² which has a market and beside it a river which is called Orontes, 400 stades. The river is 15 stades away.
- 399.** (148) From the river to Seleuceia, 40 stades. From Poseidios the short way to Seleuceia, by sailing the west wind, 110 stades.
- 400.** (149) From Seleuceia³³³ to Georgia, 142 stades.
- 401.** (150) From Georgia to the gulf of Rhossaeoi, 300 stades. From the peninsula of Poseidios to the gulf of Rhossaeoi, with fair winds, 200 stades.
- 402.** (151) From Rhossos Terdnia³³⁴ to the city of Myriandros, 90 stades.
- 403.** (152) From Myriandros³³⁵ to Alexandria on Issos³³⁶, 120 stades.
- 404.** (153) From Alexandria to the Cilician Gates, 200 stades.
- 405.** Together all the places from Paltos to the Cilician Gates, 2,500 stades.
- 406.** (154) From the Cilician Gates³³⁷ to Hieros, 120 stades. This is *where one* climbs to the place near the city.³³⁸
- 407.** (155) From Hieros to the city of Amisos, 700 stades.

³²⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 9, line 1

³²⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 12, line 4

³²⁸ White

³²⁹ τὸν ἐπίτομον

³³⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 12, line 3

³³¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 8, line 28

³³² Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 4, line 21

³³³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 8, line 21

³³⁴ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 19, line 4

³³⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 19, line 4

³³⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 19, line 1

³³⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 19, line 6

³³⁸ Müller emends to: to Nicopolis.

408. (156) From Amisos to the Amanides Pylae³³⁹ in the base of a bay³⁴⁰, 90 stades.
409. (157) From the Pylae to the town of Alas, 50 stades. From Myriandros, running with a fair wind, 100 stades.
410. (158) From Alas to the city of Aigaiai, 100 stades. From Myriandros by running a straight course towards the pole³⁴¹ by the south wind, 100 stades.
411. (159) From Aigaiai it is a precipitous coasting voyage, to the town of Seretila,³⁴² 150 stades. From Rhosos by running a straight course to Seretila towards the pole by the south wind, 250 stades. Opposite Seretila there is a town above which is called Pyramos³⁴³ and above it a mountain which is called Parios, 60 stades away.
412. (160) From Seretila a town on the point called Ianouaria, 1000 stades.³⁴⁴
413. (161) From Ianouaria promontory to the islands of Didymoi, 30 stades.
414. (162) From the islands of Didymoi to the city which is called Mallos, 100 stades.
415. (163) From Mallos to Antiocheia on the Pyramos³⁴⁵ river, 150 stades.
416. (164) From Antiocheia to Ionia, which they now call Cephala³⁴⁶, 70 stades. Beside the peninsula is a navigable river, it is called Pyramos. From the * promontory by not running into the bay, but by sailing straight to Antiocheia then to the east of the mainland crossing by the south wind far to the left, 350 stades.
417. (165) From the river of Pyramos, by sailing straight to Soli, on the westward parts of the north, drawing on a little by the south wind, 500 stades.
418. (166) From the Cephala (Head) of Pyramos to the river Saros, 120 stades.
419. (167) From the river Saros to the mouth of the lake, which is called Rhegmoi, 70 stades.
420. (168) From Rhegmoi to Tarsus³⁴⁷, 70 stades. The river Cydnus flows through the middle of the city.
421. (169) From Tarsus to the village of Zephyrion, 120 stades.
422. (170) <From Zephyrion to Soli, * stades.>
423. (171) And from Soli to the town of Calanthias, 50 stades.
424. (172) From the town of Calanthias to Elaious, 100 stades.
425. (173) From Elaious to the town called Corycon, 20 stades. From Soli to Corycon, 280 stades. Beyond it is a cave which is called Corycion, 100 stades away.
426. (174) From Corycon³⁴⁸ to a harbor which is called Calon Coracesion, 125 stades.
427. (175) From Coracesion to a multicolored cliff, which has a staircase, over which there is a path to Seleuceia upon the river Calycadnos³⁴⁹, seven stades.

³³⁹ Amanides Gates

³⁴⁰ ἐν τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τοῦ κόλπου

³⁴¹ Possibly the North Star

³⁴² Müller: Serrepolis in Ptolemy

³⁴³ Pyramos is a river, so Müller: opposite Seretila is [a river] called Pyramos

³⁴⁴ Müller: 1 stade.

³⁴⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 12, chapter 2, section 4, line 2

³⁴⁶ Head

³⁴⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 12, line 1

³⁴⁸ Strabo *Geographica* Book 13, chapter 4, section 6, line 33

428. (176) From the staircase to the river Calucadnos, 40 stades.
429. (177) From the river to the narrow sandy cape called Sarpedonia, 80 stades. From it rocks stretch out as *far as* 20 stades.
430. (178) From the nearest cape to Cyprus to the city of Carpasia, with the fairest possible wind, 400 stades.
431. (179) From the cape of Sarpedonia³⁵⁰ to Seleuceia, 120 stades.
432. (180) Likewise also to Holmoi, 120 stades.
433. (181) From Holmoi to the cape and town called Mylai, 40 stades.
434. (182) From the cape to the harbor of Nesoulis and the cape which is on an island, 60 stades.
435. (183) From the cape to the village of Philaia, 20 stades.
436. All the places from Mylai to Philaia the short way, 500 stades.
437. (184) From Philaia to the island of Pityusa, 130 stades. Pityusa is 20 stades away from the island which is near Myle. From the capes of Pityusa to Aphrodisias, 45 stades.
438. (185) From Aphrodisias, keeping Pityusa on the left, to the tower which lies near the cape called by the name Zephyrion, 40 stades. From Zephyrion to the cape and city of Aphrodisias, 40 stades. From the cape of Sarpedonia to Aphrodisias, a voyage sailing towards the setting of Cancer, 120 stades.
439. (186) Aphrodisias lies very close to Cyprus; by the rugged banks of Aulion, keeping the northward parts opposite the stern, 500 stades. **CUNTZ 266**
440. (187) From Aphrodisias to the village called Ciphisos <and the river Melas>, 35 stades.
441. (188) From the river Melas³⁵¹ to the cape of Craunoi, 40 stades.
442. (189) From Craunoi to Pisourgia, keeping Crambousa to the left, 45 stades. From Aphrodisias to Pisourgia, 120 stades.
443. (190) From Pisourgia to the gulf of Bernice, 50 stades.
444. (191) <From Bernice to Celenderis, 50 stades.>
445. (192) From Celenderis³⁵² to Mandana, 100 stades.
446. (193) From Mandana to the peninsula called Poseidios, 60 stades.
447. (194) From Mandana to the *land* of Dionysiophanes, 30 stades.
448. (195) From the *land* of Dionusiophanoi to Rhygmanoi, 50 stades.
449. (196) From Rhygmanoi to Anemourios, 50 stades.
450. (197) From Anemourios to the lands nearest Cyprus, on the cape of Crommyos, 300 stades.
451. (198) From Anemourios to Platanus, 350 stades.
452. (199) From Platanus to the village of Charadros, 350 stades. Beyond Charadros lies a great mountain called Androcus, *which is* 30 stades away.
453. (200) From Charadros³⁵³ to the village called Cragos, 100 stades.

³⁴⁹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 13, chapter 4, section 6, line 32

³⁵⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 13, chapter 4, section 6, line 32

³⁵¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 3, line 20; not the place and river of similar names in Book 9, chapter 2, section 18, line 26 and section 19 line 2.

³⁵² Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 3, line 20

454. (201) From Cragos³⁵⁴ to the village Nephelios-on-the-sea, 25 stades.
 455. (202) From Nephelios to the cape of Nesiazouse, 80 stades.
 456. (203) From the cape of Nesiazouse to Selinous, 100 stades.
 457. (204) From Selinous³⁵⁵ to Acamas of Cyprus, 1,200 stades.
 458. (205) From Selinous to Nauloi, 120 stades.
 459. (206) From Nauloi to the village called Laertes-on-the-sea, 320 stades.
 460. (207) From Laertes to Coracesios, 100 stades.
 461. (208) From Coracesios to Aunesis at the village of Hamaxia, 80 stades.
 462. (209) From Anaxia to the village called Augae, 70 stades.
 463. (210) From Augae to the peninsula of Leucotheios, 50 stades.
 464. (211) From Leucotheios to Cyberna, 50 stades.
 465. (212) From Cyberna to the Temple of Artemis, 50 stades.
 466. (213) From the Temple of Artemis³⁵⁶ to the navigable river Melas, 9 stades.
 467. And so there are together all the places from the Cilician Gates until the river Melas, 4,050 stades. {The remainder of Pamphylia}

The remainder of Pamphylia

468. (214) From the river Melas to Side, 50 stades.
 469. (215) From Side³⁵⁷ to Attaleia, 350 stades. From Attaleia to the trading post <Corycion>, 300 stades. From <the trading post of> Corycion to Side, 50 stades. From Side to Acamas, 1200 stades.
 470. (216) From Side to Seleuceia, 80 stades.
 471. (217) From Seleuceia to the navigable river called Eurymedon <and Cynosarion>, 100 stades.³⁵⁸
 472. (219) From Cynosarion to the river called Cestros, 60 stades. By sailing upstream there is a city called Perga³⁵⁹.
 473. (220) From Cestros³⁶⁰ to Rhouscopous {* stades}.
 474. (221) From Rhouscopous to Masoura and the Catarracts, 50 stades.
 475. (222) From Masoura to Mygdala, 70 stades.
 476. (223) From Mygdala to Attaleia, 10 stades.
 477. (224) From Attaleia to the village of Tenedos, 20 stades.
 478. (225) From Tenedos to the land of Lyrnas [Lerna?], 60 stades.
 479. (226) <From Lyrnas to Phaselis, * stades.> Beyond the city *there is* a great mountain which lies above Phaselis.

³⁵³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 3, line 9

³⁵⁴ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 3, line 9

³⁵⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 5, section 3, line 8

³⁵⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 1, section 20, line 17

³⁵⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 2, line 11

³⁵⁸ Helm deletes Müller's emendation "(218) From Eurymedon to Cynosarion * stades".

³⁵⁹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 2, line 1

³⁶⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 2, line 1

480. (227) From Phaselis to Corycos, * stades.
481. (228) From Corycos³⁶¹ to Phoinicous, 30 stades. Beyond it lies a great *and* tall mountain which is called Olympus.³⁶²
482. (229) <From Phoinicous³⁶³ to Crambousa, 50 stades.> From Phaselis³⁶⁴ straight to Crambousa, 100 stades.
483. (230) From Crambousa³⁶⁵ to the village of Posidarisous, 30 stades.
484. (231) From Posidarisous to the place called Moron Hydor “Foolish Water”, 30 stades.
485. (232) From Moron Hydor to the cape of Hiera³⁶⁶ and the island Chelidonia, 50 stades.
486. Together all the places from the river Melanos until Chelidonia, by sailing along land, 500 stades. By the short way through the straits to Chelidonia, 600 stades.
487. (233) From Chelidonia³⁶⁷ to Marios and Acamas the peninsula of Cyprus, to the east of the Ram by the fairest possible west wind, 1800 stades. From Anemourios to the islands of Chelidonia, 1,200 stades. {the remainder of Lycia}

The remainder of Lycia

488. (234) From the cape of Hiera to Melanippa, 30 stades.
489. (235) From Melanippa to Gagai, 60 stades.
490. (236) From Melanippa to the river Lamyros, 60 stades. 60 stades beyond *it* lies the city called Lamyra.
491. (237) From Melanippa to the tower called Isios, 60 stades.
492. (238) From the tower of Isios to Adriace, 60 stades.
493. (239) From Adriace to Somena, 4 stades.
494. (240) From Somena to Aperlae, 60 stades.
495. (241) <From Aperlae to *the* peninsula *, * stades.>
496. (242) From the peninsula to Antiphellos, 50 stades.
497. (243) From Antiphellos³⁶⁸ to the island Megiste, 50 stades.
498. (244) From Megiste³⁶⁹ to the island Rhoge, 50 stades.
499. (245) From Rhoge to the island of Xenagoras, 300 stades.
500. (246) From the island of Xenagoras to Patara, 60 stades.
501. (247) From Patara to the navigable river <Xanthos>, beyond which lies the city of Xanthos, 60 stades.
502. (248) From the river Xanthos³⁷⁰ straight to Pydnae, 60 stades.
503. (249) From Pydnae until the cape of Hiera, 80 stades.
504. (250) From the cape of Hiera to Calabantia, 30 stades.
505. (251) From Calabantia to Perdicia, 50 stades.

³⁶¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 8, line 17

³⁶² Ὀλυμπος

³⁶³ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 8, line 17

³⁶⁴ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 9, line 1

³⁶⁵ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 8, line 15

³⁶⁶ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 8, line 1

³⁶⁷ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 8, line 12

³⁶⁸ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 7, line 7

³⁶⁹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 7, line 5

³⁷⁰ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 3, section 6, line 1

506. (252) From Perdicia to Cissidae, 50 stades.
 507. (253) From Cissidae to the island Lagousa, 80 stades.
 508. (254) From Lagousa to Telemensos, 5 stades.
 509. (255) Together all the places from the cape of Hieria until Telemensos, make 1,500 stades. {The remainder of Caria}

The remainder of Caria

510. (255) From Telemensos to Pedalion opposite Rhopisa, 200 stades.
 511. (256) From Telemensos to Daidala, 50 stades.
 512. (257) From Daidalato Callimache, 50 stades.
 513. (258) From Callimache to Crouai, 60 stades.
 514. (259) From Crouai to Cochlia, 50 stades.
 515. (260) From Clydoi to the peninsula of Pedalios, 30 stades.
 516. (261) From Pedalios to the bend of the bay at Glaucos, 80 stades.
 517. (262) From the bend to Cauniae Panormos, 120 stades.
 518. (263) From Panormos to the place called Cymaria, 50 stades.
 519. (264) From Cymaria to Pasada, 60 stades.
 520. (265) From Pasada to Caunos, 30 stades.
 521. (266) From Caunos to Rhopousa, 15 stades.
 522. (267) From Rhopousa to the place which is opposite Leucopagos, 40 stades. And from Rhopousa to Samos, 100 stades.
 523. (268) From Samos to Poseidion, 60 stades
 524. (269) From Poseidion to Phalaros, 50 stades.
 525. (270) From Phalaros to the island which is called Elaousa, 50 stades.
 526. (271) From Elaousa to Rhodes, 150 stades, which makes it, 600 stades to Mallos. and 600 stades to the temple of Byzantios.

Distances from Rhodes and other Islands

527. (272) From Rhodes to Alexandria, 4,500 stades, from Rhodes to Ashkelon, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Caesarea, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Berytos³⁷¹, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Sidon, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Byblos, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Tripolis, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Seleuceia, 3,600 stades; from Rhodes to Cilicia, 1,500 stades; from Rhodes to Corycos, 1,000 stades; from Rhodes to Cyprus to the west, which is to the east of the Ram, with the fairest possible west wind, 2,800 stades; from Rhodes to Patara, 700 stades; from Rhodes to Caunos, 450 stades; from Rhodes to the island of Rhopousa, 350 stades; from Rhodes to Physcos, 450 stades; from Rhodes to Agne, 350 stades; from Rhodes to Cnidos, 750 stades; from Rhodes to Nesyros, 820 stades; from Rhodes to Tilos, 550 stades; from Lepataleis to Poseidion of Carpasos, 420 stades; from Rhodes to Cos, 850 stades; from Rhodes to Chios, 3,000 stades; from Rhodes to Moundos, 1,000 stades; from Rhodes to Samos, 1,800 stades; from Rhodes to Tenedos, 3,800 stades.
 528. (273) <To sail from Rhodes to Scylaios of Argolis, with the fairest possible wind, is * stades.> You sail keeping on your left the islands of Nesyros and Astypalaea, and keeping on your right Cos and Leros and Amourgos and Ios and Sicnos and Daphne and Dera and Seriphos and Cydnos. The rest of the way to Donousa take the left, from where Scylaion can be seen.

³⁷¹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 2, section 17, line 6

529. (274) From Cnidos to Cos, 180 stades.
530. (275) From Cos to Halicarnassus, 180 stades.
531. (276) From Halicarnassus to Moundos, 220 stades.
532. (277) From Moundos to Leros, 350 stades.
533. (278) From Mundos to Cos, 120 stades.
534. (279) So from Cos to Leros³⁷², 350 stades. From Cos to Delos, 1,300 stades. From Cos to Samos {through *the* straits} 1,000 stades.
535. (280) To sail from Cos to Delos {through *the* strait} {on the setting} of the Ram, with a fairest possible east wind, is 1,300 stades. You will sail to Calydnai. Then you will sail down keeping to your right Hyphirisma and Calydnai and [Celeris and] Leros and Patmos [and], <on your left> Cinara and Amourgios. And you will sail to Donousa, 8 stades on your left. Then taking Melanthioi to the right and Meconos <from your left and stretching out>, you will be brought down to Delos.
536. (281) From Myndos {to *}, which is *reached* {through} Attica, 1500 stades. You will sail through Corsicai and Leros and Calydnos and Horbida, taking {the right} you should sail to Amourgiai, keeping Donousa and Naxos and Cydnos to the right.
537. (282) If you wish to sail through islands you will sail thusly: from Cos to Lernos, 250 stades; from Lernos to Lebinthos, 250 stades; from Lebinthos to Cinaros, 500 stades; from Cinaros to the places nearest Amourgiai, at Cerata, 85 stades; and the coastal voyage to <Menoa> 85 stades; from [Corsioi to] Menoa <at Cereia>, 85 stades; from Cereia, keeping Cereia on your left to Panormos of Naxos, 65 stades, from Panormos to Delos, 420 stades.
538. (283) From Cos to Leros, 320 stades; from Leros to Parthenion, 60 stades; from <Parthenios of> Leros to Amazonios of Patmos, 200 stades; from Amazonios to Corsia, 400 stades; from the **overtaking** of Amzonios to Delos, 550 stades; from Delos to Syros, 150 stades; <from Syros to Andros, * stades>; from Andros to the harbor of Gaurios, 80 stades; From Gaurios to the peninsula *, 30 stades; from the peninsula <to Geraistos>, nearest the cape, 450 stades; from Cregeai to Carystos, 120 stades; [other islands]: from Rhegea to Petaleai, 100 stades.
539. (284) I return again to the intervals from Delos to the following islands. From Delos to Thera, 350 stades; from Delos to Amourgia, to Minoa, 650 stades; from Delos to Anaphe, 100 stades; from Delos to Ios, 650 stades; from Delos to Corsiai, 650 stades; from Delos to Cimolos, 800 stades; from Delos to Siphnos, 640 stades; from Delos to Cydnos, 350 stades; from Delos to Tenos, 350 stades; from Delos to Naxos, 350 stades; from Delos to Donousa, 320 stades; from Delos to Patmos, 850 stades; from Delos to the headland of Melanteoi, 180 stades; from Delos to Cea, 300 stades; from Delos to Andros, 800 stades; from Delos to Paros, 400 stades.
540. (285) I return again to Myndos, from which I left off *previously*. From Myndos to Panormos, 80 stades.
541. (286) From Myndos to Bargulia, 250 stades.
542. (287) From Panormos to Poseidios and Angistros, 250 stades.
543. (288) From Bargulia to Iasos, 220 stades.
544. (289) From Iasos to the promontory of Poseidios, 120 stades.
545. (290) From Iasos to Acritas, 240 stades.

³⁷² Information on many of the following islands can be found Strabo *Geographica* Book 16, chapter 5

546. (291) Opposite Iasos lies the spring *called* Passala, from where one departs to Mylassa, 20 stades.
547. (292) From Poseidios to Panormos, 40 stades.
548. (293) From Panormos to Miletos, 80 stades.
549. (294) I return again to Myndos, through the straits. From Panormos to Miletos, 300 stades.
550. (295) From Pharmacousa to Miletos, 120 stades.
551. (296) From Miletos to Samos, 300 stades.
552. All the places from Telemensos until Miletos, 2,500 stades.
553. (297) From Acamas, while keeping Cyprus to the left, to Paphos, 300 stades. It is a city which lies to the south, it has a triple harbor for all winds and a temple of Aphrodite.
554. (298) From Paphos to Noumenios (it is an island which has a spring; the voyage is brief; when you are near to the island press hard to the right of the land), [1]25 stades.
555. (299) From Noumenios to Palaipaphos, [1]25 stades.
556. (300) From Palaipaphos to Tretoi (it is a peninsula), 50 stades.
557. (301) <From Tretoi to Couriacos, * stades.>
558. (302) From Couriacos to Amathous, 150 stades. It is a harborless city. Be careful as you enter the place.
559. (303) From Couriacos to Caraii, 40 stades. It is a peninsula which has a harbor, an anchorage, and water. *****³⁷³

The Circumnavigation of Cyprus

560. (304) From Pedalios to the islands, 80 stades. There is a deserted city called Ammochostos. It has a harbor in all winds. It has sunken rocks in the landing. Watch carefully.
561. (305) From the islands to Salamen, 50 stades. It is a city. It has a harbor.
562. (305a) From Salamen to Palaia, 120 stades. It is a village and it has a harbor and water.
563. (306) From Palaia to Phileous, 300 stades.
564. (307) From Phileous to Acra, 60 stades. There are two moorings, one bluish and one white, each having water. Beyond *them*, lies a temple of Aphrodite and two islands lie off the coast, which both have harbors to sail into.
565. (308) From Anemourios of Cilicia to Acamas of Cyprus, 700 stades.
566. (309) From Acamas, keeping Cyprus to the right, to Arsinoe of Cyprus, 270 stades. It is a city. It has a deserted harbor. You may winter from the north wind *here*.
567. (310) From Cromyacos to Melabros, 50 stades. There is summer mooring.
568. (311) From Melabros to Soloi, 300 stades. It is a harborless city.
569. (312) From Soloi to Cyrenaios, 350 stades. It is a city. It has an anchorage.
570. (313) From Cyrenaios to Lapathos, 450 stades. There is a city which has an anchorage.
571. (314) From Lapathos to Carpaseia, 350 stades. It is a city. It has a harbor for small boats. You may winter from the north wind *here*.
572. (315) From Carpaseia³⁷⁴ to Acra, 100 stades. From there we pass to Anemourios.
573. The entire circumnavigation of Cyprus, 1,250 stades.
574. (316) From [the same] Couriacos to Pelousion, 1,300 stades.
575. (317) From Cition of Cyprus to Askelon, 3,300 stades. {The circumnavigation of Crete}

The Circumnavigation of Crete

³⁷³ Here the manuscript breaks off and we resume circumnavigating Cyprus.

³⁷⁴ Strabo *Geographica* Book 14, chapter 6, section 3, line 14

576. (318) From Casios to Samonion of Crete, 500 stades. It is a peninsula of Crete which greatly juts out to the north. There is a temple of Athena. It has an anchorage and water. The other *anchorages* have been lost to the sea.
577. (319) From Samonion to Hiera Pydna, 80 stades. It is a city. It has a mooring. And it has an island which is called Chrysea. It has a harbor and water.
578. (320) From Hiera Pydna to Bienos, 70 stades. There is a forest away from the sea.
579. (321) From Bienos to Lebena, 70 stades. There an island lies alongside *it*, which is called Oxeia. It has water.
580. (322) From Lebena to Halae, 20 stades.
581. (323) From Halae to Matala, 300 stades. It is a city and it has a harbor.
582. (324) From Matala to Soulia, 65 stades. It is a peninsula which juts out to the south. There is a harbor. It has good water.
583. (325) From Soulena to Psychea, 12 stades.
584. (326) From Psychea to Lamon, 150 stades. It is a harbor. And it has a city and water. And from Pydna to Psycheas, 350 stades. A summer mooring, and it has water.
585. (327) From Psycheas to Apollonias, 30 stades.
586. (328) From Apollonia to Phoinica, 100 stades. It is a city. It has a harbor and an island. From Claudia to Phoinica, 300 stades. It has a city and a harbor.
587. (329) From Phoinica to Tarros, 60 stades. There is a small city. It has a mooring.
588. (330) From Tarros to Poicilassos, 60 stades. There is a city and it has a mooring and water.
589. (331) From Poicilassos to Sybas, 50 stades. It is a city and it has a good harbor.
590. (332) <From Suia to Lissos, 30 stades.>
591. (333) From Lissos to Calamyde, 250 stades.
592. (334) From Calamyde to Criou Metopon (“Ram’s Forehead”), 30 stades. It is a high peninsula. It has water and an anchorage.
593. (335) From Criou Metopon to Biennos, 12 stades. It has a harbor and water.
594. (336) From Biennos to Phalansara, 76 stades³⁷⁵. There is a mooring *and* an old city *with* a trading post. The island Iousagoura is 60 stades away, which looks to the east. It has a harbor, it has a temple of Apollo in the harbor. And there is another island 3 stades away. It is called Mese and it has a harbor. *There is a third island* which is called Myle. The voyage *there is in* deep water. It has a market.
595. (337) From Myle to Tretos, 50 stades. It is a peninsula of Crete which is full of holes, steep and rugged³⁷⁶.
596. (338) From Tretos to Agneios, 50 stades. It is a harbor which has a temple of Apollo. There is an inner gulf and it is called Myrtilos. It also has water.
597. (339) From Agneios to Cisamos, 80 stades. It is a city which lies in the gulf. There is a harbor. And it has water.
598. (340) From Cisamos to Tyros³⁷⁷, 25 stades. It is a high peninsula which is thickly wooded. It looks to the north.
599. (341) From Tyros to Dictynnaion, 80 stades. There is a harbor <and> a beach.
600. (342) From Dictynnaion to Coite, 170 stades. It is an island. It has a harbor and water. It looks to Crete to the north.

³⁷⁵ οξ΄ Possibly 760 stades

³⁷⁶ κατάκρημνον τῆς Κρήτης

³⁷⁷ Τύρον Possibly Tyre

601. (343) From Acoitios to Cydonia, 60 stades. It is a city. It has a harbor and the entrance has shallows.
602. (344) From Cydonia to Aptera, sailing around, 150 stades. By foot, 120 *Roman miles*³⁷⁸. The place is called Mino, near which lie three islands which are called Leucaia.
603. (345) From Mino to Amphimatris, 150 stades. There is a river and a harbor surrounding it fit for wintering in. And it has a tower.
604. (346) From Amphimatris to Hydramos, 100 stades. It is a city. It has a beach. The city is called Eleuthera. By foot to climb from Amphimatris to *Eleuthera*, 50 *Roman miles*.
605. (347) From Amphimatris to Astale, 30 stades. There is a harbor on the left. It has water. [From there Eleuthera is 50 stades away.]
606. (348) From Astale to Heracleion, 100 stades. It is a city. It has a harbor and water. 20 stades away lies the city of Cnosos³⁷⁹ and an island lies 40 stades away to the west. It is called Dios.
607. (349) From Heracleion to the city of Cherronesos, 30 stades. It has water and an island which has a tower and a harbor.
608. (350) From Cherronesos to Olous, 60 stades. There is a cape. It has an anchorage and good water. It is 20 stades away from land *.
609. (351) From Olous to Camara, 15 stades.
610. (352) From Camara to Istros, 25 stades.
611. (353) From Istros to the cape Cetia, 15 stades. There is an anchorage, but *it is waterless*.
612. (354) From the cape Cetia to Dionusias, 300 stades. There are two islands which have a harbor and water.
613. (355) From Dionusias to Sammonion, from where we began to go around Crete, 120 stades. Peninsula *****³⁸⁰

The Chronology after the Tower of Babel

614. And having shown the nations who were created from *the tower of Babel*, we shall hasten onward to the years.³⁸¹
615. Peleg *lived* 130 years *and* begot Reu.
616. Reu *lived* 132 years *and* begot Serug.
617. Serug *lived* 130 years *and* begot Nahor.
618. Nahor *lived* 79 years *and* begot Terah.
619. Terah *lived* 70 years *and* begot Abraham.
620. And Abraham was 75 years *old*, after this time God told him to depart from his country and from his father's house and go into the land of Canaan.
621. Therefore from the division of *the nations* until Abraham went into the land of Canaan, there was 5 generations, 616 years; and from Adam 20 generations, 3,383 years, 4 days.³⁸²
622. And Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan 25 years and begot Isaac.
623. Isaac *lived* 60 years *and* begot Jacob.
624. Jacob *lived* 86 years *and* begot Levi.

³⁷⁸ This and the following mile number seem far too large

³⁷⁹ Strabo *Geographica* Book 10, chapter 4, section 5, line 7

³⁸⁰ Here the Greek breaks off and we resume with the Latin from the Book of Generations 1, and from the Chronography of 354 A.D

³⁸¹ Latin: *Et ostensis gentibus, quae de quo creatae sunt, necessario decurremus ad annos.*

³⁸² Apparently originally "3383 or 4", reflecting a disparity in source manuscripts of the Chronicle. The Book of Generations I in §690 adds up to 3383, and the Armenian here has the same.

625. Levi lived 40 years and begot Kohath.
 626. Kohath lived 60 years and begot Amram.
 627. Amram lived 70 years and begot Aaron.³⁸³
 628. In the 70th month and the 3rd year³⁸⁴ of Aaron's life, the sons of Israel went out from Egypt, with Moses leading them.
 629. Therefore all the years are 430; the people were in the desert under Moses 40 years.
 630. And they were in the desert 40 years.³⁸⁵
 631. Joshua of Nun crossed the Jordan and was in the land 31 years, he waged war 6 years, and afterward possessing the land, he lived 25 years more.³⁸⁶
 632. Therefore from when Abraham went into the land of Canaan until the death of Joshua of Nun there were 7 generations in number, 501 years; and from Adam 27 generations, 3,884 years.
 633. After the death of the true Joshua the sinning people were handed over to Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, whom they served 8 years.
 634. And when they cried to the Lord, Othniel, the younger brother of Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, stood up and denounced Cushan-Rishathaim himself and killed him and bore the leadership of the people 31 years.
 635. And again while the people were sinning and they were handed over to Eglon king of Moab and served him 18 years.
 636. And after the people repented Ehud, a man from the tribe of Ephraim, stood up and killed Eglon. He ruled over the people for 80 years.
 637. And after the death of Ehud the erring people were handed over to Jabin, king of the Canaanites, whom they served 20 years.
 638. Under him Deborah the wife of Lappidoth, from the tribe of Ephraim, prophesied and through her Barak of Abinoem, from the tribe of Naphtali, bore the leadership. He denounced Jabin the king, killed him, and reigned while judging with Deborah, 40 years.
 639. After his³⁸⁷ death the people sinned and were handed over to the Midianites, 7 years.
 640. After them, Gideon from the tribe of Manasseh, rose up, who with 300 men destroyed 120 thousand enemies. He ruled the people 40 years.
 641. His son was Abimelech.
 642. After him Tola the son of Puah the son of Dodo³⁸⁸ of the tribe of Ephraim, presided over the people 20 years.
 643. After him Jair the Gileadite of the tribe of Manasseh, judged and presided 22 years.
 644. After him the sinning people were handed over to the Ammonites, 18 years.
 645. And when they cried to the Lord, Jephthah the Gileadite from the tribe of Gad, from the city of Mizpah, stood up against those chiefs and bore the leadership 6 years.
 646. After him Ibzan³⁸⁹ judged 7 years.

³⁸³ Barbarus: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam their sister.

³⁸⁴ Armenian: 83rd year

³⁸⁵ This is from the Armenian, the Latin is missing this line.

³⁸⁶ Barbarus: And after the death of Moses and Aaron the Lord raised his spirit over Joshua son of Nun. And he brought the people of the sons of Israel across the river Jordan. And he spent 31 years in the land he invaded, as follows: six years he spent fighting, and possessing that land another twenty five, which add up to thirty one years.

³⁸⁷ Possibly "her"; the Barbarus has "after the death of Deborah and Barak"

³⁸⁸ Latin: *Caram*

³⁸⁹ Book of Generations I: *Allon Iabolonita*; Barbarus: *Esbal ille Bethlemita*; Armenian: *Esebon the Bethlemite*.

647. After him Elon judged 10 years.
648. After him Abdon, the son of Hillel, of Pirathon, from the tribe of Ephraim, judged 8 years.
649. After him the sinning people were handed over to foreigners³⁹⁰ for 40 years.
650. After this the people of Israel repented, Sampson rose up, the son of Manoah from the tribe of Dan. He fought the foreigners and bore the leadership, 20 years.
651. After him Eli, the priest, judged the people 20 years.³⁹¹
652. Afterwards, Samuel the prophet anointed Saul as King, and *Samuel* judged the people 70 years.³⁹²
653. After this time, when king David reigned, he led the ark out from the house of Aminadab and turned away the oxen and when it was returning³⁹³, the hand of the son of Aminadab, Uzzah by name, pushed back at it and he was struck down, and David feared and led it into the house of Obed-Edom, the Gittite and it was there 3 months. And Saul reigned 30 years and his commander was Abner, the son of Ner. And Samuel, by himself, anointed David as King. Therefore there was from Joshua until the taking³⁹⁴ of the Kingdom by David, of the tribe of Judah, 9 generations, 480 years, and from Adam 34 generations, 4,364 years.
654. And thereafter David reigned 40 years, 6 months. In Hebron he reigned 7 years, 6 months, and in Jerusalem 33 years. Under him the priest was Abiathar, the son of Abimilech from the lineage of Eli and from the other lineage Zadok. And in the times of David, Gad and Nathan were prophesying. And the same David had as his commander Joab, the son of Zeruiah the sister of David. He counted the people, and the number of the sons of Israel which he counted was a thousand hundred thousand.³⁹⁵ And the sons of Judah, forty seven thousand. And Levi and Benjamin he did not count. And the number of them who withdrew from Israel 70 thousand.
655. And after David, Solomon his son reigned 40 years and under him then Nathan prophesied and Ahijah of Shiloh and among them Zaddok was priest.
656. After Solomon, Reheboam his son reigned 14 years. Under him the kingdom was divided and Jeroboam the servant of Solomon, from the tribe of Ephraim, reigned in Samaria. And under Jeroboam Ahijah the Shilomite and Shemaiah the son of Elam³⁹⁶ prophesied.
657. After Reheboam, Abijah his son reigned 17 years.
658. After Abijah, Asa his son reigned 41 years. In the time of his old age his feet grieved him. And under him Azariah was prophesying.
659. After Asa, Jehoshaphat his son reigned 25 years. Under him Elijah and Micaiah the son of Imlah and Jehu the son of Hanani prophesied. And under Micaiah there was the false prophet Zedekiah the son of Kenaanah.

³⁹⁰ Latin: *allofilis* from ἀλλόφυλος. Barbarus: And after him once more the people sinned against the Lord and God handed them over to the Philistines and foreigners (*alienigenis*, calquing ἀλλόφυλος), and they served them for 40 years.

³⁹¹ Barbarus: And after that Eli the priest judged Israel. After the judges of Israel Eli the priest judged the sons of Israel, and he judged Israel himself for 20 years. And the Lord God handed the Ark over to the hands of foreigners.

³⁹² Barbarus; And after the death of Eli the priest, Samuel the prophet judged the sons of Israel, and brought back the Ark from the foreigners and entered it into the house of Aminadab, and it remained there 20 years. Afterwards Samuel anointed Saul son of Kish as king over Israel.

³⁹³ Latin: *et divertit vitulos et cum reverteretur*

³⁹⁴ Latin: *converses coepit*

³⁹⁵ The number is corrupt in the Book of Generations I, and the Armenian translation follows it; in Barbarus, 170,000.

³⁹⁶ Latin: *Aelami*

660. After Jehoshaphat, his son Jehoram reigned 20 years and under him Elijah prophesied and after him Elisha under Joram the son of Ahaziah, under whom the people in Samaria were consuming their sons and bird dung, with Jehoram reigning in Samaria.³⁹⁷
661. After Jehoram, his son Ahaziah reigned 1 year and under him Gothol and Lobdonae prophesied.³⁹⁸
662. After him Athalia the mother of Ahaziah reigned eight years, who rose up and killed the children of her son. For she was from the lineage of Ahaz the king of Israel. And the sister of Ahaziah, Jehosheba, who was the wife of Jehoiada the priest, hid Joash the son of Ahaziah, whom Jehoiada the priest sent into the kingdom. Elisha prophesied under Athalia.³⁹⁹
663. After him Joash the son of Ahaziah reigned 40 years. He killed Zechariah son of Johoiadah the priest.
664. After Joash, his son Amaziah reigned 8 years.
665. After Amaziah, his son Uzziah reigned 52 years. He was leprous until he died and under him his son Jotham was judge. Under Uzziah, Amos and Isaiah his son, and Hosea the son of Beeri and Jonah the son of Amittai from Jaffa were prophesying.
666. After Uzziah his son Jotham reigned 16 years. Under him *were* the prophets Isaiah, Hosea, Micah of Moresheth and Joel the son of Pethuel.
667. After Jotham his son Ahaz reigned 15 years and under him *were* the prophets Isaiah, Hosea, Micah and the priest Uriah.
668. Under him Shalmanesar king of Assyrians deported those who were in Samaria into Media and Babylonia.
669. After Ahaz his son Hezekiah reigned 25 years. Under him *were* the prophets Isaiah, Hosea, and Micah.
670. After Hezekiah his son Manasseh reigned 55 years.⁴⁰⁰
671. After Manasseh his son Amon reigned 2 years.
672. After Amon his son Josiah reigned 31 years. He destroyed the idols and altar of the Samaritans.
673. Under him the Passover was celebrated in his 18th year, for from the death of Joshua son of Nun a Passover was not served until then. Under him Hilkiah the priest the father of Jeremiah the prophet, found *it* in the sacred books of the Law in 18th year of Josiah.
674. And under him Hulda the wife of Shallum, *keeper* of the vestments of the priests, and Zephaniah and Jeremiah prophesied. Under whom *was* the false prophet Hananiah.
675. After Josiah⁴⁰¹ his son Jehoahaz reigned 4 months. Necho the King of Egypt bound him and led *him* into Egypt, he set in his place Eliakim who was surnamed Jehoiakim. Under him prophesied Jeremiah and Buzi and Uriah the son of Shemiah from Kiriath Jearim.
676. Jehoiakim reigned 11 years. Nebuchadnezzar bound him in bronze chains and he led Jehoiakim King of Judah into Babylonia.

³⁹⁷ Latin: *sub quo populos in Samaria filios suos et stercus columbinum manducabat regnante in Samaria Ioram.*

³⁹⁸ H₁ has *Heliseus et Abdoneus*, which Helm interprets as Elisha and Obadiah. Gothol is an error for Gotholia, i.e. Athalia.

³⁹⁹ Barbarus: Elisha and Obadiah and Jehu.

⁴⁰⁰ Barbarus adds: He killed Isaiah the prophet: he sawed him in two for arguing about sacrificing to idols. (Apocryphal tradition)

⁴⁰¹ The Book of Generations I adds: "Zephaniah reigned 5 years 11 months. After Zephaniah..."

677. After Jehoiakim his son Jehoiachin reigned 3 years and Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon led shackled, and others with him, to himself.⁴⁰²
678. After him he established in his place the brother of Jehoiachin, whose name was Zedekiah, who was also called Jeconiah, who reigned 11 years.
679. In the 12th year he was transported to Babylonia with his eyes gouged out. and they transported the people with him apart from a few, who later departed into Egypt.⁴⁰³
680. And under Zedekiah, Jeremiah and Habakuk prophesied and in the 9th year of his reign Ezekiel prophesied in Babylon. After him Nahum and Malachi were prophets.⁴⁰⁴
681. And Daniel, who saw *the vision about the seventy weeks* in the first year of Darius the King, son of Ahasuerus, from the seed of the Medes, who reigned over the kingdom of the Chaldeans.⁴⁰⁵
682. And in the first year of his reign Cyrus allowed the people to return into Jerusalem.⁴⁰⁶
683. And at this time, when the temple was built, Haggai and Zechariah prophesied at the same time.⁴⁰⁷
684. After them, Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, from the seed of Israel, built the city of Jerusalem, in the * year of Artaxerxes the King.⁴⁰⁸
685. And after him followed Mordecai.⁴⁰⁹
686. Therefore, from David until the transmigration of Zedeciah, who was also Jeconiah, there is 18 generations, 478 years, 9 months, and from Adam until the transmigration into Babylon under Jeconiah, 57 generations, 4,842 years, 9 months.

The Time of Christ and the Present Day of Hippolytus

687. And after the transmigration into Babylon until the generation of Christ, there was 14 generations, 660 years, and from the generation of Christ until the Passion there was 30

⁴⁰² Barbarus: After him Jehoiachin reigned 3 years on behalf of his father Eliachim. Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylonia brought him in in chains: he and the multitude of the people of the sons of Israel were led captive to Babylonia. Among them were Daniel, and Hananiah and Ezekiel who were with him." (Ezekiel is an error for Mishael or Azariah.)

⁴⁰³ Barbarus adds: "Then the temple in Jerusalem was sold, remaining for forty years, 25". (Construction of the Second Temple started 48 years after the destruction of the first, and was completed after another 23.)

⁴⁰⁴ Barbarus: "But the same warding off was prophesied by Ezekiel and Naum and Daniel and Jeremiah in Egypt and Habakkuk in Hostracina. But in the fifth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylonia, Ezekiel started prophesying, and Naum and Malachi, and then Haggai and Zechariah. The Kingdom of Judaea lasted until Zedekiah and Jeconiah, and there have been no further kings in Israel until this day."

⁴⁰⁵ Barbarus: "But in the fifth year of Darius the King, Daniel saw the vision about the weeks and prophesied saying: a broad and large Jerusalem shall be built. But in the sixth year of Darius son of Ahasuerus, who reigned over the kingdom of the Chaldeans, Zorobabel was the first of the Jews who went up to Jerusalem and started to rebuild Jerusalem."

⁴⁰⁶ Barbarus: "But in thesecond year of the reign of Cyrus he ordered the people of the sons of Israel to go up to Jerusalem. Then the temple was build in the 55th Olympiad under the reign of Cyrus the King. Zorobabel and the Hebrews went up together from Babylonia to Judaea and started to rebuild the temple."

⁴⁰⁷ Barbarus: "Under Cyrus the King, Ezekiel and Daniel and Haggai and Habakkuk and Zechariah son of Berechiah prophesied."

⁴⁰⁸ Barbarus: "Under the same [king, i.e. Artaxerxes], Nehemiah son of Hachalah from the line of David, who also became cupbearer of Artaxerxes the King, asked King Artaxerxes in the 24th year of his reign, and under his orders he rebuilt Jerusalem and concluded the building of the temple. And he raised walls around the city and laid out streets in it, following Daniel the prophet who said: Jerusalem shall be both built and walled around."

⁴⁰⁹ "Under the same those things *happened* against Mordecai and Esther; but Haman was hanged."

years and from the Passion up until this year which is the 13th year of the Emperor Alexander, there is 206 years.⁴¹⁰

688. Therefore all the years from Adam up until the 13th year of the Emperor Alexander make 5,738 years.

689. In order to give an alternate demonstration, not just through the times of the kings, but also from when the Passover was served, we shall count and tally the years.

690. From Adam until the deluge 2,242 years.

691. From the deluge until Abraham 1,141 years.

692. And from Abraham until when they went out from Egypt with Moses leading them, when they made the Passover, there are 430 years.

693. From the Exodus of Egypt until the crossing of the Jordan, when Joshua celebrated the Passover, there are 41 years.

694. After 444 years, Hezekiah celebrated the Passover.

695. After Hezekiah, Josiah celebrated Passover one hundred fourteen years *later*.

696. After Josiah, Ezra celebrated the Passover 108 years later.

697. After Ezra served, the generations *until* Christ after 563 years held Passover.

698. And from the generation of Christ, after 30 years, when the Lord suffered, the Passover was celebrated. For He Himself was a righteous passion.

699. And from the Passion of the Lord until the 13th year of the Emperor Alexander Caesar, 206 years the Passover was served, which has been served by us in commemoration of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁴¹¹

700. Therefore all the years from Adam up until this day are 5,738 years.

The Kings of the Persians

701. The Kings of the Persians from the time of Cyrus.

702. Cyrus reigned over the Persians 30 years.

703. After him Cambyeses reigned 9 years.

704. Smerdis the Magus *reigned* 8 months.

705. Darius 36 years.⁴¹²

706. And under him, in turn, prophesied Daniel and Haggai and Zechariah and Habakkuk.⁴¹³

707. Xerxes 26 years.

708. Artaxerxes Longimanus 36 years.

709. Xerxes 60 days.

710. Sogdianus 6 months.

711. Darius Nothus 18 years.

712. Artaxerxes the younger brother of Cyrus, 62 years.

713. Ochus, who is also Artaxerxes, 23 years 7 months.

714. Arses Nothus, 3 years.

715. Darius 7 years, he is who Alexander of Macedon deposed in the war because he was inimitable.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁰ The 13th year of Emperor Alexander Severus was 235 AD. Manuscript F of the Book of Generations I reads that it was 207 years from the passion of Christ until the 13th year of Alexander. The Armenian translation claims Christ was 32 when he died and that there are 205 years from Christ's death to the 12th year and 6th month of Emperor Alexander's reign.

⁴¹¹ The other Latin and Armenian manuscripts do not contain sections 698 and 699.

⁴¹² Barbarus: "After Cambyeses reigned Darius, the stupid brother of Cyrus, 33 years."

⁴¹³ This section taken from *Barbarus*

716. All the years are 245.

717. After them, the Greeks have made the times clear through the establishing of the Olympiads. For up until Alexander of Macedon, there were 114 Olympiads, because they were 356 years from Iphitos, who founded the Olympiads. From Alexander up until Christ, 80 Olympiads, which are 320 years. And from Christ until the 13th year of the Emperor Alexander, 58 Olympiads which are 236 years. Therefore, all of the Olympiads until the 13th year of Alexander Caesar are 253, which are 1,012 years.

The Genealogy of Jesus

718. The names of the created.

1. Adam
2. Seth
3. Enosh
4. Cainain
5. Mahalalel
6. Jared
7. Enoch
8. Methuselah
9. Lamech
10. Noah
11. Shem
12. Arphaxad
13. Cainan
14. Shelah
15. Eber
16. Peleg, under whom the earth was divided
17. Reu
18. Serug
19. Nahor
20. Terah
21. Abraham
22. Isaac
23. Jacob
24. Judah
25. Pharez
26. Hezron
27. Ram
28. Amminadab
29. Nahshon
30. Salmon

⁴¹⁴ Latin: *ininarrabiles*, corrupt for “in Arbela”, one of the main battle sites between Alexander and Darius III.

31. Boaz
32. Obed
33. Jesse
34. David
35. Solomon
36. Rehoboam
37. Abijam
38. Asa
39. Jehoshaphat
40. Jehoram
41. Ahaziah
42. Jehoash
43. Amaziah
44. Uzziah
45. Jotham
46. Ahaz
47. Hezekiah
48. Manasseh
49. Amon
50. And Josiah begot Johanan and Jehoiakim and his brother Eliakim who *is* also Jehoiakim and Zedekiah who *is* also called Jeconiah, and Shallum, and in the captivity in Babylon Jehoiakim begot
51. Jeconiah and Zedekiah. And Jeconiah begot
52. Shealtiel, Pedaiah and Shenazzar, and Saret Jekamiah, Hoshama and Nedabiah and the sons of Pedaiah.
53. Zerubbabel and the brothers of Zerubbabel were Melchia and Fanuc.⁴¹⁵
54. And his sons *were* Abihud and Meshullam and Hananiah and their sister Shelomith and Hashubah and Ohel and Berekiah and Hasadia and Jusab-Hesed. And the sanctuary was built in the time of Zerubbabel. His sons Abihud, thence
55. Eliakim
56. Azor
57. Zadok
58. Achim
59. Eliud
60. Eleazar
61. Matthan
62. Jacob

⁴¹⁵ Latin: *Melchia at Fanuc*, identified by Helm with Malchiram and Pedaiah. In 1 Chron 3:12, these are the uncle and father of Zerubbabel.

63. Joseph, who was betrothed to the virgin Mary, who begot Jesus Christ from the Holy Spirit.

The Names of the Prophets

719. The names of the prophets.

1. Adam
2. Noah
3. Abraham
4. Isaac
5. Jacob
6. Moses
7. Aaron
8. Joshua son of Nun
9. Eldad
10. and Medad
11. Nathan
12. David
13. Solomon
14. Ahijah of Shilo
15. Shemaiah son of Elam ⁴¹⁶
16. Hanani
17. Elijah
18. Micaiah son of Imlah
19. Jehu son of Hanani
20. Elisha
21. Abladone ⁴¹⁷
22. Amos
23. Isaiah
24. Hosea the son of Beeri
25. Jonah
26. Micah
27. Rabam ⁴¹⁸
28. Joel the son of Pethuel
29. Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah the preist
30. Zephaniah
31. Buzi
32. Ezekiel
33. Uriah
34. Shemiah
35. Habakkuk
36. Nahum
37. Daniel

⁴¹⁶ Latin: *Elam*

⁴¹⁷ Book of Generations II: Addon; presumably Obadiah.

⁴¹⁸ Latin: *Rabam*, name not otherwise known, and Helm considers it garbled.

38. Malachi
39. Haggai
40. Zechariah
41. And under Christ, Simeon
42. And John the Baptist

The Names of the Female Prophets

720. Likewise the female prophets.

1. Sarah
2. Rebecca
3. Miriam the sister of Moses
4. Deborah
5. Hulda
6. And under Christ, Anna
7. Elizabeth
8. Mary, who begot Christ.

The Kings of the Jews⁴¹⁹

721. Concerning the kings of the Jews. (1) Saul from the tribe of Benjamin first reigned over Israel [40 years]. (2) David, first from the tribe of Judah, [40 years]. (3) Solomon, his son, [40 years]. (4) Rehoboam his son, [7 years]. (5) Abijah, his son, [6 years]. (6) Asa, his son, [41 years]. (7) Jehoshaphat, his son, [25 years]. (8) Jehoram, his son, [8 years]. (9) Ahaziah, his son, [1 year]. (10) Athaliah, his mother, [7 years]. (11) Joash, his son, [40 years]. (12) Amaziah, his son, [29 years]. (13) Uzziah, his son, [52 years]. (14) Jotham, his son, [8 years]. (15) Ahaz, his son, [16 years]. (16) Hezekiah, his son, [29 years]. (17) Manasseh, his son, [55 years]. (18) Amon, his son, [2 years]. (19) Josiah, his son, [21 years]. (20) Jehoahaz, his son, [3 months]. (21) Eliakim, his son, [11 years]. (22) Jeconiah, his son, [3 years]. (23) Zedekiah, the son of Josiah, [11 years].

722. Until then the kingdom of Judah existed and it was overthrown. Those who after the dividing of the ten tribes⁴²⁰ were cut off are these.

723. (1) Jeroboam, the son of Nadab, 22 years.

724. (2) Nadab, his son, 2 years.

725. (3) Baasha, 24 years.⁴²¹

726. (4) Elah, his son, 2 years.

727. (5) Zimri, 12 years.

728. (6) Ahab, his son, 22 years.

729. (7) Ahazaiah, his son, 2 years. (8) Joram, his son, 12 years.⁴²²

730. (9) Jehu, 28 years.⁴²³

731. (10) Jehoahaz, his son, 17 years.

732. (11) Jehoash, his son, 16 years.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ Text based on Greek of Cois. Gr. 120 fol. 228.

⁴²⁰ σκίπτρων

⁴²¹ Book of Generations I: "he punished the House of Jeroboam".

⁴²² Book of Generations I: "under him, those who were in Samaria ate their own sons and dove dung."

⁴²³ Book of Generations I: "Jehu son of Nimshi, 28 years. He was pious in the beginning. He carried out punishment against the House of Ahab, killing Jehoram and Jezebel and Ahaziah kings of Judah.

⁴²⁴ Book of Generations I: "He killed Amaziah king of Jerusalem and destroyed 400 cubits of the wall of Jerusalem."

733. (12) Jeroboam, his son, 31 years.
 734. (13) Zechariah, his son, 6 years.
 735. (14) Shallum, 1 month.
 736. (15) Menaham, 4 years.
 737. (16) Pekahiah, his son, 2 years.
 738. (17) Pekah, 20 years.⁴²⁵
 739. (18) Hoshea, 9 years, until then the kingdom of the ten tribes of Israel and Samaria existed for then the city was taken. And all the captives were removed into Babylon.

The Names of the High Priests⁴²⁶

740. Who are the priestly ancestors of Jeremiah the prophet.
 741. (1) Aaron, (2) Phinehas⁴²⁷ (3) Ahaziah (4) Razazas⁴²⁸ (5) Moriad (6) Amoriah (7) Ahitub (8) Zadok⁴²⁹ (9) Ahimaaz (10) his son Elijah the prophet, and Salom (11) the son of Salom, Joram (12) Amos and Jehoiada (13) Zedekiah the son of Jehoiada (14) Joel (15) Uriah (16) Ner (17) Shallum (18) Hilkiah (19) Jeremiah who prophesied the captivity *while* in Judea.

The Kings of the Macedonians

742. The kings of the Macedonians after Alexander.
 743. Alexander the son of Philip after Darius 7 years.
 744. Ptolemy Lagus Soter, 42 years.
 745. Ptolemy *his* son, Philadelphus, 38 years.
 746. [Ptolemy *his* son, Euergetes, 30 years.]⁴³⁰
 747. Ptolemy *his* son, Euergetes, 25 years
 748. Ptolemy Philopator, 17 years.
 749. Ptolemy the brother, 23 years.⁴³¹
 750. Ptolemy Physcon, 2 years
 751. Euergetes, 26 years⁴³²
 752. Ptolemy Alexis, 20 years⁴³³
 753. Alexander brother of Ptolemy Alexis, 18 years.⁴³⁴
 754. Ptolemy Dionysus hecate, 29 years.⁴³⁵
 755. Cleopatra the daughter, 25 years.
 756. There are in them 346 years.⁴³⁶

⁴²⁵ Book of Generations I: "He besieged Jerusalem while Ahaz ruled, but did not conquer it."

⁴²⁶ Follows the list in Joseph's *Bible Notes (Hypomnestikon)* 10. For a similar list of priests see Epiphanius *Panarion* 55.3.3.5

⁴²⁷ The Books of Generations add Eleazar.

⁴²⁸ Book of Generations I: Razaza. Book of Generations II: Razazath.

⁴²⁹ Book of Generations I: Ettis.

⁴³⁰ Helm considers this a marginal variant which was erroneously entered into the text; Ptolemy III Euergetes ruled from 246 to 222 BC.

⁴³¹ Book of Generations II precedes these with Ptolemy Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor (17 years). "Ptolemy the brother" may be Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator; from this point both Books of Generations' chronology is garbled, although the comings and goings of the Ptolemies and Cleopatras were already hard enough to keep track of.

⁴³² Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II was nicknamed Physcon, and he has probably been counted twice.

⁴³³ Book II adds Ptolemy the Second Soter here (Ptolemy IX Soter II). But Ptolemy IX Soter was the brother of Ptolemy X Alexander named below, so he is probably counted twice here.

⁴³⁴ Book II names him as Ptolemy brother of Alexis: Ptolemy X Alexander I.

⁴³⁵ Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus. The word *hecate* is garbled, and absent from Book II.

The Emperors of the Romans

- 757. The emperors of the Romans
- 758. Augustus, 57 years
- 759. Tiberius, 22 years 7 months, 22 days
- 760. Gaius, 3 years 9 months
- 761. Claudius, 13 years 1 month 28 days
- 762. Nero, 13 years 8 months 28 days
- 763. Galba, 5 months 26 days
- 764. Otho, 8 months 12 days
- 765. Vitellius, 9 months 15 days ***
- 766. Titus, 3 years 2 months 2 days
- 767. Trajan, 18 years 8 months 6 days
- 768. Hadrian, 20 years 10 months 28 days
- 769. Antoninus Pius ** 8 months 22 days
- 770. Marcus, 19 years 5 months 12 days
- 771. Commodus, 12 years 8 months 24 days
- 772. Helvius Pertinax, 7 months
- 773. Julianus, 2 months 7 days
- 774. Severus, 14 years
- 775. Antonius whose cognomen was Caracalla, son of Severus, 6 years 9 months 2 days
- 776. Macrinus, 1 year 2 months 6 days
- 777. Antonius, 3 years 8 months 28 days
- 778. Alexander, 13 years 9 days

⁴³⁶ Book II adds: “5,448 years from Adam. After Ptolemy Dionysus...”—and stops.



Alexander and Armenia

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ALEXANDER AND ARMENIA

N. G. L. HAMMOND

WHEN DID ARMENIA BECOME A SATRAPY?

OPINIONS ARE SHARPLY DIVIDED on the question of whether Alexander possessed Armenia as a satrapy. Berve claimed that Alexander “never touched on Armenia,”¹ and his view was followed by Tarn (1948: 398, “the fiction of an Armenian satrapy”), and Bradford Welles (“Armenia had not been and was not to be conquered at this time,” writing of 331 B.C.),² and Anson (1990: 45, “it is likely that he (Mithrenes) died in his attempt to acquire the satrapy”). On the other hand, S. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt, interpreting Strabo 11.15.1, made the deduction that “Alexander ruled it (Armenia) after the Achaemenids”; but their deduction was rather tentative, for they referred to the Macedonian “conquest” in inverted commas as if it were not an actual conquest (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 191). There is therefore a case for reviewing the ancient testimonia.

That Alexander in 331 at Babylon “sent to Armenia as satrap” the Persian Mithrenes, whom he had held in honour at his court (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.4), was stated by Arrian (3.16.5, κατέπεμψε).³ Since Arrian’s sources were Ptolemy and Aristobulus,⁴ the statement is not to be doubted. Diodorus had Alexander “give Armenia to the surrenderer of the citadel of Sardis, Mithrenes” (17.64.6, ἔδωκεν),⁵ and Curtius likewise had “Armenia given to Mithrenes” (5.1.44, *Armenia Mithreni, Sardium proditori, data est*). The simple meaning of these passages is that Mithrenes was “sent” to take over an area already in submission (for there was no mention of troops), and that the “giving” was of an area already in Alexander’s possession.⁶ This meaning is supported by a remark in a speech of 330, which Curtius attributed to Alexander at Hecatompylus, that “we have in our power Armenia, Persis, Media, Parthiene” (6.3.3); for although Curtius

I express my gratitude to the anonymous readers of the journal for the comments which were made on a first draft. References to Arrian are to the *Anabasis* unless otherwise specified.

¹ Berve 1926: 1.262 “Armenien kann nur nominell, nicht faktisch als Satrapie gelten,” and 2.295 “Alexander Armenien gar nicht berührt.”

² C. Bradford Welles in the Loeb edition of Diodorus 17 (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1963) 302, n. 1.

³ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt’s wording (1993: 191), “Alexander appointed . . . Mithrenes as satrap,” mistranslates the Greek. Arrian’s word for “appointing” was καθίστημι as in 1.17.1 and 3.16.4 or ἀποδείκνυμι as in 1.29.3 and 2.12.2.

⁴ Arr. *Anab.* Preface, with comment in Hammond 1993: 189–195, 221–223, 258–260, and 288–292.

⁵ Arguments for this are in Hammond 1983: 54–55 and 129.

⁶ “Spear-won land” was the possession of the king, who “gave” it to whomever he wished: examples of δίδωμι so used are cited in Hammond 1988b: 388–389.

composed much of the speech out of his own head, he was usually accurate in a speech's facts.⁷

Strabo gave a summary account of the history of Armenia from the Persian period down to his own time (11.14.15 *init.*). He derived it from Theophanes of Mitylene, whom he cited by name for the size of Armenia at 11.14.11 and for adjacent areas at 11.2.2 *fin.*, 11.5.1, and 11.14.4 *fin.* Most of Strabo's account concerns Armenia in and after the time of Rome's defeat of Antiochus III. This imbalance agrees with the attribution of the account to Theophanes, who wrote of the achievements of Pompey, with whom he served (11.5.1), and made a comparison with those of Alexander (McDonald 1970: 1058). His account is likely to be accurate. The interesting sentence runs thus: "Persians and Macedonians were in occupation of Armenia, and afterwards those who held Syria and Media" (11.14.15, κατεῖχον). Since Persian occupation ended in 331 and Seleucus took control ca 312, the occupation by the Macedonians ran for some twenty years, of which half were in Alexander's lifetime. While the passage does not exclude the possibility of a gap between Persian occupation and Macedonian occupation,⁸ it does not permit a gap of half the time. In other words Alexander's Macedonians were there in his time.

When we review the evidence in this paragraph, we must conclude that Alexander claimed Armenia in the first place, then sent Mithrenes to take it over as satrap in 331, and included it in 330 in his list of conquests.

The testimonia for the period immediately after Alexander's death are in need of some interpretation. The consecutive account is in Diodorus 18.2–7. The narrative of events was probably derived from the lost account of Hieronymus, a contemporary and reliable writer;⁹ but that account was drastically abbreviated by Diodorus. Thus when Diodorus reported the allocation of satrapies to "the most important of the Friends and Bodyguards," he named only some of the satrapies in Asia and he remarked that the other satrapies there were left under the rule of "the same officers" (18.3.2). However, he thought fit to make good the omissions by adding under the year 323 a full list of satrapies in Asia with "their sizes and characteristics" (18.6.4). With this repeated phrase, "the most important" men, Diodorus indicated that he had completed the theme of the satrapies and was about to turn to another theme. It is certain that Diodorus drew his first list from one source and his full list from another source; for in his full list the

⁷ This passage was not mentioned by Tarn 1948: 398 or Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 191.

⁸ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 191 did not envisage any gap in interpreting this text.

⁹ I argued in Hammond 1988a: 96 that this was so. Moreover, the list of satrapies from Egypt to Hellespontine Phrygia is the same in Diodorus and in Arr. *Succ.* 1a and 1b, so that they were probably drawn from a common source; and it is generally agreed that Arrian in *Succ.* was following Hieronymus (so Stadter 1980: 148 and Simpson 1959: 376). It is important to note that the list is only of those which were "distributed" (Arr. *Succ.* 1a5–8, ἡ μὲν νέμεισις and 1b2, διανεμήθη), and that it left "many" others under the men appointed by Alexander (1a8, ἀδιανεμήτα). Thus Tarn was mistaken when he said that "no satrap of Armenia was appointed at Babylon" (in 323) and that therefore "the fiction of a satrap of Armenia was abandoned" (Tarn 1948: 2.398 with n. 3).

satrapies are arranged in an entirely different manner. The source behind the first list was probably Hieronymus, since the list is related to the narrative. The full list then was not from Hieronymus¹⁰ but perhaps from some official document, presumably accurate. The full list included Armenia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Coele Syria; these four were not named in the first list, no doubt because they were left under the rule of "the same officers" and were not distributed to "the most important of the Friends and Bodyguards."¹¹ Our conclusion is that Armenia was a satrapy in 323, that it was left then either under Mithrenes or under his successor, if Mithrenes had been superseded,¹² and that it was one of Alexander's satrapies in 323.

Two other candidates have been proposed as satraps of Armenia in and after 323. One was presented in an addition to the text of Arr. *Succ.* 1b6, as proposed by Ausfeld (1901: 537) and adopted by Roos: καὶ Νεοπτολέμου <Ἀρμενία, Τληπολέμου> Καρμανία. Support for Neoptolemus being satrap of Armenia was sought in Plutarch, *Eumenes* 4.1, where Armenia was said to have been "thrown into confusion by Neoptolemus" (τεταραγμένην). However, in Diodorus 18.53.3 Craterus and Neoptolemus were not named as satraps but said to be "renowned as commanders of forces of Macedonians who had never been defeated." Thus there is little doubt that "the confusion in Armenia" was caused by Neoptolemus with some of these unruly troops.¹³ The other candidate was Orontes, who bore the name of a famous Persian family. It was proposed by Berve (1926: 1.261) that during and after Alexander's lifetime Armenia was independent of the Macedonians and was ruled by a Persian, Orontes, who may have been the Orontes in command of Armenians at Gaugamela in 331 (Arr. 3.8.5).¹⁴ Berve's proposal is incompatible with the testimonia we have cited in paragraphs two and three above, and on those grounds alone should be rejected. But Berve sought support for his proposal from a passage in Diodorus 19.23.3, where Orontes was said to hold the satrapy of Armenia and be a friend of Peucestes, the satrap of Persis, in 317. The fact that this information was in a letter forged by Eumenes did not impair the truth of the statement; for Eumenes intended his letter to be convincing. But the friendship with Peucestes is understandable only if both

¹⁰ *Pace* Tarn 1948: 2.309. He discussed the full list which he called "the Gazetteer" in 2.7 and 2.309–18. He asserted that "it represents an official document."

¹¹ The inclusion of Armenia in the list seems to have been overlooked. For instance Bosworth 1980: 315–316 did not mention it, nor did Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 191. Bosworth even wrote, "all that seems certain is that Armenia was out of royal control by 323."

¹² Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 191 asserted that Mithrenes had been "replaced, or succeeded, by a Macedonian (Diod. 17.64.6)." But they made a mistake, since Diodorus at that place simply said that he "gave Armenia to Mithrines."

¹³ I disagree with Bosworth 1980: 1.316, "his (Neoptolemus') commission can only have been the recovery of Armenia"; for that is not the implication of τεταραγμένην.

¹⁴ Bosworth 1980: 1.315 inclined towards the view of Berve, "He (Orontes) may have retired home after the battle, repelled by Mithrenes' efforts to take control and maintain power throughout Alexander's reign."

men were satraps, and not if Orontes was an anti-Macedonian ruler. All that we can deduce is that an Orontes was satrap of Armenia in 317. It is possible that he had been appointed in the meeting at Triparadeisus in 321; for the list of appointments then to satrapies at Diod. 18.39.3–6 is incomplete (Arachosia, Hyrcania, Armenia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Gedrosia, Pamphylia, and Coele Syria were not mentioned).¹⁵

In brief, then, Armenia was already in submission when Mithrenes was sent there from Babylon late in 331. Armenia was under Macedonian control in 330 (Curt. 6.3.3). It figured in the list of satrapies in Diodorus 18.5.4 under the year 323. Mithrenes was left as satrap in 323 when Perdikkas let some satrapies remain under the existing satraps (Diod. 18.3.2). In 317 he was no longer satrap but had been replaced by Orontes (Diod. 19.23.3). We may add that the satrapy "Armenia" was described as "small" as compared with its size under Antiochus III (Strabo 11.14.5 *init.*). Mithrenes' rule may not have extended as far as Lake Van.

WHEN DID THE ACQUISITION OF ARMENIA FIT INTO ALEXANDER'S MOVEMENTS?

The general view is perhaps that of Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993: 191): "Alexander did not in person conduct any campaigns in Armenia, which lay remote from his main objectives." The words "in person" may be important here. For Armenia might have submitted after the defeat of Darius at Gaugamela, or it might have been forced to submit by a force under the command of a general of Alexander; and if so, it might have become a satrapy without Alexander "in person" conducting any campaign there. However, the idea that Armenia lay "remote" from Alexander's main objectives is not acceptable; for Arr. 3.7.3 reported that on crossing the Euphrates in 331 Alexander went from there "upwards" (ἄνω),¹⁶ keeping on his left the river Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia, through the territory called Mesopotamia." Arrian gave the reasons for Alexander's choice of this route rather than that down the Euphrates valley: "everything was better provided (εὐπορώτερον) for the army, and there was fresh fodder for the horses, and it was possible to take the necessities from the country, and the heat was not so burning." Such better conditions could have been found only on the northernmost fringe of Mesopotamia, where the land rises up to the ridge of the Armenian mountain which was named Mt Masion in antiquity and now consists

¹⁵ It is unreasonable to infer from the lack of any mention of Armenia that there was therefore no satrapy of Armenia, as was done, for instance, by Tarn 1948: 2.398 and Bosworth 1980: 1.315.

¹⁶ Arrian was here contrasting Alexander's route up the Euphrates valley with the expected route down the valley, and he added for emphasis, "keeping the Euphrates on his left." For a similar emphasis we may compare Polyaeus 4.3.16, where Alexander took his men to the right upstream at the Granicus river: ἐπὶ δόρυ τοῦς Μακεδόνας ἀναγαγών. For "the Armenian mountains," beginning with Mt Masion (Strabo 11.12.4), we may compare the route taken by Darius after the battle of Gaugamela, "past the mountains of the Armenians towards Media" (Arr. 3.16.1).

of Mts Urfa and Mardin.¹⁷ The ridge runs from west to east, and it formed the natural frontier between Mesopotamia and Armenia. Thus it is clear that for Alexander in 331 Armenia was not "remote" but immediately adjacent.

The remarkable feature of Alexander's movement is that he crossed the Euphrates in the month Hecatombaeon, ca 10 July to 8 August (Arr. 3.6.7), and the Tigris just before the eclipse of the moon on the night of September 20–21 (Arr. 3.7.6). Thus he took some two months to cover a distance of some 500 kilometres. It was not possible for him en route to supply from local resources a force which consisted of at least 47,000 armed men, their subsidiary services, and anything up to 20,000 horses and mules.¹⁸ Moreover, he had to build up a large reserve of supplies, in order to feed the army if it should advance into enemy-controlled territory and fight a set battle. In order to meet these needs he must have widened his basis of supply by drawing extensively on southern Armenia. This was especially so in the matter of "fresh fodder for the horses" (especially the mounts and remounts for his 7,000 cavalry), which was not available in sun-scorched Mesopotamia, whereas Armenia was famous for its excellent pastures and very numerous horses.¹⁹

That Alexander did send some troops into Armenia was reported by Strabo in his description of Armenia: "In Syspiritis there are gold mines by Kaballa, to which Alexander sent Menon with soldiers, and he was carried off by the local people" (11.14.9). The circumstances were presumably that Alexander claimed possession of mineral resources within the satrapy, there as elsewhere, and that in anticipation of possible resistance he sent Menon with troops. In fact Menon was kidnapped. The implication is not that he was killed but that he was recovered. And so indeed he was; for in 329 he was appointed satrap of Arachosia (Arr. 20).²⁰ Syspiritis, the region to which Menon was sent before 329, was in the southeastern part of Armenia, since it was next to Adiabene, which itself extended eastward beyond Armenia's southern border (11.4.8 and 11.14.12). Alexander then was on his way through northernmost Mesopotamia in 331, when he sent Menon to Syspiritis. Thereafter he was never near Armenia. Strabo may have

¹⁷ Bosworth 1980: 1.286 described Northern Mesopotamia as "a barren undulating plain with limited water-supply, confined to a few water courses and occasional wells," of which the former were probably dry in late summer; and he added, "Nor is the heat much less oppressive than along the Euphrates."

¹⁸ For the numbers see Arr. 3.12.5, "up to 7,000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry" and *Itin. Alex.* 23, "7,000 cavalry"; in addition he hoped for the arrival of reinforcements numbering 930 cavalry and 5,000 infantry.

¹⁹ See Strabo 11.14.4 and 11.14.9. The importance of fresh fodder for cavalry mounts is clear from Arr. 4.5.5.

²⁰ He was mentioned without a patronymic by Arrian and Curtius, and he was probably different from "Menon, son of Cerdimmas" (Arr. 2.13.7) who was appointed satrap of Coele-Syria in 332. The subsequent career of the latter is in doubt; see Bosworth 1980: 1.225, proposing to emend "Memnona" to "Menona" in Curt. 4.8.11.

derived this information from Aristobulus, on whom he drew frequently, e.g., for Hyrcania at 509.

"Men who have campaigned with Alexander" provided some information about Armenia which was reported by Strabo. They were led by Cyrsilus of Pharsalus and Medius of Larisa (11.14.12). Being Thessalians, they were no doubt officers in the Thessalian cavalry which fought at Gaugamela on the left wing under the general command of Parmenion (Arr. 3.11.10), and it is virtually certain that they entered Armenia with Thessalian cavalry in the months before the battle. They believed that Armenia was named after Armenus, a follower of Jason, and that his followers colonised parts of southern Armenia, including Syspiritis (Strabo 11.14.12). The same belief had been reported by Strabo at 11.4.8 without naming the source of his information. "The men who have campaigned with Alexander" derived from this Thessalian influence some features of Armenian dress, the Armenian love of horses, and the name of the river Araxes because it resembled the Peneus.²¹ As regards Jason, a festival called "Jasonia" was said to resemble the ceremony which was organised at Abdera (in Thrace) by Parmenion (11.14.12, cf. 11.4.8). This mention of Parmenion is likely to have been considered apposite before or soon after his death in 330. The Thessalian officers were in Armenia probably before 327, because Alexander sent members of the Thessalian cavalry home on three occasions up to then (Arr. 3.19.5; 3.29.5; and 5.27.5). Medius was exceptional in staying with Alexander as a most trusted Companion (7.24.4; *Ind.* 18.2 as a trierarch).

From these testimonia we conclude that a part at least of Alexander's army and in particular his Thessalian cavalry operated in southern Armenia in 331, that Alexander claimed it as a satrapy in 331, that he "sent" Mithrenes to be satrap in 331, and that he "sent Menon with troops" to take control of gold mines in southeastern Armenia in or before 329.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ALEXANDER'S MOVEMENTS

When Alexander crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, he knew that he would need to find supplies locally during his advance, because the two bridges would be a tight bottleneck for transport from Syria. It was also apparent that his line of communications would become exposed to attacks by the famous cavalry of Armenia, if he should advance eastwards. As we have seen, he moved not southwards but northwards, keeping on his left the Euphrates, then the mountains of Armenia, i.e., Mt Masion, and from there he proceeded through northernmost Mesopotamia. This was not, of course, the shortest route from Thapsacus to the

²¹ Herodotus 1.202 had given a puzzling account of the Araxes, which, he wrote, had forty mouths, and the scientists who accompanied Alexander will have been eager to learn more about that river. It is unlikely that the Thessalians got as far north as the river Araxes; but they could have been told of a defile on the lower Araxes which reminded them of the Tempe defile of the Peneus.

place where Alexander eventually crossed the Tigris, reckoned at 2,400 stades by Strabo (2.1.38), i.e., some 445 kilometres.²²

E. W. Marsden (1964: 18–20) wrote of Alexander's army marching from Thapsacus to the Tigris at a rate of between 7.9 and 9 miles a day. R. Lane Fox (1973: 228) wrote similarly that "Alexander lingered on a journey which could have been finished in a fortnight." Bosworth (1980: 285–286), boldly stating that Alexander took Strabo's short route of 2,400 stades, expressed the view that Arrian "may be a month too early" in naming Hecatombaeon as the month of the crossing of the Euphrates; he therefore reduced the time of Alexander's passage to the Tigris to "thirty days at most." The weakness of these calculations is that they are made on the assumption that Alexander's army advanced en masse on one route. But the practice of Alexander was to advance not in that way but with detachments operating on the flanks or ahead of his slowest infantry and his baggage-train.²³ In this case the detachments operated for perhaps a month in northern Mesopotamia and in southern Armenia, and they covered the ground as far as Syspiritis in southeastern Armenia. Meanwhile what we may call the heavy column marched slowly and camped at leisure as it moved eastwards along the fringe of Mesopotamia.²⁴ Alexander's aims during that month or so were to acquire an extensive base of supplies, provide pasture for his horses and obtain more horses in Armenia, and have a surplus of supplies for an advance southwards, if this should be necessary. Meanwhile the large reinforcements from Europe which he expected might arrive, and Darius might be tempted to bring his army north into the foothills of Mt Masion. When Alexander learned from some Persian scouts that Darius' army "was stationed on the Tigris" (Arr. 374), he moved rapidly to that river,²⁵ forded it with difficulty, and carried sufficient supplies to feed his army on the march and for four days of rest before going into

²² It has sometimes been assumed that Strabo was referring to Alexander's line of march, e.g., by Bosworth 1988: 79, "his route from Thapsacus to the Tigris was estimated at 2,400 stades (Strabo 90)." That is not what Strabo wrote; his context was his discussion of distances given by Eratosthenes and the criticism of them by Hipparchus (*floruit* ca 150 B.C.). The scientists with Alexander were measuring distances not so much for a line of march as for the geography of Asia.

²³ See, for instance, Arr. 33.23.2.

²⁴ This column will have halted at good water-points, such as the oases noted by Bosworth 1980: 1.286.

²⁵ It was only after hearing this report that Alexander advanced at speed (σπουδῇ). Curtius 4.9.13–14 gave a different account. He had Alexander pause for some days after crossing the Euphrates "not to rest but to build up the army's resolve," whereas Arrian 3.7.6 had Alexander pause after crossing not the Euphrates but the Tigris. Then after those few days Curtius had Alexander "begin to pursue the enemy vigorously (*strenue hostem insequi*) because he was afraid that Darius was withdrawing into the interior of his kingdom." His version is entirely incompatible with that of Arrian. The next sentence in Curtius brought Alexander "on the fourth day past Arbela to the Tigris" (a text sometimes emended), and the army's crossing of the Tigris followed in a sensational passage, 4.9.14–21. It is obvious that Arrian and Curtius followed different sources. Because Arrian was following Ptolemy and Aristobulus, as stated in Arrian's Preface and argued in Hammond 1993: 228–235, his account is to be preferred. For that of Curtius bears the marks of Cleitarchus, especially in the sensational details

the attack. His army and in particular his cavalry were in fine form for the decisive battle of Gaugamela.

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of the crossing of the Tigris, which has much in common with Diodorus 17.55.3–6, who was at that place following Cleitarchus (as argued in Hammond 1983: 45.)

Gods and Plants in the Classical World

by Carl A. P. Ruck

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[131] In cult and myth, many of the gods of the classical world are associated with particular plants. Athena, it was said, discovered the olive as her special tree. The laurel was sacred to Apollo, supposedly as the metamorphosis of the nymph Daphne, who had fled to avoid his amorous embrace. Demeter's chosen gift to the human race was the cultivated sheaf of grain; of equal value, it was thought, was Dionysus's gift of the vine.

Behind these common assignments lies a long tradition of cultural evolution from earlier times when the plants that were the gods' botanical attributes originally had chemical properties that made the plants more than symbolic entheogens; these properties made the plants function psychoactively in rites of shamanism. Thus, even in the classical age, Demeter was still assigned the narcotic poppy, in addition to her sheaf of grain; and her secret barley drink at the Eleusinian Mystery actually induced a visionary experience for her initiates. So, too, Apollo's chemically innocuous laurel was still responsible, if only symbolically, for precipitating the ecstatic seizures of his clairvoyant priestess at the sanctuary of Delphi. And the wine produced from the grape vines of Dionysus was not only an alcoholic inebriant, but it was treated, in social and viticultural rites, as the very embodiment of the god's possessing spirit.

At the dawn of consciousness, we may surmise that humans, apart from the other beasts, recognized the inevitable death awaiting each one and the fearful dependence of the living upon the dead for nourishment and for the continuance of generations. Thus the first science was founded. Edible matter was distinguished from inedible matter, whether poisonous or not useful or taboo, and the earliest perceptions of religion were sensed through those medicinal and magical substances that seemed to mediate between this world and the worlds of the gods and ancestors. These entheogens varied with environment and cultural traditions: availability alone would not suffice to determine a plant's sanctity; meaningful connotations in mythology and religion were also necessary.

For those peoples who took up a settled way of life—tending herds, sowing crops, and founding towns—the dark entombment of the earth became their sacred place where the spirits dwelt. This was the womb into which the seed was entrusted. Earth was the great Mother, the goddess who was the end and the next beginning of all that lives. The darkness of this chthonic realm was mirrored by the recurrent cycles of the night, lighted by the lunar phases that uncannily seemed to correlate with womankind's rhythms. Opiates, the plants that induced an irrationality and a loss of conscious control, were the [132] pathway to Mother Earth's other world. Her special art was the discovery of how to manage the wastes produced by the continuous living of people and herds in the same place, without becoming poisoned by pollutants or famished by depletion of the land's

fertility. Pollution had to be transmuted, both magically and in actual fact, into the fertilizing power that would renew Mother Earth for future generations.

In contrast to these settled peoples, nomadic peoples moved on, abandoning one location for another, and often not even burying their dead but hanging them from trees to free their spirits to the winds. Hunting and gathering required that nomadic peoples roam, migrating with the annual journey of the solar disc and seeking totemic kinship with the animals whose wild nature they would have to anticipate if they were to succeed in the hunt. Masculine strength determined precedence in the tribe, for whom god was masculine and the father. Appropriate to such a deity were wild plants, instead of cultivated ones, and his visionary realm was one of celestial enlightenment.

Such generic scenarios about earliest prehistory are misleading simplifications, although they are basically true, read back from mythological traditions and historical indications several millennia later. In what were to become the Greek lands, the Great Mother had already taken up residence, honored by the Minoans and other similar cultures, when the Indo-Europeans with their Great Father Zeus began arriving about the beginning of the second millennium B.C. By the middle of that millennium, the newcomers had taken over many of the previous settlements and assimilated their traditions with those of the earlier inhabitants.

At Mycenae, where modern archaeologists first uncovered traces of Indo-European civilization in Greece, the newcomers had imposed a kingship of their own style and they reinterpreted the name of the place to suit their own traditions. The word *Mycenae* is a feminine plural, like many names of Minoan settlements, which were named for the sisterhoods of the goddess's worshippers. In this case, the settlement was named after the Mycene girls, just as Thebes was named for the Thebe girls and Athens for the Athene girls. Even today the names of these towns are plurals grammatically. The Mycenaean Greeks, however, gave their town a false etymology, associating it with the tradition of the entheogen from their Asiatic homeland, the *mykes* or mushroom. Perseus, the city's refounder, had dynastic ties to another branch of the Indo-European migration, the Persians. Deposing the fearful Queen of the Gorgon sisterhood on the site of what was to become the new city, Perseus was said to have picked the sacred wild mushroom. By this act, Medusa, whose name means queen, lost her power to stupefy and was changed to celestial inspiration in the form of Zeus's daughter Athena and the flying horse Pegasus, who was responsible for numerous fountains, the drink of which liberated the soul for higher visions. In the same manner, Perseus's father, Zeus, would wield the lightning bolt as his weapon of enlightenment against the chthonic forces of darkness, planting, as it was supposed, the fungal entheogen wherever it fell to earth, as he took possession of the new Greek lands. The ensuing reconciliation of Minoans and Greek Mycenaeans would end up with the males in uneasy dominance over the females, but not without due allowance for some role for the traditions of the pre-Indo-Europeans.

The sacred mushroom of Zeus's people, as R. Gordon Wasson has shown, was the *Amanita muscaria*. The Indo-Europeans brought a remembrance of it wherever they migrated from their original home in the central Asian highlands. The Persians, for example, remembered it as *haoma*. Among the Hindus, it was *soma*.

With the passage of time, knowledge of the deity's original botanic identity was forgotten or restricted and substitutes or surrogates were employed, probably because the original was no longer easily obtainable in the new environments. The surrogates at first perpetuated certain attributes of the original, although they often were only symbolically [133] entheogenic. In some ways this perhaps even made these surrogates more appropriate, since the Indo-Europeans were prejudiced against ultimately admitting any corporeal or material component in the experience of spiritual enlightenment.

In India, the earliest surrogate was a mushroom lacking the chemical properties of the original mushroom but symbolically appropriate nonetheless; it functioned ritually as the transmutation of corporeal putrefaction into fragrant spiritual essence through the purifying agency of fire in the making of the Mahavira vessel for the Pravargya sacrifice.

Fungal surrogates are also found in Greek traditions. More often, the color of *Amanita muscaria* and its relatives is remembered, or the warty scabs from its ruptured membrane, or its wild unpredictable manner of growth, or its mycorrhizal associations with certain trees, or even the intoxication of its psychoactive urine constituent. Thus, the color of *Viola odorata* (or *ion* in Greek) made it sacred to the homonymously named Iamid dynasty of clairvoyant priests who replaced earlier priestesses at Olympia when the Indo-Europeans took over the goddess's sanctuary and rededicated it to their god Zeus. Probably, however, no chemically active entheogen was used in the divination practiced by these priests, who employed rational scientific methods of prognosis based on carefully observed omens, instead of the former irrational possession that had characterized the procedure previously.

The same botanic surrogate for the fungal entheogen occurs in the traditions about Apollo's secret son Ion, who was named for the violet and was begotten in a cave at Athens. No plants other than molds can be expected to grow in such a subterranean environment, but the Queen supposedly conceived the child there as she gathered the saffron-hued *Crocus saliva* in the company of her Athena sisterhood. This child of Apollo was instrumental in shifting Athens from its previous traditions of matriliney to patriliney, as well as for purifying Apollo from the taint of female subservience, his role prior to assuming a new manifestation as a son of Zeus among the family of Olympians. It is Ion who lent his name, by a false etymology, to the "moving" electrical particle, a meaning that belies his former botanic fixity to Earth. This reinterpretation of his name was ancient and involved the myth of how he found a father, as well as his mother.

The luminous radiance of the sacred plant's color not only determined the violet and crocus as suitable surrogates for *Amanita*, but it appears to have been responsible also for the tawny hair that characterized Mycenaean princes such as Menelaus, Odysseus, and Achilles, as well as that of Apollo.

Animal surrogates also recall attributes of *Amanita*. The leopard that is sacred to Dionysus bears the warty scabs of the mushroom's ruptured membrane in the markings of its tawny pelt, and the antlered hind, an animal not found in Greece but from the Indo-European homeland, was sacred to Apollo's sister Artemis. The hind's fondness for *Amanita* and its constituents associates this animal with the entheogen in Siberian shamanism, and the golden antlers of the particular magical beast that belonged to Artemis suggest a botanical treelike surrogate of the appropriate color. Just as Perseus picked a mushroom in supplanting the religion of the goddess, Heracles

numbered the plucking of these antlers among the labors he performed in claiming Greece for the religion of his father Zeus. In a similar manner, both Heracles and Perseus plucked golden apples from a sacred tree, just as another hero, Iason (or Jason), plucked the golden fleece. "Fleece" and "apple" are homonymous in Greek, and some traditions remembered that the original for what the heroes harvested from the trees was a mushroom.

The magical properties of the constituent are also recalled in the myth of the hunter Orion, one of several males who once were consorts of the goddess in the persona of Artemis, before she was assimilated to the Olympian family as a daughter of Zeus and twin sister of Apollo, who formerly also had been a version of her consort. Orion was killed for trying to rape a maiden like Artemis from the Indo-European homeland, but in [134] dying was transmuted into a celestial configuration as the constellation. In this newer identity it was claimed that Orion was a son of Zeus, who had inseminated Mother Earth with urine.

The Indo-European migrants, however, could not have failed to note the superior civilization of the Minoan peoples among whom they settled. That awareness, together with a tendency to equate the forward linear course of historical time with evolutionary progress, gave rise to the idea that the past is more primitive than the present and future. Hence, as new surrogates developed, the attributes of *Amanita* were also displaced upon the traditions of the previous inhabitants, equating all that was old as somehow inferior to newer manifestations in the Hellenic age that developed after the reconciliation of the two cultures. The people of the olden times, therefore, were sometimes themselves mushrooms or bore attributes of the entheogen from the original Indo-European homeland, even if in reality they must have been Minoans. At Corinth, for example, a town that also was resettled by the Mycenaean Greeks, the aboriginal populace was said to have been mushroom people before they were transformed into the new human inhabitants.

Settlements such as Mycenae and Athens were said to have been built by the Cyclopes, which were one of several versions of partial, maimed, or half figures in Greek mythology, all of them probably derived, like the one-legged man, from metaphors for *Amanita*. Each Cyclops had a single eye, suggesting the special vision afforded by the entheogen. The Cyclopes were associated with both chthonic and celestial shamanism. In the former, they tended the forge of the limping or one-legged Hephaestus in the heart of volcanoes, which were seen as a pathway to the underworld. In the later shamanic orientation, they were pressed into service of the new religion making Zeus's thunderbolts in that volcanic forge.

The same shift in orientation is represented in the encounter of the Cyclops named Polyphemus and the hero Odysseus. In the cave where Polyphemus is holding him captive, Odysseus introduces the monster to a new experience of intoxication with a powerful wine from Apollo. In escaping from Polyphemus, as in his other adventures, Odysseus is liberated from the chthonic realm to return to his homeland on the island Ithaca and to establish patriliney with his son Telemachus and father Laertes, in a place that during his absence had been in danger of becoming a queendom.

Other notorious half-men are the lame Oedipus, whose myth, like that of Ion, involves the discovery of paternity, and the one-shoed Iason, as well as Theseus, whose father's sandal was a clue that led to the hero's discovery of patriliney, and Achilles, whose heel was his only

vulnerability. These lame figures probably derive originally from phallic symbolism of the Earth consort, reinterpreted through resemblance of *Amanita* to an erect phallus, for which common metaphors included the "single eye," the "lame third leg," the "little man," and so on. Sometimes the goddess even becomes involved with surrogates for the mushroom. Such is the case of the maiden (V)iole, who was responsible for the chthonic intoxication of Heracles and who bears the feminine version of Ion's name, with its reference to *Viola odorata*.

More often than through simple equation with primitivism, the Indo-Europeanentheogen was thought to have undergone an essential hybridization from the wild plant of the Asiatic homeland (remembered as the realm of the Hyperboreans) into some cultivated substitute upon its importation and transplantation into the Mediterranean region. Thus the olive, which was supposed to have been discovered by Heracles in the Indo-European homeland, where it is not native, was transplanted to Greece and became the sacred emblem of Athena as daughter of Zeus, replacing her Minoanentheogen. It even became the symbol of Zeus at the Olympian games, after the Mycenaean Greeks took control of the sanctuary.

Among the earlier plants of Athena replaced by the olive was one the Greeks called [135] "horse-mad" or *hippomanes*, *Datura stramonium*, the thorn-apple or jimson weed. This chemically psychoactiveentheogen was associated with Athena's primordial, pre-Olympian manifestation as a maddening Gorgon Medusa and it also is characteristic of the goddess in tantric traditions. Just as Athena came to symbolize the higher inspiration of the civilized arts of the Olympian Age, the olive was thought to be superior to its botanical avatar, for it is a cultivated tree, requiring constant pruning to keep it from reverting to the useless wild olive. At Athena's Panathenaic games in Athens, instead of a wreath of olive leaves, which was the prize at Olympia, the victorious athlete received an amphora of oil pressed from the sacred olive trees. This pressing of the surrogate fruit recalls the tradition of the original Indo-Europeanentheogen, called in Vedic lore by the metaphor of the "pressed one," which is the meaning of the name *soma*. The olive was superior not only because it was cultivated whereas *Amanita* was wild, but also because it required the further intervention of scientific procedures of manufacture to release its food.

Athens claimed to have the first olive tree that ever grew, but the same claims was made elsewhere. On the island of Delos, where Apollo and Artemis were reborn into their Olympian identities, the aboriginal olive tree retained ritual connotations of the psychoactive original. In addition to the mock flagellation of pubescent dancers who chewed on its bark in commemoration of earlier times when they would have been sacrificial victims to the goddess, the identity of the Indo-Europeanentheogen that supplanted the Minoan religion was maintained as restricted knowledge. Each year a secret offering of *Amanita* was supposed to have been transmitted through intermediaries from the Hyperborean homeland and presented among the offerings of first fruits sent to Delos from the various Greek cities. These first fruits were symbolic of primitivism, harvested early, before the full crop had ripened to maturity. Among these gifts, the secret offering from the Hyperboreans was the most primitive avatar of the agricultural arts.

Like the olive, Apollo's bay or laurel tree, *Laurus nobilis*, was similarly considered a sacred import or transplantation from the olden times in the traditions of the god's sanctuary at Delphi. It was used for the wreaths to crown victors in the Pythian games commemorating Apollo's triumph over his atavistic former identity at the site, where in pre-Indo-European times (i.e., before

Apollo was reborn as a son of Zeus) the god had functioned in chthonic shamanism as a consort of Earth. The games at Delphi included musical and athletic competitions, celebrating contests of male physical superiority and, just as the games of Athena, the harmony of the higher artistic inspiration that dispels the discord of irrational, feminine possessing spirits.

Although the laurel retained the tradition of its psychoactive original in the shamanism of the Pythian priestess, it replaced more sinister plants formerly associated with the pre-Olympian manifestations of Apollo. One of these was aconite (*Aconitum*) or wolfsbane, a metaphoric name that goes back to the Greek nomenclature. Aconite is chemically psychoactive and its flowers, like those of *Viola*, mimic the sacred color of *Amanita*. This fortuitous resemblance facilitated the merging of the Indo-European god with his indigenous chthonic precedent. Wolfsbane or *lykoktonos* originated in the prophet-deity's cults, among the northern Hyperboreans and in what was known as his other homeland among the so-called wolf-people, the matrilineal Lycians of Asia Minor. This wolf persona became characteristic not only of Apollo's darker nature, but also in general of the recidivous other self of all the heroes who were sons of Zeus. This lupine metaphor is a classical version of the werewolf mythologem and coincides with Indo-European versions of the same phenomenon. In Greek, the "wolf-madness" is rabies, the power of the she-wolf to cause the domestic dog to revert to its wild primordial ancestor. The Olympian Apollo was so dangerously unstable in his new identity that even dogs were excluded from his Delian sanctuary.

[136] Another of Apollo's botanical surrogates was *hyacinthos*, a plant name from the pre-Indo-European language. The Greeks identified it with larkspur, *Delphinium ajacis*, perhaps since the plant's medical efficacy against ectoparasites made it a fitting analogue to their own entheogen, *Amanita*, which has the property of making flies insensate and comatose, hence its common name, fly-agaric. The annual sacrificial victim offered to Apollo at the cliffs on the island of Leukas was similarly thought to rid the populace of an infestation of flies. The Minoan *hyacinthos* may have been a different plant, probably with psychoactive properties. It bears the name of a former version of Apollo, Hyacinthos, one of the many lamented males who were mourned as dying consorts of the goddess. Apollo, in the common mythological pattern of replacement, accidentally killed his own former persona in an incident of misdirected "wind" or inspiration. The plant's flowers were said to resemble the Greek letters for the cry of lament.

The bay tree or *daphne* replaced both the *hyacinthos* and the wolfsbane. The Pythian priestess prepared for her fit of shamanic possession by commemorating the maiden Daphne who was metamorphosed into the tree to avoid the god's courtship. She chewed the leaves of laurel and became possessed by the old, darker version of Apollo, but her shrieks of frenzied rapture were transformed into enigmatic Greek verses by a male priesthood, whose masculine role symbolically was to mediate with the female past traditions and reinterpret the senseless response coherently, as befitted the newer son of Zeus. The type of questions most often answered by the Delphic oracle was consistent with this general theme of reconciliation between female and male mentalities, just as the sanctuary itself mediated between a commemoration of the original chthonic religion and the traditions of the nomadic immigrants. In addition to common problems of marital infertility (and in mythological instances, of patriliney over matriliney), the oracle was often instrumental in advising Greek cities about where new colonizations of male-dominant Hellenic civilization might be settled upon the inhospitable Earth of Mother Nature, just as the wandering Apollo had no place to call his own until he took control of Delphi.

Like the *daphne* and the olive, Poseidon's sacred plant, the celery (or what is commonly called "parsley" by classicists), *Apium graveolens*, apparently was also a chemically innocuous surrogate for a plant that originally functioned in the god's pre-Olympian religion. It, too, symbolized the triumph over the chthonic forces of primitivism. Celery was used to crown the victors in Poseidon's games at Isthmia and Nemea, sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia that evolved from shamanic rites practiced before the coming of the Indo-Europeans. As at the other sites, the victors probably were once the sacrificial victims offered to the goddess and her consort. The celery, as a surrogate, retained its funeral connotations from those earlier times. Thus, wreaths of celery were used to adorn tombs in the classical age, and it was a homily to say that someone close to death was in need of such a chaplet.

The original entheogen may well have been the poisonous hemlock, *Conium maculatum*, which celery resembles, since hemlock was the drug employed in the classical age as a lethal potion to put criminals to death; because criminals were originally appropriate candidates for human sacrifice, the mode of execution betrays its ritual precedents. As "consort of Earth" (which is the meaning of Poseidon's name), the god in his pre-Olympian persona was a deity of death, linked with the Gorgon identity of Athena as his goddess. Thus, he, like Athena, had equine manifestations, in which form he united sexually with the Medusa.

It is, however, in the paired figures of Demeter and Dionysus that one can see most clearly the full complexity of the pattern involved in the reconciliation of the botanical and religious traditions of the Indo-Europeans and their indigenous predecessors in the Greek lands. These two deities represented the totality of human foodstuffs—Demeter, the dry, and Dionysus, the liquid. Both incorporate commemorations of their avatars in chthonic [137] shamanism, as well as of the fungal entheogen of the Indo-European tradition. For both deities, the evolutionary perspective placed a higher value on their cultivated manifestations in the Hellenic age, as compared to their wilder, more primitive antecedents. As in other cultures, the mushroom proved to be the perfect archetypal mediating symbol. Its wildness could be tamed into cultivated hybrids, and its obvious phallic configuration could also be viewed as feminine, when the cap becomes concave upon further opening in ripeness. It grows from what looks like an egg within the earth, thus suggesting the idea of resurrection from the nether world, and it thereby in Greek lore had surrogates in various analogous bulb plants, like the crocus, the narcissus, and asphodel, the last being the flower that traditionally grew in the Elysian fields. The chthonic mushroom's sudden appearance after rainfall suggested some causal relationship with the bolt of lightning's point of impact from the celestial realm, hence the union of sky and earth.

Because of the rational bias of classical scholarship, there has been a reluctance to consider the role of entheogens in Greek religion, as though the few researchers who do were somehow imposing their own distorted ideas upon ancient society and "gods in a flowerpot." The fact that the Greeks worshipped Dionysus as a god of intoxication should alone refute any doubt that they recognized something numinous in the experience of chemically induced madness. It is not I, after all, who found a god in my wine cup.

As the Greeks saw it, there were two aspects to this state of altered consciousness caused by the drinking of wine. One was primarily effeminate, regressive, and irrational; the other, virile and inspired, with connotations of the higher arts and of the political and social institutions of their male-dominant culture. The former was the maenadism of the women who tended the god's

chthonic avatars in the mountain wildernesses during the nonagricultural season; the latter, the *symposia* or "drinking parties" of the men in the city, where poetry about their mythological heritage was recited and the friendships and alliances, often basically homoerotic (and hence, excluding female) were formed that sustained the male-dominated culture. Whatever women were present at *symposia* belonged to the *hetaera* or prostitute class. They were trained in dancing, poetry, and intellectual arts, and, unlike females of the citizenry, they were adept at the lascivious sexual arousal of their male patrons—talents that would have been deemed threatening in wives and daughters. To this masculine aspect of intoxication belongs also the god's role in renewing cultural identity through the paedeutical function of the theater. In modern terms, the contrast is between the drunken brawl and a cocktail party.

Wine was recognized for what it is, basically a fungal surrogate of the "pressed one," the *soma* of the Vedic tradition. The fungal nature of fermentation was clearly observable and seemed to the ancients to be the same kind of process that occurs in cooking, whereby the raw and primitive is transformed into civilized cuisine, a process, moreover, that was thought to be a sort of putrefaction and, hence, like a resurrection from moldering matter. In fermentation, the wild, unpredictable growth of *Amanita* yielded to the civilizing arts to produce a superior inebriant.

Wine, as the drink of the new age, deposed the god's avatars, all of them from both the Indo-European and Minoan traditions, but as always in Greek religion, the deposed personae must not be dishonored. They were commemorated as part of the deity's total identity. Thus, his previous names were still maintained—like Bacchus for Dionysus—or earlier iconography was perpetuated—like the Gorgon's head that Athena wears as a breastplate, a trophy of her former persona as goddess.

So, too, wine as an intoxicant was not solely the product of the grape's fermentation, but various herbal precedents were part of its "bouquet." Among these was resin, commemorating earlier ferments from the sap of trees that were host to *Amanita*; the pine tree became sacred to Dionysus, and modern Greek wine perpetuates this association as *retsina*. Many of the entheogens sacred to the goddess also found their way into this [138] ancient drink that was a symbolic recapitulatory synthesis of the two culture's reconciliation, as well as an inebriant. Some of these additives were chemically psychoactive and so intensified the wine's toxicity that it could be drunk safely and properly only when greatly diluted with water. It was all of these that gave wine its "spirit," the ghosts of its constituent gods.

Alcohol itself was a substance unknown to the Greeks, who had no name for it. Our modern term comes from Arabic, where it first was described as the distillates of minerals for cosmetics, thence applied to the liquid distillate of ferments when it was first discovered much later by the alchemists as *aqua vitae*. The Greek word for wine itself, (*w*)*oinos*, appears to be Indo-European, and since viticulture was not native to these people in the Asiatic homeland, it could not originally have described the vinous ferment but rather their own sacred drink. They applied its name to the newer drink when they encountered it in the course of their southern migrations. Etymologically, it appears to be a metaphor for *Amanita* as a "circular rimmed wheel," which is a typical pictograph for the sacred mushroom in other cultures. Cognates for *woinos* in Latin and modern languages (*vinum*, *vin*, *vino*, *wein*, etc.) are, therefore, derived from the Indo-European verbal root and not assimilated, as one might expect, from whatever linguistic culture originated viticulture.

Symbolically, the vine plant was seen as a botanical evolution of a more primitive, related plant. This avatar was the ivy, *Hedera helix*. Without fermentation, the leaves and berries were reputed to derange the mind. Ivy had not yet succumbed to the hybridization that would culminate in its civilized descendent that, like the olive, through constant pruning and tending would yield its harvest of the succulent grape, instead of the supposedly poisonous tiny berries of its ancestor.

The two aspects of Dionysus, wine and its precedents, had to be commemorated in ritual as well. Thus, in addition to the *symposia* of the men, the female citizenry was periodically released from the strictures of their secluded and protected lives within the innermost quarters of their houses in the city and they took off for their mountain revels as maenads or "madwomen." They formed again into the ancient Minoan sisterhoods of the triform goddess and reverted to wild, uncivilized behavior, and they laid claim again to the dominant role that once was theirs and that now was denied them in their lives within the city.

On the mountains, these women hunted the pre-viticultural manifestations of the god's possessing spirit. Symbolic of this was the ivy. As emblem of their recidivous quest, they bore the Minoan symbol of the *thyrsos*. This was the herbalist's staff, the implement of those who gathered wild plants. It was composed of a fennel stalk stuffed with the leaves of ivy that supposedly they had found. Other plants from olden times also figured in their ritual hunt. Prominent among these was the symbolism of the opium poppy, a plant from the Minoan religion, although it could not be expected to be found actually growing on the mountain and in the wintertime of the revel.

Indo-European precedents also were involved in the symbolism, as is clear from the mythical traditions about the *thyrsos*. Prometheus was said to have first brought the fiery spirit of the celestial enlightenment from the heavens by stealing fire from the Olympians and hiding it in a fennel stalk. Celestial fire as a bolt of lightning, especially when concealed in the herbalist's *thyrsos*, recalls the supposed involvement of lightning in the generation of mushrooms. Prometheus was the creator of the human race and his role was the essential mediation between the chthonic realm of his own origins and the newer realm of the Olympians, whom he tricked into accepting the right of his human creatures to exist. It was he who taught humankind the ritual of the sacrificial meal, whereby the past undergoes transmutation to feed the ongoing evolutionary process. The myths about Prometheus and his brother's son Deucalion, moreover, portray the inception of a new [139] age of humans with the inauguration of the Olympian family of deities with the father Zeus at its head.

Animate surrogates of the primitive god also were objects of the symbolic hunt of the maenads. Such beasts were the leopard, with its suggestive spotted pelt, and burrowing animals, who made their lair in the womb of Mother Earth, like the prolific hare or the phallic serpent, the latter being a reptile with herbalist significance since it was supposed to amass the toxins for its poisonous bite from the plants it lived among. It was claimed that the maenads conducted this hunt without implements, like true primitives, and that like Mother Nature, what they found were their babies. When they caught their prey, they tore it to pieces with their bare hands and ate it raw, without the benefit of the civilizing culinary arts. Again, we are dealing with symbolic events, since it is hard to see how women untrained in hunting could have managed to capture animals barehanded or slaughter their own babies, when apparently the babies were not brought to the revel.

Like the herbalist witches of later times, who were accused of consorting with the devil, the maenads—these respectable ladies from the city—were said to engage in a wiled sexual romp with goatlike men, the ithyphallic satyrs. The brotherhood of satyrs represented the possessing spirit of the primordial Dionysus, since prime among the animal surrogates of the god was the goat. The goat was seen as the natural enemy of the plants tended in the vineyard, and the sacrifice of that animal was the appropriate offering to free Dionysus from his own former identity. The sacrificial meal of goat meat fed the new god and his worshippers in the city upon the demise of his primitive nature, but in the mountain revel, the god reverted to his role of caprine consort of the goddess from the time before he had been remade into a son of Zeus.

This god of the maenadic revel was also sometimes a bull, remembering the symbolism of the goddess as bovine in Minoan religion. The Indo-European entheogen assimilated the taurine persona as well, as in the Vedic tradition, and the maenads beat upon tympani in their mountain rites to waken the bellowing of *Amanita* as it burst suddenly into fruit with the thunderous sound of an earthquake.

Although the cultivated gardens were dormant in this winter season, the mountains would bloom with the wild flowers that were the god's bulbous surrogates. The Dionysus of the vine had departed, acquiescing to his own demise at the time of the harvest, which was a sacrifice of himself offered for human salvation. The ritual slaughter of the grape had been accomplished like a funeral, accompanied by the lamenting music of flutes; and the harvesters, disguised as satyrs, had sought to blame the murder upon the resurgent atavistic powers that were about to seize control of the world upon the death of the civilized god. The masked harvesters had trod upon the grapes and pressed the bloodlike juice, channeling it into subterranean vats, where it would be entombed, like the god's corpse, and left to mold. As his body lay fermenting through the winter months, the whole world would enter upon its regressive phase. Even the ivy would leave off its trailing, prostrate manner of summertime growth and begin to exert its regained supremacy, growing upright now in sinister mimicry of its usurped hybrid. The version of Dionysus that now took over was his primordial role as the goddess's inseminator; the erect phallus alone was this god's sign. It was borne defiantly in rural carnival-like processions, and the irrepressible lusting that it represented defied the accepted norms of civilized urban life.

This was the time when comedies originally were performed. The actors and choral dancers, costumed extravagantly as fantastic metaphors for the ithyphallus that was their prominent emblem, would hold the finger, as it were, up to the leaders of society. They would, in effect, overthrow the city as it was and remake it to the liking of their own baser instincts. Typical of the comic plot, the lower elements of society—or even women—would take control, and all that was sacred, including the Olympian gods, would have to yield. The unrestrained libido ruled the world.

[140] When the fermentation, however, was completed, at the threshold of spring, the wilder spirit of the god's avatars would have, in turn, to give way as the cultivated god triumphed over death and returned from the grave in the guise of a divinely newborn infant, repeating the age-old miracle of the rebirth of the goddess's former consort as her son. This was not the same child as in olden times. This new Dionysus of the Hellenic age was destined eventually to resurrect even his mother and elevate her, like the Assumption later of the Blessed Virgin, to the celestial realm.

Dionysus's triumph opened, as well, the gates of the nether world, like an earlier example of Christ, and with him from the grave returned the spirits of all the dear departed. This moment, when the new wine was first breached, was celebrated as a communal banquet attended by both the living and the dead. Special table manners were in effect for this feast to ensure the proper separation of ghostly corruption and human life. These included chewing buckthorn (*Rhamnus*) as a laxative to purge the body of its own pollution, and eating and drinking from separate facilities to keep the ghosts at a respectable distance. The myths that traced the etiology of this festival recalled the coming of a new age of humans after the great flood, the redemption from madness caused by female chthonic powers, and the shift from matriliney to patriliney.

The young children of the citizenry were seen as manifestations of the infant god's miracle. At the age of three or four, the children would be indoctrinated into the metaphysical meaning of the wine as they drank it for their first experience of inebriation. We see these drunken children depicted on vase paintings as they play among the gravestones or impersonate their elders in performing various Dionysian rituals, such as the pole dance and the sacred marriage.

This symbolic renewal of the world was the context originally for the god's other type of drama, his tragedies, which would be performed at the contests held later in the spring, although the popularity of these festivals was so great that the distinction was soon blurred, so that both comedy and tragedy eventually were produced at each. Tragedy etymologically is the "goat song"; it was sung for the goat who was the sacrificial victim, the honored primitive persona of the god, who had to fall before the ascendancy of his own better self. Typically, the plot of a tragedy presents a hero whose victory would endanger the fundamental stability of the Olympian order, and hence, the hero's failure is of greater value than his personal success. The choice, for example, is between an Oedipus or an Apollo, and the worlds that each represents.

In these festivals of drama, in which all the roles were enacted by men, we see a different kind of madness. Instead of the maenadic derangement of the women in the regressive mountain revel, the male actors channeled the experience of ghostly possession into a form that furthered the evolution of the norms of Hellenic culture.

The goddess Demeter underwent a similar reconciliation of her past botanic identities with her newer Hellenic and Olympian manifestation. As "Mother Deo," which is the meaning of her name, she was recognized by the arriving Indo-Europeans as the mother goddess, with one of her pre-Greek names, and she was assimilated into the Olympian family as a sister and mate of Zeus.

Another of Demeter's names from the Minoan tradition was Persephone. Since the latter, like Deo, is not Indo-European, it has no known etymology, but the Greeks could see in it the false meaning of "deadly." This version of the goddess was assimilated as Zeus's daughter by Demeter, and her myth depicts how, unlike her mother, she was denied Olympian status and relegated to the chthonic realm as a goddess of death and resurgent life from the nether house of her consort Hades.

Many were the plants sacred to the Demeter-Persephone duo: opiates, like the poppy, for which the wild rose later became a symbolic surrogate, by virtue of its similar flower and capsulelike hips, as did also the pomegranate, which it resembles; and deranging [141] herbs, like *Datura* and henbane (*Hyocyamus niger*), which was named in Greek for her sacred animal, the sow, a

carnivorous beast that responds to the male scent of humans. By the classical age, henbane had become an abused drug by the younger generation.

As an Olympian, the goddess and her daughter were symbolized by the cultivated staff of barley. This was Demeter's antithesis to the wine of Dionysus. Hers was the dry stuff with which she nourished humankind, but like the vine, barley, too, had its atavistic precedent. This was seen as the wild and inedible weedy grass, *Lolium temulentum*, called "drunken lolium" in Latin botanic nomenclature because of the poisonous fungus (*Claviceps purpurea*) with which it is commonly infested. This fungus or ergot was called "rust" in Greek, as in English, because its reddening corruption overtakes the host kernels of grain in much the same way that the oxide of iron destroys the serviceable metal and seems to pull it back to the useless ore from which it had been manufactured. This same corruption seemed to spread from the weed to the cultivated grains, making them inedible like their ancestor. Barley, it was thought, would actually revert to lolium if it were not correctly tended to reinforce its evolutionary hybridization.

As with Dionysus, the fungus again was the ideal mediator. Grain, too, ferments, and the apparent putrefaction yields the leavening for the cooked loaf. The same triumph over atavism was seen in the transmutation of offal and dead matter into the renewed fertility of the plowland, a miracle that was commemorated by the ritual slaughter of the sow, whose decomposed remains were spread upon the fields as manure. As the Indo-European migrants traveled through the grain-growing lands to the north and east on their way toward Greece, they apparently found an early surrogate for their sacred plant in the chemical properties of *Claviceps*, the color of which perpetuated the sanctity of the original entheogen, and from which, by simple water solution, a form of LSD (lysergic acid di-ethylamide) can be easily separated from the other poisonous alkaloids of the ergot.

In the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which derive from Minoan precedents but which, like the other great religions of the Hellenic age, reconcile the two traditions of chthonic and celestial shamanism, ergot was employed in a drink that induced a mystical vision. The worshippers gathered at a place sacred to the goddess, beside the entrance to a subterranean tunnel considered to be one of the gateways to the nether world. There, at the village of Eleusis, near Athens, in the cavernous great Hall of Initiation, the initiates drank the potion and experienced a spiritual journey together through that passageway into the chthonic other world and then returned resurrected with the goddess, who had borne a matrilineal son during her underworld sojourn. Because of this communal rebirth, the worshippers came to feel that death, as Paul was later to preach of the Christian mystery, had lost its sting. Instead of some demonic horror, they saw that the Lord of Death, who was Persephone's son, was bound to them by ties of friendship and reciprocal hospitality in his and their own homesteads.

The initiates were sworn to secrecy under pain of death, but the myth that told of the founding of the religion was profane knowledge, including the part that listed the ingredients for the sacred potion. According to the myth, Persephone had been picking wild flowers on the frontier of this world, as queen among a maiden sisterhood, when she happened upon a particular plant, the *narkissos*. The plant's name, as we should expect, is pre-Greek, and hence its etymology is unknown, but the word was assimilated into Greek and its properties as a drug are responsible for its meaning as a "narcotic." This Minoan entheogen induced the spiritual possession that abducted Persephone to the nether world as a maenadic mate of Hades. At Eleusis, this abduction without

the mother's consent was rectified by the elevation of the lost maiden to the rank of wedded wife and mother. This evolution from illicitly abducted maiden to legitimate wife culminated in the institution of the civilizing rites of agriculture. It is Persephone's mysterious son, under the name of Triptolemus, who teaches humankind the art of tending barley.

[142] The Eleusinian potion was a symbolic drink, like wine, tracing the transition from primitivism to culture and mediating the Indo-European and Minoan religious traditions. The identity of three ingredients was not restricted knowledge. These were pennyroyal (*Mentha pulegium*), water, and barley—none of which could have been chemically responsible for the mystery experience. The water is obviously the inert medium that binds the two plants, which represent the polarity that is reconciled through the vision provided by the mystery.

Pennyroyal is a pungent aromatic mint, a wild plant that in Greek botanical lore is reputed to be an aphrodisiac; the plant's fragrance, like perfume, had connotations for the Greeks of lascivious illicit sexuality rather than of matrimonial duty and fidelity. Pennyroyal is emblematic of Persephone's abduction and the ensuing wrath of her deserted mother Demeter, who could neither accept that her daughter be a concubine nor countenance losing her to a male's control.

Barley represents the antithesis. It is the cultivated plant, symbolic of Demeter's acceptance of the periodic separation from her daughter, just as the seed is entrusted to earth only as a temporary prelude to the renewal of life and the return of Persephone with her son. Demeter becomes reconciled to her own role in the celestial realm as an Olympian, while her former self, in the persona of her daughter Persephone, resides in the chthonic realm, bound to her by family ties and cyclical visitation.

The secret ingredient of the potion—the one that made it serviceable as an abused substance—was ergot. It mediates between the polarities of wild and cultivated and of the Minoan and Indo-European traditions of shamanism. *Amanita* has no seed and defies attempts to control its unpredictable growth, but the ergot that spreads from lolium to the kernels of barley, threatening to pull the cultivated foodstuff back into primitivism, produces what appears to be an enlarged purplish seed, as the fungal mycelia permeate its host. Under appropriate conditions, the ergot-infested kernel falls to earth and enters its fruiting stage, with mushroom bodies recognizable to the naked eye. Claviceps itself is poisonous, but through the intervention of civilizing technique, the entheogenic component is separated into the solution of the potion. Nor can we doubt the association of ergot with the goddess, since "Rust" was one of Demeter's names.

There were two levels to the mystery, hence the plural Eleusinian Mysteries. The Lesser Mystery took place in the maenadic winter and involved the tradition of Persephone's abduction. It ritualized the hunt for *Amanita* or its surrogates. Part of this ceremony was the Sacred Marriage, when the woman who portrayed the role of the Queen, from the old days when Athens was a queendom, performed some secret rite in which she was possessed spiritually by Dionysus in some "taurine" form.

The Greater Mystery occurred in the fall and was experienced by the whole body of the initiates. Instead of the narcosis of the past Minoan tradition of the *narkissos*, a brilliant light of visionary illumination is described as the experience in the darkened Hall of Initiation on the Mystery night, as LSD supplanted sleep with the enlightened sight it induced in the wakeful worshippers

huddled within. Although still a chthonic religion of the two goddesses, the Indo-European tradition had accommodated it to its own celestial orientation.

The Eleusinian Mystery was the most prominent initiatory religion in the classical world, but there were others that struck a different balance between the claims of earth and heaven. Some were more chthonic; others, more celestial. In the mysteries of the Kabeiroi, for example, the sacred drink enrolled the initiates into a nether world brotherhood of primordial men. In contrast, the Orphics overemphasized the Indo-European aspiration to liberate the soul from its symbiotic dependence upon the body. Their supposed founder Orpheus inadvertently abandoned his Persephone-like bride permanently in the underworld, and taught his tribesmen to shun all sexual contact with women. His [143] followers sought to purify their bodies to attain eventually a totally spiritual existence through inhaling special herbal fumigations, like Olympians themselves, and through vegetarianism and dietary prohibitions.

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The goddess Demeter gives her daughter Persephone a hallucinogenic mushroom. Relief (ca. 450 B.C.) from Eleusis, at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity

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10. Reconstruction and Exploitation; 11. The Lands of the South; 12. The Winning of the South; 13. The Bequest of Nicomedes; 14. The Return of Mithradates; 15. Pompey the Organizer; 16. From Pompey to Caesar; 17. The End of the Old Regime; 18. Through Monarchy to Principate; 19. The Galatian Province; 20. The First Princeps; 21. The Heir of Augustus; 22. Lycia: Federation and Province; 23. The Claudian Emperors: Bureaucracy and War; 24. Centralization and Prosperity under the Flavians; 25. Trajan, Administrator and Conqueror; 26. Peace and Unification under Hadrian; 27. The Antonines and the Cities; 28. From Gold to Iron; 29. Decay and Chaos. Attached to the document are a group of beautiful color maps of Asia Minor and some neighboring areas from Henrich Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869).

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[Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian](#) (London, 1877), in 247 pdf pages.

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Wikipedia entry: [Romano-Chinese Relations](#).

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Selected Writings of Armen Petrosyan, at Internet Archive:

[in Armenian](#);

[in English](#);

[in Russian](#).

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[Internet Ancient History Sourcebook: Rome](#),

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[Ancient Rome](#), at Internet Archive.

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[Italy 1000 B.C. - 1 A.D.](#)

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Google Images:

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[Roman Art](#)

Wikipedia:

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Articles

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